

A N
Universal HISTORY,
FROM THE
Earliest Account of Time to the Present:
COMPILED from
ORIGINAL AUTHORS;
And ILLUSTRATED with
Maps, Cuts, Notes, *Chronological* and
Other Tables.

V O L. VII.

Ἰστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέτρυχεθαι μὴ καταλείπειν, ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ ἐνυπόμνησις ἀπόψεως,
ἀλλὰ καὶ ἱστορίας συντάξαι ὑγιάνουσι. Basil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.



D. Pomareda Sc.

D U B L I N:
Printed by EDWARD BATE, for the EDITORS:
M,DCC,XLV.

CONTENTS

O F

VOLUME VII.

CHAP. XX.

The history of the several states of Greece, from the beginning of the Achæan league to its dissolution, and thence succinctly to the present time.

SECT. III.

The history of Athens from the Achæan league to the present time, Page I

SECT. IV.

The history of the Grecian states in Asia Minor.

The history of Ionia, 33

B O O K II.

CHAP. I.

Of the islands of Sicily, Crete, Samos, Rhodes, &c. to their becoming subject to the Romans.

SECT. I.

The history of Sicily, 69

SECT. II.

The history of Syracuse, 95

SECT. III.

The history of Rhodes, 306

SECT.

CONTENTS.

SECT. IV.

The history of Crete, Page 364

SECT. V.

The history of Cyprus, 389

SECT. VI.

The history of Samos, 416

SECT. VII.

The history of the other Greek Islands, 444

CHAP. II.

The History of the Macedonians.

SECT. I.

The description of Macedonia, 546

SECT. II.

*Of the antiquity, government, customs, laws, manners, and
military discipline of the Macedonians,* 565

SECT. III.

*The history of the Macedonian kingdom, from its foundation
to the reign of Philip the father of Alexander,* 582

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^h See Vol. VI. p. 270.

CONTENTS.

SECT. IV.

The history of Crete, Page 364

SECT. V.

The history of Cyprus, 389

SECT. VI.

The history of Samos, 416

SECT. VII.

The history of the other Greek Islands, 444

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The description of Macedonia, 546

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^h See Vol. VI. p. 270.

teries of *Ceres* (Z), had entered the temple of the goddess with the crowd. As it was not lawful for any person to assist at

(Z) the festival of *Ceres* was the most celebrated and mysterious solemnity of any in *Greece*, whence it is often called by way of eminence *the mysteries*. The *Sicilians* claimed the glory of having first instituted this solemn worship, pretending, that they had been instructed by *Ceres* herself in the secret ceremonies, which were performed on this occasion. This goddess, according to the tradition of the country, taught them the art of cultivating the earth, and united them in societies to live under the influence of the wise laws which she had given them. Whence twice a year they renewed the remembrance of these signal benefits, worshipping alternately the mother and her daughter *Proserpine*; the former in the first seed-time, and the latter in the harvest. After the example of the *Sicilians* the inhabitants of *Attica*, who had been likewise enriched with the gifts of *Ceres*, signalized their gratitude to this goddess, by instituting three festivals in her honour.

Of these the first was called *Praerostia*, because it preceded the ploughing-time and the seed-time. On this occasion the *Athenians*, who celebrated this festival in the name of all the *Greeks*, offered a great many victims in hopes of obtaining a plentiful harvest.

The second festival was called *Thesmophoria*, this word alluding to the worship which was paid *Ceres* as a law-giver. *Plutarch*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and after them *Theodoret*, tell us, that the same ceremonies were performed on this occasion in honour of *Ceres*, as were practised by the *Egyptians* in the mysteries of *Isis*. The celebration of this festival lasted five days, and each day the women of the ten tribes, of which the republic of *Athens* consisted, chose one from among themselves to preside over the ceremonies that were practised at this solemnity. The victims were offered by a priest, who officiated with a crown on his head; whence he was called *Stephanophoros*. Such women, as had had three talents to their portion, were intitled to demand of their husbands the necessary sums for the expences of the sacrifices; every one being obliged to contribute to them according to their ability.

All the women that were to assist at the ceremonies being assembled in one place, they went in procession from *Athens* to *Eleusis*, a small city in that neighbourhood, singing hymns in honour of the goddess, and carrying the books, which contained the secret mysteries of the solemnity, and the laws, for which *Attica* was indebted to *Ceres*. But this depositum was intrusted with such only as were of an unblemished character and famous for their virtue. A certain number of young women were brought up at the expence of the public, and with all imaginable care in order to be employed in this office and in the other ceremonies performed at *Eleusis*. These were always kept confined in the *Thesmophorion*, a public building in *Athens* appropriated for that use, and narrowly watched by persons set over them to guard their virtue. However, when they arrived

at

at those mysteries, without being initiated, the *Acarnanians*, who had not been admitted with the usual ceremonies, being discovered

at *Eleusis*, they prepared themselves for the offices of their priesthood, by passing a whole day, at the feet of the statue of *Ceres*, in fasting and prayer. This severity ended in a kind of comedy ; for as *Ceres* had laughed at the sight of an old woman, who insulted her, so the young virgins endeavoured by innocent jokes to stir up one another to laughter. The following days were spent in lustrations and sacrifices, from which the men were not excluded ; even the prisoners, who were initiated in the mysteries of *Ceres*, and not yet convicted of any crime, were indulged their liberty during the five days of the solemnity, that they might join in those religious practices.

The third festival instituted in honour of *Ceres* was deemed the most holy and solemn, being called *the mysteries*. It is said by some to have been instituted by *Ceres* herself, after having supplied the *Athenians* with corn in a time of famine ; others ascribe the institution of it to king *Erechon*, and some to *Musæus* the father of *Eumolpus*, or to *Eumolpus* himself. The temple of *Eleusis* was the place where all those met who were admitted to these mysterious ceremonies ; and thither the *Greeks* flocked from all parts about the month of *August*, the temple, as *Strabo* informs us, being capable of holding an immense multitude. None were admitted to celebrate the great mysteries, till they had been purified at the lesser, which were used as a preparative for the greater. The manner of the purification was as follows : After having kept themselves chaste and unpolluted nine days, they offered sacrifices and prayers with crowns and garlands on their heads, and the skin of a victim sacrificed to *Jupiter* under their feet. About a year after, having sacrificed a sow to *Ceres*, they were admitted to the greater mysteries, but not suffered to enter the sanctuary till five years after, assisting in the mean time at the sacred ceremonies, only in the porch of the temple. When the years of probation were expired, the secret rites, some few excepted which were reserved for the priests alone, were frankly revealed to them ; whence they changed the name of *Mystai*, that is, *persons initiated*, for that of *Epoptai*, or *eye-witnesses*. The manner of the initiation was thus : the candidates were admitted by night into the temple, wearing crowns of myrtle on their heads. At their entering the sacred place, they purified themselves by washing their hands in holy water ; and at the same time were told, that the external cleanness of the body would not be accepted by the deity of the place, unless attended by the internal cleanness of an undefiled mind. After this the holy mysteries were read to them, the priest, who initiated them, having first asked them, whether they had performed all the conditions religion required. To these questions they returned answers in a set form, and then were led by the priest into the most holy

discovered by their language to be strangers, were carried before the chief priest, and by him sentenced to die, though in
was

part of the temple, a place of darkness and horror. Then all on a sudden a strong light darted in upon them, and discovered a statue of *Ceres* richly adorned, and a very indecent figure called *Myllos*. The light soon disappeared, and then a terrible noise was heard like thunder ; fire fell down like lightning, and dreadful monsters appeared, which by the glimmering light of continual flashes of fire struck the trembling spectators with great terror. Neither could they recover themselves from their fright, till they were shewn an agreeable meadow, which was walled in behind the temple. Lastly, the priest, who attended at the initiation, and was therefore called *Hierophantes*, or *revealer of holy things*, took his leave of the initiated, with exhorting them to the practice of virtue. The *Hierophantes* was by birth an *Athenian*, and of the family of the *Eumolpidae*. As he was the chief priest, and held his office for life, he was obliged to perpetual chastity, and forbidden even lustful desires. His name was so venerable, that it was not even mentioned in the presence of the profane, that is, of such as were not initiated. He had three assistants, the first of which was called from his office *Dadouchos*, or *torch-bearer* ; the second was stiled the *sacred herald* ; and it was his province to forbid on pain of death such as were not initiated, or were conscious of any crime, to enter the temple ; the third ministered at the altar, imploring the protection of the gods. The superintendant over these mysteries was stiled *king* ; and it was his duty to offer prayers and sacrifices, to see that no indecency or irregularity was committed, and, after the celebration of the mysteries, to assemble the senate, he being one of the archons, and to take cognizance of all offenders in this kind. The king had four assistants under him called *Epimeletai*, who were elected by the people, one out of the family of the *Eumolpidae*, another out of the *Cryces*, and the remaining two out of the families of other citizens.

This festival began on the fifteenth, and ended on the twenty third day of the month *Boedromion* ; during which time it was unlawful to arrest any person, or present any petition, and those who were found guilty of such practices, were, according to some fined a thousand drachmas, and according to others put to death. If any woman rode to *Eleusis* in a chariot, she was obliged to pay six thousand drachmas. The end of this law, which was enacted by *Lycurgus*, was to prevent all odious distinctions between the rich and the poor.

The different shews, with which the spectators were entertained each day of the feast, were symbolical representations of the travels of *Ceres*, and the chief incidents of her life. In this consisted the external pomp of the festival. The rest was an impenetrable mystery, which the *Hierophantes* discovered only to the initiated,
after

was well known that they had offended purely out of ignorance. The *Acarnanian* nation resented this inhuman sentence, and made bitter complaints of it to the king of *Macedon*, with whom they

after having bound them to inviolable secrecy by the most dreadful oaths. Whoever was convicted of divulging these mysteries, or any part of them, became the public curse of the people, was excluded all civil society, and avoided even by his nearest relations, who were afraid to live with him under the same roof. But the ordinary punishment for such a crime was immediate death. If any person, not lawfully initiated, did but, through ignorance or mistake, chance to be present at the mysterious rites, he was put to death. Persons of both sexes and all ages were initiated, the neglect of this ceremony being looked upon as a crime of a very heinous nature; insomuch, that it was one of the chief articles of impeachment against *Socrates*. However, such as were convicted of any crime, or had even involuntarily committed murder, were debarred from these mysteries.

If the testimony of profane authors may be admitted, these assemblies were schools of virtue and purity. *Tully* gives a very favourable account of them, saying, that men were there taught the art of living well, and confirmed in the hopes of a better life (11). Other writers call those initiations a more strict engagement than ordinary to live according to the laws of equity, as they were dictated by the goddesses. On the other hand, the fathers of the church tell us, that the *Pagans* under the venerable names of mysteries consecrated prostitutions, and other more heinous crimes, and call the assemblies of *Ceres* schools of abominations and debaucheries. Perhaps these ceremonies were at first such as the profane writers represent them to have been, but afterwards came by degrees to degenerate into libertinism and licentiousness, which gave the fathers occasion to exclaim against them. They were celebrated by the *Athenians* every fifth year at *Eleusis*, and from thence translated to *Rome* by the emperor *Adrian*, and never totally abolished till the reign of *Theodosius* the elder.

This is the general account which the antients have given us of the mysteries of *Ceres*. The respect, with which they were prepossessed in favour of these mysteries, did not permit them to be more particular.

The *Ceres* of the *Greeks* was, according to Sir (12) *Isaac Newton*, a woman of *Sicily*, who came into *Attica*, and taught *Triptolemus*, the son of *Celeus* king of *Eleusis*, to sow corn, about the thirtieth year of king *David*'s reign, or the year before Christ 1030; she died, and was deified for this benefaction about the year before Christ 1007, by *Celeus* and *Eumolpus*, who instituted the *Eleusina sacra*, with *Egyptian* ceremonies, and erected a sepulchre or temple to her in *Eleusis*.

(11) *Cic. de leg. l. ii.* (12) *Chronol. p. 15, 17, 18, 14—136.*
were

were then joined in alliance. *Philip*, without demanding any satisfaction, proclaimed war against *Athens*, and sent a body of troops to join the *Acarnanians* and lay waste *Attica*. *Achaia*, *Lacedæmon*, and *Corinth* had entered into an alliance with *Philip*; and *Athens* was no-ways in a condition to make head against so many enemies at once. She resolved therefore to have recourse to *Rome*, and by a solemn embassy implore the protection of that powerful republic. The *Romans* were already well known at *Athens*, and had been honoured there many years before with particular marks of distinction. In the consulship of *Sp. Carvilius* and *Q. Fabius Verrucosius*, thirty two years before the æra we are now speaking of, *Rome* had sent ambassadors to *Athens*, and several other free states of *Greece*, to make them sensible of the happiness which she had procured them by humbling the *Illyrians*, who with frequent piracies infested their coasts. The year before *Cn. Fulvius Centumalus* had forced the *Illyrians* to submit to a peace upon very hard conditions; one of which was, that they should not suffer above three of their ships of war at a time to sail beyond the city of *Lyffus*, which stood on the confines of *Illyricum* and *Macedon*, near the mouth of the river *Drilon*. This article was so agreeable to the *Athenians*, that they not only received the ambassadors with great demonstrations of kindness, but from that time admitted the *Romans* in general to partake of the mysteries of *Eleusis* (A), and of all the privileges which the citizens of *Athens* enjoyed. They did not therefore doubt in the least but their ambassadors would meet with a favourable reception, and obtain speedy succours against an enemy, whose views could not be unknown at *Rome*. Neither were they disappointed in their expectation; their ambassadors were treated with great distinction, and assured, that a consular army should be sent without delay to their assistance¹.

The Athenians enter into an alliance with *At-talus* and the *Rhodi-ans* against *Philip*.

IN the mean time the *Macedonians* and *Acarnanians*, after having ravaged great part of *Attica*, were drawing near to the

¹ LIV. l. xxxi. c. 4.

(A) In the primitive times, the *Athenians* excluded from the mysteries of *Ceres* all strangers, that is, all that were not members of their own common-wealth. Hence, when *Hercules*, *Castor*, and *Pollux* desired to be initiated they were first made citizens of *Athens* (13). In process of time they admitted all persons, barbarians excepted, and at length these also, the *Romans* having been the first among the barbarians, as the *Greeks* called all other nations, who enjoyed this honour.

capital. Their approach struck the citizens with no small terror ; but their fears were soon dispelled by the unexpected arrival of the fleets of king *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*. These two powers were already at war with the king of *Macedon*, and therefore no sooner heard, that hostilities were begun between the *Macedonians* and *Athenians*, but they hastened to *Athens*, with a design to engage that republic in their alliance, and protect their territories from the insults of *Philip*. All the city went out to meet them, and among the rest the priests in their religious habits, as if the gods themselves had come to the relief of the city. The people assembled in the market-place to conclude the alliance, and expected that *Attalus* would come thither in person. But the king thought it more suitable to his dignity to treat with them by messengers, than by word of mouth ; and was also willing to decline the acclamations and flatteries of a people, who were too lavish of their praises. In a letter, which he wrote to the magistrates, he gave them a particular account of his exploits against *Philip*, and the good offices he had done the republic, expressly mentioning four ships, which he had very lately taken from the *Macedonians*, and restored to *Athens*. He concluded with exhorting them to take advantage of the succours which both he and the *Rhodians* now offered them. The league was concluded, and the *Athenians* in their transports of joy paid extravagant compliments to the king and the *Rhodians*. To their ten tribes, each of which bore the name of one of their heroes, they added an eleventh, calling it *Attalis* in honour of king *Attalus* (B). As to the *Rhodians*, they presented them with a crown of gold, and made all the inha-

* Idem, ibid. c. 14.

(B) The number of tribes, of the which the republic of *Athens* consisted, was not always the same, but varied as the number of the citizens increased. At first they were but four in all ; soon after they were six ; in the times of *Æschines* and *Demosthenes* they were increased to ten. In after ages the *Athenians* erected three more, viz. the tribes *Ptolemais*, *Attalis*, and *Adrianis*, in honour of *Ptolemy* the son of *Lagus*, of king *Attalus*, and of the emperor *Adrian*. The ten first tribes took their names from ten *Attic* heroes ; these were *Acamas* the son of *Theseus*, *Ajax* the son of *Telamon*, *Cecrops* the founder and first king of *Athens*, *Ægeus* the ninth king of *Athens* and the father of *Theseus*, *Erechtheus* the sixth king of *Athens*, *Hippothoon* the son of *Neptune*, *Leo*, who sacrificed his daughters for the welfare of his country, *Oereus* the son of *Pandion* the fifth king of *Athens*, and *Antiochus* the son of *Hercules*.

bitants

bitants of *Rhodes* free of *Athens* ^k. The king of *Pergamus* and the *Rhodians*, better pleased with the treaty than the shouts of the people, returned on board their ships and set sail, the king for *Ægina*, where his fleet waited for him, and the *Rhodians* for their own island.

Philip no sooner heard, that *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* were retired, but he sent *Philocles* one of his generals, at the head of a strong detachment, to ravage the territory of *Athens*, while he himself with the rest of his army, over-ran all the southern parts of *Thrace* and the *Thracian Chersonesus*. From thence he passed over the *Hellepont* into *Asia*, and laid siege to *Abydos*, which city he took by storm, but reaped no advantage by his conquest; the *Abydenians*, having massacred their wives and children, set fire to the town, burnt their effects, and killed one another; so that the conqueror made not one slave ^l.

THE news of the reduction of *Abydos*, and the repeated complaints of the *Athenians*, made the consul *Sulpitius* at last leave *Rome*; he imbarqued with his army at *Brundisium*, and landed at the mouth of the *Apfus* between *Dyrrachium* and *Apollonia*. As he came too late in the year to attempt any thing on that side, he immediately detached *Claudius Cento* to *Athens*, with twenty gallies and some legionaries, to cover the *Athenian* territory from the ravages of *Philocles*. As soon as he appeared at *Piræus*, *Athens* got some respite; a stop was put to the devastations in the inland countries, and the coasts were delivered from the ravages of the *Chalcidian* pirates. But this was not enough for *Cento*; he resolved to punish the *Chalcidians* for their piracies; and accordingly set sail with the best part of his squadron, surprized *Chalcis*, pillaged it, massacred all the *Macedonians* and inhabitants that fell into his hands, broke all the statues of king *Philip*, burnt his magazines, arsenals, and engines of war, and then returned with the spoil to *Athens* ^m.

Athens attacked, and Attica ravaged by Philip.

As for *Philip*, early in the spring he assembled his sea and land forces at *Demetrias*, a maritime city of *Theffaly*, which he had made the capital of his dominions. He had attempted in the close of the late campaign to revenge himself on the *Romans* for the surprize of *Chalcis*, and to surprize them in their turn. But he came too late; the *Romans* had retired from *Chalcis*, and left nothing there but dead bodies, ashes, and ruins. Now therefore he turned all his rage against *Athens*, and having crossed the *Euripus* over a bridge, marched

^k Idem, ibid. c. 14.

^l Idem, ibid. c. 17.

^m Liv. ibid.

brought *Bæotia* towards *Attica*, hoping to find *Athens* as ill-guarded as the *Romans* had found *Chalcis*. But the *Athenians* had received notice of his approach, and were prepared. They kept constantly a certain number of men in pay, whose whole business was to fly continually from place to place in the neighbourhood of their dominions, and make what discoveries they could. One of these couriers, having discovered the *Macedonian* army, returned in haste to *Athens*, and reaching the city at midnight, brought thither the news of the approach of the enemy. The negligence of the *Athenians* was not less than that of the *Chalcidians*; they were all asleep, and both the gates and walls unguarded. But the trumpets soon roused them; both citizens and soldiers ran to arms, took their posts, and put themselves in a posture of defence. *Philip*, finding he could not surprize the city, resolved to attack it. He therefore ordered his troops to advance to the largest gate, called *Dipulon*. The street which led to it from the market-place, and continued through the suburbs, was of an extraordinary breadth; so that the besieged and the besiegers had room enough to draw up their troops in battalia. The *Athenians* did not wait till the king came to the gate; the best part of the garison, consisting of auxiliaries sent by king *Attalus*, and a body of *Athenians*, commanded by one *Dioxippus*, marched out to meet the enemy. *Philip*, overjoyed at an opportunity of joining battle, encouraged his men with this short exhortation; *Fix your eyes on me, and do as I do*. He then fell upon the *Athenians* with incredible fury, forced them to retire, and pursued them to the very gate. But he soon found that he had ventured too far, such showers of darts were discharged upon him from the ramparts, that he was obliged to sound a retreat. If the *Athenians* had not been afraid of wounding their men, who were mixed with the *Macedonians*, few of the latter would have escaped unhurt. The next day the besieged, being reinforced with some *Roman* companies, and the troops of *Attalus* which guarded *Piræus*, made another sally with much greater advantage; so that *Philip* was obliged to decamp, and post himself about three miles from *Athens*. But before he retired, he vented his rage in a most barbarous manner in that neighbourhood. He spared neither temples, nor tombs, nor the *Lyceum*, nor sacred groves, nor houses of pleasure; all were, without distinction, pillaged, and reduced to heaps of rubbish. Nay, he commanded his *Macedonians* to break in pieces the very stones, that they might not be serviceable in the reparation of the demolished edifices. All these devastations, with a great many aggravations, were afterwards set forth before the *Ætolian*

diet by the *Athenian* ambassadors, in order to draw that nation into an alliance with *Rome*. And indeed the king's behaviour on this occasion prejudiced many of the *Greeks* so strongly against him, that they were afterwards easily gained over to the *Roman* interest, not knowing, that they were bringing into their country more haughty lords, or rather arbitrary tyrants, than *Macedon* had ever produced, or *Greece* ever seen^a.

How the
Athenians
expressed
their re-
sentment a-
gainst Phi-
lip.

THE irruption of the *Romans* into *Macedon*, which soon after happened, obliged *Philip* to leave *Attica* and all *Greece*, and hasten to the defence of his own country. About the same time *Apustius*, to whom the pro-consul *Sulpicius* had given the command of the *Roman* fleet, having joined the naval forces of king *Attalus* off the coast of *Argolis*, sailed from thence to the port of *Athens*. These succours so elevated the *Athenians*, that they expressed their resentment against *Philip* in a most ridiculous manner. They had formerly erected statues to *Philip* and his ancestors of both sexes, and even instituted sacrifices and festivals, and appointed priests in their honour. But now, out of a childish revenge, they destroyed the idols which they had worshipped, and passed a decree in their assembly, which lessened their esteem even in the opinion of their friends. The purport of this decree was, that all the statues of *Philip* and his ancestors should be broke in pieces; that the inscriptions in their commendation should be every-where erased; that their altars should be overturned, their festivals abolished, and their priests degraded; that even the places, where any monuments had been erected to them, should be deemed accursed, and no monuments ever after raised there; that the priests for the future should in the religious assemblies pronounce curses against *Philip* and the *Macedonian* armies; that if any citizen should have the impudence to excuse *Philip*, or speak in his favour, he should instantly be put to death; and lastly, that *Philip* and his posterity should be treated in the same manner as *Pisistratus* and his family had formerly been[•]. These were the only acts of hostility which the degenerate *Athenians* committed against *Philip*, the only revenge which they took of the dreadful havock he had lately made in their territory. The officers of the *Roman* fleet and king *Attalus*, who had put in at *Pyræus*, were witnesses of these shameful proceedings, and at the same time surfeited with the fulsome praises of which the *Athenians* were no less lavish on them, than of their curses on the king

^a Idem ibid. c. 25.

• Idem ibid. c. 24.

of *Macedon*^p. *Athens*, heretofore so renowned in arms, was now become one of the most insignificant cities of *Greece*; for during the whole course of this war with *Philip*, and of that which was afterwards carried on by the *Romans* and their allies against his son *Perfes*, to the utter destruction of the kingdom of *Macedon*, the *Athenians* performed nothing, which the antient writers have thought worth transmitting to posterity. They continued indeed inviolably attached to the *Roman* interest, not having been even suspected to favour the *Macedonian* party, while in the other states of *Greece* the friends of *Macedon* were far more numerous than those of *Rome*. This steadiness gained them the affection of the *Romans*, who left them in the full possession of their antient liberties, even after the destruction of *Corinth* and dissolution of the *Achaean* league.

In this state *Athens* continued without any remarkable alteration till the *Mithridatic* war, when that city openly declared against the *Romans* her patrons and allies, being induced thereunto by one *Aristion* an *Athenian* philosopher of the sect of *Epicurus*. *Aristion* was of a mean extraction, but greatly esteemed among the followers of *Epicurus*, for his pretended contempt of power and riches. But these the hypocrite had only affected to despise, as afterwards appeared, in hopes of obtaining them more easily that way. For *Archelaus*, whom *Mithridates* had sent with a numerous army into *Greece* to stir up the inhabitants against the *Romans*, found it no difficult task to gain over this despiser of riches and honours, by promising to raise him to the chief employments of his republic. *Archelaus* having thus engaged him in the interests of his master, sent him over to *Asia* to confer there with the king himself, and concert measures about drawing *Athens* off from the *Roman* party, to which many of the citizens were greatly addicted. The scheme which they formed succeeded to their wish, but proved fatal to that unhappy city. *Archelaus* had some time before reduced the island of *Delos*, and plundered the rich temple of *Apollo Delius*. As this island had been formerly subject to the *Athenians*, *Aristion* advised the king to send the spoils to *Athens*, and with the present a strong body of men under pretence of guarding it. The *Athenians* were taken with this bait, and admitted the troops to the number of two thousand into the city. By the help of these *Aristion*, who accompanied them, took upon him to dispose of all the employments at *Athens*, and reigned there with great authority. All those who favoured the *Romans* were either

Athens
sides with
Mithri-
dates {
gainst the
Romans.
Year of
the Flood
2912.
Before
Christ,
87.

^p Idem, ibid. c. 44

cruelly murdered, or sent prisoners to *Mithridates*. Nor did the friends of *Rome* fare better in the other countries of *Greece*; the *Achæans*, *Lacedemonians*, *Bœotians*, &c. openly declared for *Mithridates*, and drove out such of their countrymen as refused to come into their measures⁹. *Thespia* was the only city of *Greece* that continued faithful to the *Romans* (C).

UPON the news of this general revolt, *C. Sextius* prætor of *Macedon* detached *Bruttius Sura* his lieutenant general, at the head of a thousand men, to put a stop to the progress of *Archelaus*. The prætor could spare him no more, being in apprehension that *Macedon* might follow the example of *Greece*. With this small body *Bruttius* penetrated into *Bœotia*, fought several battles with the joint forces of *Aristion* and *Archelaus*, and continued to harass them, till the *Lacedemonians* and *Achæans* taking the field joined the *Asiatics*. Then *Bruttius*, not being able with a handful of men to make head against so many enemies at once, reimbarqued his troops, and with his small squadron blocked up the port of *Athens*. While he continued here, the fleet of *Mithridates* commanded by *Metrophanes* drew near to *Eubæa*, with a design to seize that island. Whereupon *Bruttius* put to sea, and with one single squadron forced *Metrophanes* to sail back into *Asia*, sunk some of his ships, and on his return to the port of *Athens* made a descent on the island of *Sciathus*, which the *Asiatics* had seized. He recovered the island, crucified all the slaves he found there, and cut off the right arms of all the islanders that fell into his hands, both slaves and inhabitants having joined in the revolt and treated the friends of the republic in a very barbarous manner. The brave *Bruttius*, having thus preserved the island of *Eubæa* and recovered that of *Sciathus*, returned to the *Pyræus* or port of *Athens*, in order to prevent the *Athenians* from receiving any succours by sea from the king of *Pontus*^r.

⁹ APPIAN. in *Mithridat*.

^r Idem, *ibid*.

(C) *Thespia* stood at the foot of mount *Helicon* in *Bœotia*, whence the poets give the surname of *Thespiades* to the nine muses, who were supposed by the poets to have lived on this mountain. When *Thespia* was sacked by the *Thebans* under the command of *Epaminondas*, many of the inhabitants fled to *Athens*, where they were kindly entertained. Whence the *Thespians* had ever after such a regard for the *Athenians*, that they never failed to come into their measures, till *Athens* declared against *Rome* (14).

(14) *Paus.* in *Bœot.* *Strab.* l. ix.

SUCH was the state of affairs in Greece, when Sylla, who had been appointed to carry on the war against *Mithridates*, landed in *Thessaly*, with five legions, some *Italian* cohorts, and a small body of cavalry. With these he was to make head against the joint forces of *Archelaus* and the states of Greece, amounting in all to an hundred and fifty thousand men. Upon Sylla's arrival, the *Greek* cities returned to their duty, and opened their gates to the *Roman* general. *Athens* alone, which was held by the tyrant *Aristion*, persisted in the revolt, and would not hearken to any terms. Whereupon Sylla resolved to reduce it by force, thinking it necessary to settle the affairs of the republic in Greece before he passed over into *Asia* against *Mithridates*. This capital of *Attica*, or rather of all Greece, consisted at that time of two cities, the upper called *Cecropia* from *Cecrops* its first founder, and the lower named *Athens* from *Athene*, or *Minerva*, its tutelary goddess. Both these cities were surrounded by one common wall, but parted by another which lay across between them, both walls being defended by strong towers raised at small distances from each other. The two ports of *Piræus* and *Munychia* were no less fortified than the city itself, being encompassed with walls of an uncommon thickness, and forty cubits high. Both these ports were joined to the city, though forty furlongs distant from it, by a wall which *Themistocles* had caused to be built, in order to secure the removal of such effects as were brought by sea from the port to the city. Besides these two ports or citadels, *Athens* was defended on the east by the *Cephissus*, and by the *Ilissus* on the west, which two rivers, winding about the plain, rendered the access to the city very difficult^c. However, Sylla undertook to reduce Athens by it with a far smaller army than that which had been brought from *Asia* to defend it. Upon his entering *Attica* he was met by *Aristion* and *Archelaus*, but he obliged them both to retire with a considerable loss, and shut themselves up in the two cities and citadels of *Athens*. *Archelaus* took upon him to defend *Piræus*, and *Aristion* to sustain the siege of *Athens* and *Cecropia*. On the other hand, the *Roman* general divided his troops into two bodies; one he sent to invest the city; with the other he marched in person to attack *Piræus*, hoping to take it by storm. But the besieged made such a vigorous defence, that he was obliged, after many unsuccessful attacks, to retire and take up his winter quarters at *Eleusis* and *Megara*. However, he did not drop the enterprise, having left a sufficient number of troops to keep the city and

^c PAUSAN, in *Attica*,

castle blocked up against his return in the beginning of the spring. The whole winter he spent in making preparations for besieging the place in form, as soon as the season of the year would allow him to take the field. Entire woods were cut down, and the timber employed in making the warlike engines, which were then used in sieges. Nay, he did not spare the sacred groves, nor the trees in the walks of the academy and lycæum, which were the finest in *Attica*. He caused the high walls that joined the port to the city to be demolished, making use of the ruins to raise the works, and carry on the approaches; and as the enemy had laid waste the whole country, which was barren of its own nature, twenty thousand mules were continually employed in bringing provisions from *Bœotia* and other countries of *Greece*. These extraordinary expences soon drained his military chest, which was but very indifferently furnished at his first setting out from *Rome*: neither had he any hopes of receiving supplies either of men or money from thence, the contrary faction, headed by *Marius* and *Cinna*, prevailing in *Italy*, and watching all opportunities of thwarting his attempts in the east. In this distress he had recourse to the sacred and inviolable treasures of the temples, and wrote a letter to the amphictyones (D) assembled at *Delphos*, desiring them to send him the treasures of *Apollo*, and promising in the most solemn manner, that he would return to the god, whom he himself revered, the value of whatever should be sent him. One *Caphis* a native of *Phocis*, in whom *Sylla* confided, was charged to deliver this letter to the amphictyones, and excuse to the assembly a step, which the *Roman* general was forced to take against his will. When *Caphis* arrived at *Delphos*, he wept in the presence of the amphictyones, and told them, that nothing but the utmost distress could have obliged *Sylla* to make such a demand, or himself to be the messenger of it, and desired that the god might be consulted. The oracle indeed returned no answer, but the sound of *Apollo's* lyre was heard from the inside of the sanctuary, and *Caphis*, whether he was really terrified with the pretended prodigy, or willing to save the

(D) The amphictyones were, as we have observed elsewhere, the deputies of the cities in *Greece* that enjoyed the amphictyonic right. These, before they were admitted into the assembly, bound themselves by a most solemn oath, to preserve the public peace, maintain the interests of religion, and to the utmost of their power secure the riches of the temple at *Delphos*. But they durst not refuse a demand, which was made at the head of a formidable army.

treasure

treasure by filling *Sylla* with a religious fear, would not meddle with the gifts consecrated to the god, till he had acquainted the general with what had happened. But *Sylla* deriding his simplicity, replied, that he was surpris'd he should not comprehend that music was a mark of joy, and by no means a sign of anger and resentment; he therefore desired him to take the treasures, and be assured, that in so doing he acted agreeable to the will of the god. Pursuant to this order, all the gold, silver, and brass, all the vases, presents, and offerings, which the superstition of the neighbouring and most distant nations had brought thither, were loaded on carts, and amidst the lamentations and outcries of the *amphietyones* and *Delphians*, sent to the *Roman* camp, where the gold, silver, and brass was coined by *Sylla's* orders. The person he employed to take care of the coinage was *Lucullus* one of his quæstors, who made so beautiful a coin, that it was ever after highly valued, and known by the name of the *Lucullian money*. The treasures of the god *Æsculapius* at *Epidaurus*, not much inferior in value to those of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, were at the same time by *Sylla's* orders brought to the camp, and by his quæstor turned into money^c.

Sylla, being thus furnished with money to pay his troops, and engines to carry on the siege, took the field early in the spring, and shut up both the city and port more closely than before. As he could not possibly reduce the city by famine, so long as it received supplies of provisions by sea from the *Pyræus*, he began by making a breach in the wall, which secured the passage from the port to the city, and lodging in the breach a strong body of legionaries, so that nothing could be conveyed from one place to the other. Having thus cut off the communication between the city and the sea, he drew a line of circumvallation which prevented the inhabitants from abandoning their native country, or receiving any supplies from the neighbouring villages. The city being thus closely shut up, *Sylla* applied himself entirely to the reducing of *Pyræus*, hoping, that in the mean time the *Athenians* would be obliged by famine to shake off the tyrannical yoke of *Aristion*, and return to their duty. It is not easy to say, whether the attack of *Pyræus* or the defence was conducted with most vigour, both the besiegers and besieged behaving with incredible courage and resolution. The sallies were frequent, and attended with almost formal battles, in which the slaughter was great, and the loss generally equal. In one of these *Archelaus* put

^c PLUT. in *Sylla*, APPIAN. in *Mithridat.*

the *Romans* to flight, set fire to their machines, and obliged them to retire at a greater distance from the place. They no sooner returned than he attacked them anew, and would have obtained the like advantage, had not *Murena*, a legionary tribune, encouraged the *Romans*, and brought them back to the charge with such fury, that the besieged in their turn were forced to give ground, and save themselves within their walls, after having lost two thousand men in the engagement. The *Romans* pursued them so close, that they would have entered pell-mell with the *Asiatics*, had not the gate been timely shut, and a considerable part of the garison left without the walls at the discretion of the enemy. Among these was *Archelaus* himself, who would have been taken prisoner with the others, had not the soldiers on the ramparts observing his danger thrown him down a rope, and by that means drawn him up the wall ^u.

THE disadvantage of this action did not dishearten the besieged, who were still numerous enough to defend the place. The treachery of two slaves that were in the *Pyræus* proved far more prejudicial to them, than the attacks of the enemy. These, either out of affection to the *Roman* party, or in hopes of recovering their liberty, if the place should be taken, wrote upon leaden balls all that passed within, and threw them with slings into the *Roman* camp. By this means all the wise measures which *Archelaus* took were immediately communicated to the enemy, and none of his attempts attended with the usual success. He resolved one night to sally out against the enemy's works, and at the same time to send all his cavalry to fall upon their camp. But he no sooner took this resolution, than *Sylla*, who caused all the balls of lead to be carefully gathered, found one with this intelligence; To night at such an hour the foot will attack your works, and the cavalry your camp. He made use of this advice, and posted his troops so, that the besieged were soon forced to retire with considerable loss. As the city began to be in great want, *Archelaus* designed to send a great quantity of provisions to relieve the garison, and to convey it into the city by a strong detachment, which might have easily broke through the body of *Romans* that guarded the passage. But *Sylla*, who was timely acquainted with this design by the two slaves, doubled the guard, placed his men in ambushes, intercepted the convoy, and cut in pieces most of the *Asiatics* who escorted it ^w.

NOTWITHSTANDING all these disadvantages, *Archelaus* still held out in hopes of being soon relieved by *Taxiles*, one of

^u Idem, ibid. & Aul. Gell. l. xv. c. 1.

^w PLUT. in Sylla.

Mythridates's

Mithridates's generals, who was marching through *Epirus* to his assistance at the head of a hundred thousand foot and ten thousand horse, with ninety chariots armed with scythes. As the approach of this formidable army, which had already reduced *Thrace* and *Macedon*, gave new courage to the besieged, so it disheartened the *Romans*. Whereupon *Sylla* exerted his utmost endeavours to take the place by storm, before the arrival of so numerous an army. One night, while the centinels on the walls were asleep, he ordered some of the boldest among his legionaries to scale the ramparts, which they did accordingly, and drove off the enemies that were posted to guard them. But the rest of the garison taking the alarm, the *Romans* were obliged to save themselves by leaping down into the ditch, and retiring in great disorder. *Archelaus* took advantage of the confusion the *Romans* were in, and made a vigorous sally with a design to burn a tower which had been lately raised by *Sylla*, and from whence the *Romans* greatly galled the besieged on the walls. *Sylla* hastened to the defence of a work, which had cost him much time and labour; the engagement lasted from morning to night, many falling on both sides; but the tower was preserved entirely by the valour of *Sylla*, who on that occasion distinguished himself in a very eminent manner *.

In the mean time the two cities of *Athens* and *Cecropia* began to be greatly distressed for want of provisions; *Archelaus* had several times attempted to throw in convoys, but had always found on that occasion the *Romans* on their guard, and the detachment, which was posted between the port and the city, reinforced with new troops from the camp. He therefore began to suspect that he had traitors about him, but nevertheless resolved to attempt once more the relief of the city. He did not doubt but *Sylla* would be soon acquainted with his design, and in consequence of that intelligence send a considerable detachment from his camp to reinforce the legionaries that guarded the road. As the army would be greatly weakened by this detachment, he thought that would be a proper time to make a sally against the camp, and demolish the works. This design he imparted to none, and therefore the sally proved very successful, several of the enemy's machines being reduced to ashes; but the convoy was intercepted, and most of the *Asiatics* that guarded it cut in pieces †.

Sylla had raised many castles round the walls, from the several floors of which such showers of arrows were discharged

* APPIAN. in *Mithridat.*† Idem, *ibid.*

against the besieged, that they could not, without great danger, appear on the ramparts. To obviate this inconvenience, *Archelaus* ordered his men to undermine the castles which were raised on large foundations of stone, and by this means several of them were thrown down, and the *Romans*, who were lodged in them, either killed, or dangerously wounded. While the besieged were thus busy under-ground, the *Romans* beat down with their rams great part of the wall, and thought themselves at last masters of the place. But in a general assault *Archelaus* repulsed the besiegers with such resolution, that they were forced to abandon the enterprize, and apply all their thoughts to the widening of the breach, before they could entertain any hopes of taking the place by storm. The *Asiatics* had, in imitation of the *Romans*, raised wooden towers without the walls, which rendered the approach to them very difficult and dangerous. *Sylla* therefore altered his measures, and, instead of using the ram, ordered his men to dig a way to the bottom of the walls, and sap their foundations, supporting them with large beams, lest they should be buried themselves in the ruins. The wall being thus undermined, fire was set to the props, which being burnt, great part of the wall fell down with a dreadful noise, which struck the besieged, who did not expect it, with great terror. *Sylla* laid hold of this opportunity to mount the breach at the head of his best troops; but *Archelaus* opposed him with such resolution, that he was obliged to give ground. The *Roman* general returned thrice to the assault, but was as often repulsed; nay, in the last attack his men suffered so much, that he himself thought it advisable to give over the attempt, and lead his weary legions back to the camp. There they continued inactive for several days, and in the mean time *Archelaus* built another wall within that which the besiegers had with so much pains and labour beat down. This new wall *Sylla* began to batter before it was dry; but the prodigious quantity of arrows and burning materials, which were from thence discharged upon the aggressors, obliged him not only to desist from the attempt, but to retire with some precipitation *.

AND now *Sylla* gave over all thoughts of taking the place by assault, and therefore turned the siege into a blockade, in hopes of reducing it by famine. All the avenues both to the city and the port were guarded by strong detachments, so that neither provisions of any sort could be carried in, nor any of the inhabitants find a way out. By this means the city, which was then one of the most populous of the world, was reduced

* Idem, ibid.

to such straits, that a bushel of barley was sold for a thousand Athenian drachmas. Many of the citizens had nothing else to maintain ^{in great} themselves with but the roots and grass, which they found ^{distress for} growing about the walls. In this distress the senators and ^{want of} priests went to throw themselves at the tyrant *Aristion's* feet, ^{provisions.} conjuring him to have pity on the city, and to submit to the *Romans* upon any tolerable terms. But the tyrant was so far from being touched with their complaints, that he ordered his guards to discharge their arrows against them, and in that manner drove them from his presence. In the midst of the public misery, *Aristion* and his accomplices in the tyranny were plentifully provided with all sorts of provisions: their tables were served with the most exquisite meats, while the common people and many of the nobility, after having consumed their horses, dogs, and all other animals, were forced to live upon leather, which they softened by steeping it in water, and even upon human flesh ^a. The tyrant was at last prevailed upon by the importunities of the people to send ambassadors to the *Roman* camp; but as these made no proposals, but only descants on the exploits of *Theseus*, *Eumolpus*, and their ancestors against the *Medes* and *Persians*, *Sylla* interrupted them, desiring the haranguers to keep their rhetorical flourishes for themselves, since he was not come to *Athens* to be informed of the prowess of their ancestors, but to punish their present rebellion. *Aristion* had sent these declaimers with no other view but to quiet the people, and make them believe, that he was willing to save the city by capitulating with the *Romans*; but he still depended on the succours which were on full march to the relief of the city under the command of *Taxiles*; these he daily expected, and therefore, though, in compliance with the importunities of the people, he sent out ambassadors to *Sylla*, yet he had no mind to come to any agreement, nor even proposed any terms, which he imagined the *Roman* general might accept ^b.

Sylla had spies in *Athens*, as well as in *Piræus*, who were continually running about and intruding into all companies. One of these having one day over-heard some old men, that were walking in a place called *Ceramicus* (E), blaming the

^a PLUT. in *Sylla*.^b APPIAN. *ibid*.

(E) There were two places at *Athens* bearing this name, the one in the city, and the other in the suburbs; the former was a place of resort for prostitutes, and much frequented by reason of its walks. The other was appointed for the burying-place of great men, such especially as had died fighting for their country.

tyrant for not fortifying and guarding a certain part of the wall, where the enemy might easily surprize the city, upon his return to the camp acquainted *Sylla* with what he had heard. Upon this advice, the *Roman* went at midnight to take a view of the place, and finding that it might be easily scaled, ordered his legionaries without delay to apply their ladders, which they did accordingly with great cheerfulness, being tired out with so long a siege, and entered the city sword in hand. While the legionaries were engaged within the city, *Sylla* battered the walls so violently with his rams, that he opened a large breach, and, at the head of his whole army, came to the relief of those who were fighting on the ramparts. The *Athenians* were struck with terror when they saw the *Romans* advancing in good order within their walls, and, throwing away their arms, implored the clemency of the conqueror. But *Sylla* had been too much provoked by the satyrical reflections of the *Greeks* from their ramparts on himself and his wife (F), to grant them any quarter. He allowed his soldiers to plunder the city, and inhumanly to murder even the women and children. The slaughter was so merciless, that the very channels in the streets flowed with blood. The next day all the slaves were sold by auction, and liberty granted to the few citizens who had escaped the swords of the soldiers. A few days after the reduction of *Athens*, *Cecropia*, whither *Aristion* had retired, was likewise forced to surrender. The tyrant, his guards, and all who had been in any employment under him, were put to death; but the others by *Sylla's* orders spared. He would not suffer the city to be set on fire, saying, that he pardoned the children for the sake of their fathers. The only punishment he inflicted upon the few citizens, who had the good luck to outlive that fatal day, was, that they should not for the future have the power of choosing their own magistrates, nor ever repair the breach which he had made in the wall. The first part of this punishment he soon remitted, and restored the city to the full enjoyment of its antient liberties. Some time after the reduction of *Athens* and *Cecropia*, *Archelaus*, having held out till his new wall was beat down, thought it advisable to abandon the place, and accordingly, after a long and most glorious defence, em-

(F) They reproached *Sylla* with the lewd life of his wife *Metella*, whence we may conclude, that her infamy was become very public, since it had already reached *Greece*. *Metella* was the daughter of *Quintus Cæcilius Metellus*, and by *Sylla* mother to the famous *Fausa*, whose excessive licentiousness made *Rome* forget the lewdness of *Metella*.

barqued

barqued his troops, and retired first to *Afunychia*, and from thence advanced to join *Taxiles*. *Sylla* having possessed himself of the *Pyræus*, to leave behind him some marks of his resentment, destroyed most of the stately buildings, and, amongst others, the magazines and the arsenal, which had been built by the celebrated architect *Philo*, and was reckoned a master-piece of art.

THIS storm being blown over, the *Athenians* enjoyed a profound tranquility, till the civil war broke out between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, when they sided with the latter, and were therefore closely besieged by *Q. Fufius Calenus*, *Cæsar*'s lieutenant, who committed great devastations in *Attica*, destroyed several edifices which had been spared by *Sylla*, and reduced the city of *Athens* to great straits. However, they held out so long as they had any hopes of being relieved by *Pompey*; but when news was brought them that he was entirely defeated, they surrendered at discretion, and met with a more kind treatment than they expected; for *Cæsar* not only pardoned them, but received their city under his protection, saying, that he spared the living for the sake of the dead. But this kindness was not sufficient to keep a people in obedience, that had an utter aversion to any thing that favoured of servitude; for they no sooner heard of *Cæsar*'s death, but they openly declared for his murderers, received *Brutus* and *Cassius* into their city, and even erected statues to them, which they placed next to those of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*, who had asserted the liberty of their country against the tyrannical usurpations of the sons of *Pisistratus*. After the defeat of *Brutus* and *Cassius* they sided with *Anthony*, who not only restored them to the full possession of all the privileges they had enjoyed in the most flourishing times of their republic, but enlarged their dominions, by subjecting to *Athens* the islands of *Cea*, *Sciathus*, *Peparethus*, and *Ægina*. After the defeat of *Anthony*, *Augustus* punished their ingratitude to *Julius Cæsar*, by taking from them the island of *Ægina*, and forbidding them to sell the freedom of their city. Towards the latter end of *Augustus*'s reign they began to revolt, but were without much trouble reduced to their former obedience. *Germanicus*, the adopted son of *Tiberius*, honoured them with the privilege of having a lictor, which was deemed a mark of sovereign power; this grant was confirmed to them by *Tiberius* and his successors, under whose protection they maintained their antient form of government

* PLUT. in *Sylla*. APPIAN. in *Mithridat*.
 Antonio.

* PLUT. in

till the reign of *Vespasian*, who reduced *Attica*, with the rest of *Greece*, to a *Roman* province, saying, that the *Greeks* knew not how to enjoy their liberty. But the emperor *Adrian*, who had been archon of *Athens* before his accession to the imperial throne, restored them to the full enjoyment of all their antient privileges, and bestowed upon them a large sum of money with an annual provision of corn. In his reign and at his charge the two ports of *Piræus* and *Munychia* were repaired, and a whole region of new buildings added to the old city. This quarter was called *Adrianopolis* from *Adrian*, whom the *Athenians*, as appears from some antient inscriptions ^e, not undeservedly used to stile the second founder of their city. All the privileges granted them by *Adrian* were not only confirmed, but extended, by his successors *M. Antoninus Pius* and *M. Antoninus the philosopher*; the latter of which allowed them handsome salaries for the maintenance of their public professors. But *Severus* abridged them of a great many privileges, to revenge, as is supposed, an affront which he received at *Athens* while he studied there ^f. *Valerian* was more favourable to them, and gave them leave to repair that part of the wall which had been thrown down by *Sylla*. In the reign of *Gallienus*, as *Zosimus* informs us, or of *Claudius*, as *Cedrenus* will have it, the city was taken and plundered by the *Goths*, who were soon obliged by *Cleodemus*, who had escaped their fury, to abandon their new conquest, and save themselves by a timely flight. *Constantine the Great* was a peculiar patron and benefactor of the *Athenians*, honouring their chief magistrate with the title of *grand duke*, and granting them many other privileges of greater consequence, which were confirmed and enlarged by *Constantius*, who moreover put them in possession of several islands in the *Archipelago*. In the time of *Arcadius* and *Honorius* they were cruelly harassed and pillaged by the *Goths*, who turned all the stately and magnificent structures, that were still standing, into heaps of ruins. From this time there is scarce any mention made of *Athens* till the thirteenth century, when it was in the hands of *Baldwin*, as *Nicetas* informs us ^g, and besieged by one of the generals of the *Greek* emperor *Theodorus Lascaris*, who was forced to raise the siege after having suffered a considerable loss. The same author tells us, that it was not long after besieged and taken by the marquis *Bonifacius*. It fell afterwards into the hands of one *Delves* of the house of *Arragon*, upon whose death it was seized by *Ba-*

^e GRUTER. p. 177, 178.
TAS in vita Baldwini.

^f SPARTIANUS.

^g NICE-

jacet ^h, who did not hold it long, being driven out by the *Catalonians* under the command of *Andronicus Palæologus* the elder. The *Catalonians* were in their turn dispossessed of it by *Reinerius Acciaioli* a *Florentine*, who, having no lawful issue, left the state or dukedom of *Athens*, as it was then called, to the *Venetians*, and *Thebes* with *Bæotia* to his natural son *Anthony*. *Anthony* made war on the *Venetians*, and in one campaign recovered the whole state of *Athens*, which continued for some years under the government of the *Acciaioli*, but was at last reduced by the *Turks* in 1455ⁱ. *Francus Acciaioli*, the last duke of *Athens* and prince of *Achaia*, seeing his country threatened with an invasion by the *Mohammedans* under the conduct of *Omares*, and not being in a condition to make head against so numerous an army, had recourse to the western princes, called then the *Latines*; but these refused to assist him, unless he engaged his subjects to renounce all the articles wherein the *Greek* church differed from the *Latin*, which he not being able to perform, was forced to deliver up both himself and the city to the *Barbarians*, who first treated their captive with great humanity, but afterwards put him to death ^k. *Athens* remained subject to the *Turks* till the year 1687, when it was after a short siege taken by the *Venetians*, and not many years after retaken by the *Turks*, who continue masters of it to this day.

To what we have said of the greater republics of *Greece*, we shall add something relating to the smaller states, namely those of *Bæotia*, *Acarmania*, and *Epirus*. The *Bæotians*, after having driven out their kings, as we have related above^l, formed themselves into a republic, whereof the chief magistrates were the *Prætor* or *Strategos*, the *Bæotarchi*, and the *Polemarchi*. The prætor was always chosen from among the *Bæotarchi*, and his authority lasted only a year, it being death for the prætor, according to the laws of the republic, not to resign his office before the first month, called *Boucatios*, of the new year was expired. His authority was much the same with that which was vested in the prætors of *Achaia* and *Ætolia*. The province of the *Bæotarchi*, was to assist the prætor with their advice, chiefly in war, and to command under him; they were the supreme court of the nation in what related to military affairs, the prætor himself, who was one of their body, not daring to act contrary to their determinations. As to their number we are in the dark, some authors mentioning seven, some nine, and some even eleven,

^h *LAONICUS CHALCOCONDYLES*, lib. iii. ⁱ *Idem*, *ibid.*

^k *Idem*, l. vi, & ix.

^l *Univer. Hist.* Vol. V. p. 493.

all vested with some command in the army. But their authority was not confined to military affairs only, they bore a great sway in the civil administration, and were from thence stiled *Bæotarchi*, or governors of *Bæotia*. They were chosen yearly, and obliged by law, as well as the prætor, to lay down their employment on pain of death before the first month of the new year was expired. The *Polemarchi* were entirely civil magistrates, it being their province to maintain peace and concord at home, while the *Bæotarchi* were employed abroad in the wars of the republic. Besides these magistrates there were four councils, in which the whole authority of the state, as *Thucydides* informs us ^m, consisted. These were made up of the deputies that were sent by all the cities of the *Bæotian* republic, and without their approbation the *Bæotarchi* could not declare war, make peace, conclude alliances, or transact any other business of importance, as appears from *Thucydides* ⁿ, who tells us, that an alliance with some of the neighbouring states, which had been approved by all the *Bæotarchi*, was rejected by a plurality of voices in the four great councils of the nation. At *Thebes*, the chief city of *Bæotia*, merchants, and even artificers, were admitted into the number of citizens, an honour which they enjoyed in no other city of *Greece*. However, they were excluded there, as in all the other *Greek* states, from public employments, pursuant to a law which obtained all over *Greece*, and declared those only qualified for the administration of public affairs, who had abstained for the space of ten years from all manner of trade and traffic ^o. We find another of the *Bæotian* laws mentioned by the antients ^p, which forbids on pain of death any parent to expose his child; if he had not wherewithal to maintain the infant, he was by the same law directed to put it into the hands of a magistrate, and the magistrate to dispose of it to any one that was willing to bring it up; but the child thus brought up, was condemned to perpetual slavery, being entirely at the disposal of the person who had taken care of it during its childhood.

THE *Bæotians*, and especially the *Thebans*, were continually harassed by the princes of *Macedon*, as we shall relate in the history of *Alexander* and his successors. Nevertheless they sided with *Philip* against the *Romans*, and could not be prevailed upon by the *Athenians* and *Achæans* to desert him and join the other states of *Greece*, till he was intirely defeated in the famous battle of *Cynocephalæ*. As they were then sensible,

^m THUCYD. I. v.
^p PAUSAN. in Bæot.

ⁿ Idem, ibid.

^o ARISTOT. Polit.

that the *Romans* would at last prevail, they thought it advisable to provide by time for their own safety, and accordingly sent deputies to *Flaminius*, imploring his protection. The proconsul received them with great humanity, and put them upon the same foot with the other allies of the republic in *Greece*. Not long after they offered a petition to *Flaminius*, which seemed reasonable. A great many *Bæotians* had served in the *Macedonian* army, and these the proconsul was desired to demand of *Philip*, who had then made a truce with the *Romans*. *Flaminius* complied with their request, and obtained what he desired of *Philip*, who immediately sent back the *Bæotian* troops, and with them one *Brachyllas*, who had been banished for appearing too zealous in the cause of the *Macedonians* against the *Romans*. The *Bæotians*, though indebted to *Flaminius* alone for the return of their troops, thanked the king of *Macedon* only, and to shew their gratitude, in the first election they made of a prætor, they preferred *Brachyllas*, famous for his attachment to *Philip*, and hatred to the *Romans*, to *Zeuxippus* and *Pisistratus*, who were both zealous partizans of *Rome*; nay, they had the confidence to make this impolitic election in the sight of the *Roman* camp. In like manner all the other employments were filled with such only as were enemies to *Rome* and friends to *Macedon*. These steps greatly exasperated *Flaminius*, and *Zeuxippus* and *Pisistratus* joined their resentment to that of the proconsul. These two *Bæotians* foresaw that *Brachyllas* would not fail to vent his rage upon them, as soon as the *Roman* troops were withdrawn from *Greece*, and therefore resolved to be beforehand with him, while *Flaminius* continued there. All the friends of *Rome* concurred in this design, persuading the proconsul, that neither their lives nor fortunes could be safe so long as *Brachyllas* was alive. *Flaminius* approved of their design, but refused to contribute to it himself. His approbation was sufficient encouragement; *Zeuxippus* and *Pisistratus*, having hired three *Ætolians* and three *Italians*, fell upon *Brachyllas*, as he was one night returning home from an entertainment, and dispatched him. Some of his companions, who were conducting him to his house from the banquet when the assassins attacked him, were at first the only persons suspected of the murder. But *Zeuxippus* appeared with an air of confidence in the assembly of the people, undertook the defence of the accused, and shewed, that it was not at all probable, that debauchees should have courage enough to make any attempts on the life of the prætor. This assurance made some of the *Bæotians* believe, that *Zeuxippus* was no ways privy to the murder; but others took umbrage at seeing him so mighty

solicitous in having those cleared who were apprehended, and began to suspect, that the prætor had been murdered by them, and the plot laid by *Zeuxippus*. On this suspicion, those who were in his company being put to the rack, though innocent, accused *Zeuxippus* and *Pisistratus*, purely upon the public suspicions, without being able to bring any proofs of their accusation. Hereupon *Zeuxippus*, who was conscious to himself of the crime laid to his charge, changing his presumption into fear, privately withdrew from *Thebes*, where the murder was committed, to *Tanagra* another city of *Bæotia*, *Pisistratus* continued in *Thebes*, not fearing the deposition of men who had not been any ways privy to the crime; he was only under apprehension of being discovered by a slave, who had been employed in the assassination by *Zeuxippus* his master; he therefore wrote to *Zeuxippus* at *Tanagra*, desiring him to dispatch the slave, as one more fit to be employed in a bad action than to keep it a secret. The messenger was ordered to deliver the letter into *Zeuxippus*'s own hands; but he, thinking the slave faithful and affectionate to his master, trusted it with him. The slave read it, and finding it contained sentence of death against himself, left his master that instant, and repaired to *Thebes*, where he discovered the whole affair. *Pisistratus* was apprehended and put to death; but the odium of the murder fell intirely on the *Romans*, *Zeuxippus* retired to *Athens*, and lived there without any apprehension, being recommended to the magistrates of that city by his protectors the *Romans*.

THE *Bæotians* were inclined to take up arms, but having no officer of experience to head them, and *Philip* refusing to lend them any assistance, they contented themselves with a private revenge, murdering all the *Romans* they found straggling about the fields; insomuch, that they could no longer cross the country, but in large bodies. At last *Flaminius* being informed that many of his men were missing, and that there were just grounds to suspect they had been murdered by the *Bæotians*, sent officers with troops to inquire into the matter, and apprehend the authors of such treacherous proceedings. The officers upon their return acquainted him, that great numbers of *Romans* had been murdered, and their bodies, to prevent discovery, thrown into the lake of *Copias* (G). He was at the same time assured, that the cities of
Coronæa

(G) This lake, which is the same with the lake called by *Pausanias* (15) the lake of *Cephissus*, took its name from the city of *Cope*.

(15) *Pausan.* in *Bæot.*

Coronea and *Acraephia* (H) had on that occasion signalized their hatred to the *Romans*. Upon this information the proconsul ordered the murderers to be delivered up to him, and as he had lost five hundred men, the *Bæotians* were condemned to pay five hundred talents; troops were likewise sent to ravage the fields of *Acraephia*, and lay siege to *Coronea*. The *Bæotians*, who were conscious to themselves that they deserved severe punishment, seeing the proconsul drawing together his troops, with a design to treat them as they deserved, had recourse to the *Athenians* and *Achæans*, whose mediation was of such weight with *Flaminius*, that he immediately ordered the siege of *Coronea* to be raised, and remitted four hundred and seventy talents of the fine he had laid upon the treacherous cities of *Bæotia*. He insisted only on their delivering up to him the murderers, who were accordingly apprehended and carried to the *Roman* camp, where they were brought to condign punishment. This mixture of mildness and severity was highly extolled and applauded by the *Bæotians*, who ever afterwards continued faithful to the *Romans*. But as some of their leading men joined *Perfes* king of *Macedon* in his wars against the *Romans*, the whole country was on that score treated with great severity, *Rome* being at that time under no apprehension of an invasion from *Antiochus*, as she was when *Flaminius* suffered himself to be so easily appeased. At the dissolution of the *Achæan* league, *Bæotia* with the rest of *Greece* was reduced to a *Roman* province ¹.

Acarmania lay between *Ætolia* and *Epirus*, was a free *Acarmania* state and governed by a prætor, a general assembly, and other subordinate magistrates of the same nature and authority as those of the *Achæans* and *Ætolians*. The *Acarnanians*

¹ Liv. lib. xxxii. c. 7.

It was in former times, as *Strabo* tells us (16), three hundred and seventy one furlongs in compass; but is now much less. It is fed by the river *Cephissus*, and the poets tell us, that *Hercules* made it by turning the *Cephissus* into the plain of *Orchomenus*. The people of this neighbourhood are said to have been the first inventors of ours, whence the city next to the lake was called *Copæ* from the Greek word *κόπην*.

(H) *Coronea*, a city of *Bæotia*, stood on the river *Cephissus*, where it discharges itself into the lake *Copias*, not far from mount *Helicon* (17). It is famous on account of the victory which *Agésilæus* gained there over the *Thebans* and *Athenians*. The city of *Acraephia* stood between the springs of the *Ismenus* and the *Asopus*.

(16) *Strabo*, l. xiii.

(17) *Strabo*, l. ix.

were above all the other *Greeks* addicted to the kings of *Macedon*, and chiefly to *Philip*, the father of *Perfes*. They alone adhered to him after the famous battle of *Cyncephalæ*, valuing themselves upon an inviolable fidelity in the observation of treaties. However, *Lucius Flaminius*, brother to *Titus Flaminius*, took upon him to bring them over to the *Romans*, and deprive *Philip* of this his only support. With this view he engaged the chief men of the nation to meet him in the island of *Corcyra*, whither they resorted according to their appointment; but the result of this conference was to appoint another in the city of *Leucas*, the capital of *Acarmania* (I). In this second interview the leading men of the nation, after warm disputes, drew up the plan of a confederacy with the *Romans*, and were inclined to desert *Philip*. But some, who had been bribed by the king, leaving the assembly with indignation, filled all the city with their complaints; the people joined them, and, as they were generally inclined to the princes of *Macedon*, who had often protected them against the *Ætolians*, the whole city was in an uproar. During this general commotion, *Philip* sent *Echedemus* and *Androcles*, two *Acarnanians* greatly esteemed in their own country, and steady friends to *Macedon*. These declaimed with great virulency against their slavish countrymen, who, without any regard to the faith of treaties, were betraying the interest of their country, in order to deliver up the whole nation to the mercy of an imperious republic. The people, already prepossessed against the *Romans*, backed the remonstrances of the two deputies, and openly protested, that they would not enter into any engagements prejudicial to the interest of *Phi-*

(I) *Leucas* was the capital of *Acarmania*, where the general assembly of the *Acarnanians* used to meet. The city gave its name to the whole island, which was called *Leucadia*, but is now known by the name of *Santa Maura*. It lies in the *Ionian* sea, and is now divided from the continent by a streight, which is not above fifty paces over. The *Carthaginians* are said to have settled a colony here, and to have formed this streight or canal; for *Leucadia* was formerly a peninsula, being joined to *Acarmania* by a neck of land. Near this city stood in antient times a stately temple consecrated to *Apollo*, and the famous rock, whence despairing lovers leaped into the sea. During the feast of *Apollo* the *Leucadians* yearly threw down from the top of this rock a criminal, who had been sentenced to die, imagining that the gods would load the criminal with all the evils that threatened the city. They fastened a great many birds and feathers to his body, believing they would make his fall less violent. If he happened not to be killed by the fall, his life was spared, but he was banished for ever.

lip. Thus the decree, which had been drawn up in favour of the *Romans*, was unanimously rejected in the assembly, and *Archelaus* and *Bianor*, who were the authors of it, declared enemies to their country, and guilty of the blackest treachery. *Zeuxidas*, their prætor, was deposed, for no other reason, but because he had proposed the affair in the assembly. However, upon more mature deliberation, the sentence past against these three was disannulled, and they restored to their former honours. But at the same time their alliance with the king of *Macedon* was renewed, and the treaty, made by some private men with the *Romans*, rejected with indignation. *Lucius*, who had in the beginning of the tumult retired from *Leucas*, resolved to reduce the *Acar-nians* by force; and accordingly having made the necessary preparations, he sailed from *Corcyra* with a design to lay siege to *Leucas*. He thought that the very sight of the *Roman* troops would frighten the citizens into a compliance with his request; but he was disappointed; the *Leucadians* appeared on the walls, and prepared to make a vigorous resistance. Whereupon the *Roman* general began his approaches, being resolved to take the place by storm. *Leucadia*, or the territory of *Leucas*, was at that time a peninsula, being joined to the western part of *Acar-nania* by a neck of land, about five hundred paces in length, and a hundred and twenty in breadth; in after-ages this isthmus being dug through, *Leucadia* became an island. *Lucius*, having viewed the situation of the place, resolved to attack it on that side which was washed by the sea, and on that account the least fortified; the water being very low near the walls, the earth was easily removed, and the wall without much trouble undermined, and thrown down. But the besieged made such a vigorous resistance, that the *Romans* were repulsed in three successive attacks, which obliged the general to allow them some rest; and in the mean time the *Leucadians* raised a new wall stronger than the former. The siege would have been protracted to a great length, had not some *Italian* exiles, who were well acquainted with the place, brought a great many *Romans* privately into the city. These, uniting themselves into one body, marched strait to the market-place, and while the inhabitants were engaged with them there, the rest of the army scaled the walls, and marched in good order to the relief of their companions. The *Acar-nians* were surrounded, and those who refused to submit put to the sword. The reduction of the capital struck such terror into the whole nation, that they deserted *Philip*, and submitted to the *Romans*, under whose protection they lived, according

Epirus.

according to their own laws, till the destruction of *Corinth*, when *Acarmania* became part of the province of *Achaia*^r.

Epirus was bounded on the east by *Ætolia*, on the west by the *Adriatic*, on the north by *Thessaly* and *Macedon*, and on the south by the *Ionian* sea. This country was antiently governed by its own princes, in which state it made no small figure, as we shall see in a more proper place. *Deidamia*, great grand-daughter to the famous *Pyrrhus*, having no issue, gave the *Epirots* their liberty, who formed themselves into a republic, which was governed by Magistrates annually elected in a general assembly of the whole nation. Their neighbourhood to *Macedon* obliged them to be continually on their guard against those princes, who made frequent incursions into their country, took and pillaged their cities, and forced them to contribute, as if they had been their subjects, to all the charges of the wars they carried on with the other states of *Greece*. The *Romans*, after having conquered *Philip*, restored them to their antient liberty; but they, forgetful of this favour, took up arms against their friends and benefactors and joined *Perfes*, which so provoked the *Roman* senate, that they dispatched peremptory orders to *Paulus Æmilius*, after the reduction of *Macedon*, commanding him to plunder the cities of this ungrateful people, and level them with the ground. This decree drew tears from the eyes of *Æmilius*, but he could not decline the execution of it. He therefore set out at the head of his victorious army, and arriving on the confines of *Epirus*, sent small bodies of troops into all the cities, under pretence of withdrawing the garisons; that the *Epirots* might enjoy the same liberty which *Rome* had granted to *Macedon*. The *Romans* were received in all the cities of *Epirus* with great demonstrations of joy; for *Æmilius* had not communicated his orders to any one for fear of terrifying the *Epirots*, who would not have failed to defend themselves and their country with their usual bravery. In the mean time *Paulus Æmilius* sent orders to the ten chiefs, who were dispersed in the different provinces, and governed all *Epirus*, enjoining them to bring to his camp all the gold and silver they had in their respective districts. The chiefs with great reluctance complied with his order, and by this means what was most valuable in *Epirus* was saved out of the hands of the greedy soldiers, and delivered to the quæstors to be laid up in the public treasury. All the rest was given up as a prey to the soldiery. Though the consular troops were cantoned in different places, the execution was made the same day and hour,

^r Liv. l. xxxii. c. 4.

the *Roman* soldiers falling every where with incredible fury on the houses, which were abandoned to their mercy. The whole booty was sold, and of the money raised by the sale each foot soldier had two hundred denarii, that is 6l. 9s. 2d. and each of the horse the double of this sum. An hundred and fifty thousand men were made slaves, and sold to the best bidder for the benefit of the republic. Nor did the vengeance of *Rome* stop here; all the cities of *Epirus*, to the number of seventy, were dismantled, and the chief men of the country carried to *Rome*, where they were tried, and most of them condemned to perpetual imprisonment^c. After this fatal blow *Epirus* never recovered its antient splendor. Upon the dissolution of the *Achaean* league, it was made part of the province of *Macedon*; but when *Macedon* became a diocesis, *Epirus* was made a province of itself, called the province of *Old Epirus*, to distinguish it from *New Epirus*, another province lying to the east of it. On the division of the empire, it fell to the emperors of the east, and continued under them till the taking of *Constantinople* by the *Latins*, when *Michael Angelus*, a prince nearly related to the *Greek* emperor, seized on *Ætolia* and *Epirus*, of which he declared himself despote or prince, and was succeeded by his brother *Theodorus*, who took several towns from the *Latins*, and so far enlarged his dominions, that disdaining the title of despote, he assumed that of emperor, and was crowned by *Demetrius* archbishop of *Bulgaria*. *Charles*, the last prince of this family, dying without lawful issue, bequeathed *Epirus* and *Acarnania* to his natural sons, who were driven out, as we have related above, by *Amurath* the second. Great part of *Epirus* was afterwards held by the noble family of the *Castriots*, who, though they were masters of all *Albania*, yet stiled themselves princes of *Epirus*. Upon the death of the famous *George Castriot*, *Epirus* fell to the *Venetians*, who were soon dispossessed of it by the *Turks*, in whose hands it still continues, being now known by the name of *Albania*, which comprehends the *Albania* of the antients, all *Epirus*, and that part of *Dalmatia* which is subject to the *Turks*.

Thus we have seen, through a series of many ages, the rise, progress, declension, and lastly the final ruin, of the several states of *Greece*. The first form of government introduced among them was monarchical, which, as *Plato* observes, is formed upon the model of paternal authority, and of that gentle and moderate dominion, which fathers exercise over

^c Liv. l. xlv. c. 33, 34.

their families. But as power, when lodged in one person, becomes often haughty, unjust, and oppressive, especially if it is hereditary, the several states of *Greece*, in process of time, began to be weary of a kingly government, and to put the administration of public affairs into many hands ; so that monarchy every where, except in *Macedon*, gave way to a republican government, which was diversified into as many various forms as there had been different kingdoms, according to the different genius and peculiar character of each people. However, they all had liberty for their fundamental principle, but this liberty was prevented from degenerating into licentiousness by wise laws, which awed the people, and kept them to their duty. As every individual, at least in the early times of *Greece*, was capable of attaining the chief honours of his republic, he considered his country as his inheritance. The children were taught from their infancy to look upon their country as their common mother, to whom they more strictly appertained than to their parents, and not as private persons, who regard nothing but their own interest, and have no sense of the misfortunes of the state, but as they affect themselves. They studied above all things to maintain among the citizens and members of the state a great equality, without pride, luxury, or ostentation. Magistrates, who had bore a great sway during their office, became afterwards private men, and had no authority but what their experience gave them. Those who had commanded armies one year, served perhaps the very next as subalterns, and were not ashamed to perform the most common functions, either in the armies or fleets. The principles, which prevailed in all the states of *Greece*, were the love of poverty, contempt of riches, disregard of self-interest, concern for the public good, desire of glory, love for their country, and above all such a zeal for liberty as no danger could intimidate. So long as they adhered to these principles, they were invincible ; we have seen them not only making head with a handful of men, against the innumerable armies of the *Persians*, but putting them to flight, and obliging the most powerful monarch then upon earth to submit to conditions of peace, as shameful to the conquered as they were glorious to the conquerors. But as soon as luxury and the love of riches prevailed among them, they began to degenerate, and in a short time became a quite different people. The *Persians* soon perceived this alteration, and, by bribing those who had the greatest share in the government, found means to make them turn their arms against themselves. These intestine divisions, carefully fomented by the *Persians*, so weakened them, that *Philip* of *Macedon* and his son *Alexander*

met with no great opposition in reducing a people, that had for so many ages maintained their liberty, against the whole power of the *Persian* monarchy. They made several attempts to reinstate themselves in their antient condition ; but these efforts were ill-concerted, and only served to increase their slavery. They were therefore at last obliged to have recourse to the *Romans*, who after having gained them by the attractive charms of liberty, which was their darling passion, and made use of them to destroy the *Macedonian* power, at last turned their arms against those they were come to assist, and reduced to slavery the nations which they pretended to deliver. *Greece*, thus deprived of its antient power, still retained another sovereignty, to which the *Romans* themselves could not help paying homage. *Athens* continued to be the school of polite arts, and the center of refined taste in all the productions of the mind. *Rome*, haughty as she was, acknowledged this glorious empire, and sent her most illustrious citizens to be finished and refined in *Greece*. *Cicero*, already the admiration of the bar, did not think it below him to become the disciple of the great masters *Greece* then produced. The emperors themselves, who were by more weighty affairs prevented from going into *Greece*, brought *Greece* in a manner home to themselves, by receiving into their palaces the most celebrated philosophers for the education of their children and their own improvement. Thus by a new kind of victory *Greece* triumphed over *Rome*, and made the conquerors of the world submit to her laws.

S E C T. IV.

The history of the GRECIAN States in ASIA MINOR.

The History of IONIA.

IONIA, so called from the *Ionians*, who inhabited this part of *Asia Minor*, was bounded on the north by *Æolia*, on the west by the *Ægean* and *Icarian* seas, on the south by *Caria*, on the east by *Lydia* and part of *Caria*. It lies between the 37th and 40th degrees of north latitude, and was but of a very small extent in longitude, which we shall not pretend to determine, there being a great disagreement among authors, as to the boundaries of the inland country.

*Name and
division of
Ionia.*

their families. But as power, when lodged in one person, becomes often haughty, unjust, and oppressive, especially if it is hereditary, the several states of *Greece*, in process of time, began to be weary of a kingly government, and to put the administration of public affairs into many hands ; so that monarchy every where, except in *Macedon*, gave way to a republican government, which was diversified into as many various forms as there had been different kingdoms, according to the different genius and peculiar character of each people. However, they all had liberty for their fundamental principle, but this liberty was prevented from degenerating into licentiousness by wise laws, which awed the people, and kept them to their duty. As every individual, at least in the early times of *Greece*, was capable of attaining the chief honours of his republic, he considered his country as his inheritance. The children were taught from their infancy to look upon their country as their common mother, to whom they more strictly appertained than to their parents, and not as private persons, who regard nothing but their own interest, and have no sense of the misfortunes of the state, but as they affect themselves. They studied above all things to maintain among the citizens and members of the state a great equality, without pride, luxury, or ostentation. Magistrates, who had bore a great sway during their office, became afterwards private men, and had no authority but what their experience gave them. Those who had commanded armies one year, served perhaps the very next as subalterns, and were not ashamed to perform the most common functions, either in the armies or fleets. The principles, which prevailed in all the states of *Greece*, were the love of poverty, contempt of riches, disregard of self-interest, concern for the public good, desire of glory, love for their country, and above all such a zeal for liberty as no danger could intimidate. So long as they adhered to these principles, they were invincible ; we have seen them not only making head with a handful of men, against the innumerable armies of the *Persians*, but putting them to flight, and obliging the most powerful monarch then upon earth to submit to conditions of peace, as shameful to the conquered as they were glorious to the conquerors. But as soon as luxury and the love of riches prevailed among them, they began to degenerate, and in a short time became a quite different people. The *Persians* soon perceived this alteration, and, by bribing those who had the greatest share in the government, found means to make them turn their arms against themselves. These intestine divisions, carefully fomented by the *Persians*, so weakened them, that *Philip* of *Macedon* and his son *Alexander*

met with no great opposition in reducing a people, that had for so many ages maintained their liberty, against the whole power of the *Persian* monarchy. They made several attempts to reinstate themselves in their antient condition ; but these efforts were ill-concerted, and only served to increase their slavery. They were therefore at last obliged to have recourse to the *Romans*, who after having gained them by the attractive charms of liberty, which was their darling passion, and made use of them to destroy the *Macedonian* power, at last turned their arms against those they were come to assist, and reduced to slavery the nations which they pretended to deliver. *Greece*, thus deprived of its antient power, still retained another sovereignty, to which the *Romans* themselves could not help paying homage. *Athens* continued to be the school of polite arts, and the center of refined taste in all the productions of the mind. *Rome*, haughty as she was, acknowledged this glorious empire, and sent her most illustrious citizens to be finished and refined in *Greece*. *Cicero*, already the admiration of the bar, did not think it below him to become the disciple of the great masters *Greece* then produced. The emperors themselves, who were by more weighty affairs prevented from going into *Greece*, brought *Greece* in a manner home to themselves, by receiving into their palaces the most celebrated philosophers for the education of their children and their own improvement. Thus by a new kind of victory *Greece* triumphed over *Rome*, and made the conquerors of the world submit to her laws.

S E C T. IV.

The history of the GRECIAN States in ASIA MINOR.

The History of IONIA.

IONIA, so called from the *Ionians*, who inhabited this part of *Asia Minor*, was bounded on the north by *Æolia*, on the west by the *Ægean* and *Icarian* seas, on the south by *Caria*, on the east by *Lydia* and part of *Caria*. It lies between the 37th and 40th degrees of north latitude, and was but of a very small extent in longitude, which we shall not pretend to determine, there being a great disagreement among authors, as to the boundaries of the inland country.

*Name and
division of
Ionia.*

Cities of
Ionia.

Phocæa.

THE most remarkable cities of *Ionia* were, *Phocæa*, now *Foggia*, built, according to *Vellerius*^a, by the *Ionians*, according to *Pausanias*^b, by the *Phocenses* of *Greece*, and according to *Strabo*^c by the *Athenians*. Some writers tell us, that while the foundations of this city were laying there appeared near the shore a great shole of sea-calves, whence it was called *Phocæa*, the word *Phoca* signifying in *Greek* a sea-calf. *Ptolemy*, who makes the river *Hermus* the boundary between *Æolia* and *Ionia*, places *Phocæa* in *Æolis*, but all other geographers^d reckon it among the cities of *Ionia*. It stood on the sea-coast between *Cuma* to the north, and *Smyrna* to the south, not far from the *Hermus*, and was in former times one of the most wealthy and powerful cities of all *Asia*, but is now a poor beggarly village, though the see of a bishop. The *Phocæans* were, as *Herodotus*^e informs us, expert mariners, and the first among the *Greeks* that undertook long voyages, which they performed in gallies of fifty oars. As they applied themselves to trade and navigation they became acquainted pretty early with the coasts and islands of *Europe*, where they are said to have founded several cities, namely *Velia* in *Italy*, *Alalia*, or rather *Aleria* in *Corfica*, *Marseilles* in *Gaul*^f, &c. Neither were they unacquainted with *Spain*; for *Herodotus* tells us^g, that in the time of *Cyrus the Great*, the *Phocæans* arriving at *Sartessus* a city in the bay of *Cadiz*, were treated with extraordinary kindness by *Arganthonius* king of that country, who hearing that they were under no small apprehension of the growing power of *Cyrus*, invited them to leave *Ionia*, and settle in what part of his kingdom they pleased. The *Phocæans* could not be prevailed upon to forsake their country; but accepted of a large sum of money, which that prince generously presented them with, to defray the expence of building a strong wall round their city. The wall they built on their return, but it stood them in no stead against the mighty power of *Cyrus*, whose general *Harpagus* investing the city, with a numerous army, soon reduced it to the utmost extremities. The *Phocæans* having no hopes of any succour, began to capitulate, but the conditions, offered by *Harpagus*, seeming somewhat hard, they begged he would allow them three days to deliberate, and in the mean time withdraw his forces. *Harpagus*, though not ignorant of their design, complied with their request, and the *Phocæans* taking

^a VELLERIUS, l. 1. ^b PAUSAN. l. 7. ^c STRAB. l. 14.
^d POMP. MELA. l. 1. c. 17. ^e PLIN. l. 5. c. 29. STRAB. l. 14. HERODOT. l. 1. c. 142. ^f HERODOT. l. 1. ^g Idem ibid. MARCELLIN. l. 15. JUSTIN. l. 43. ^h Idem ibid. advantage

advantage of this condescension put their wives, children, and all their most valuable effects on board several vessels which they had ready equipt, and conveyed them safe to the island of *Chios*, leaving the *Persians* in possession of empty walls. Their design was to purchase the *OEnessian* islands, which belonged to the *Chians*, and settle there : but the *Chians* not caring to have them so near, lest they should engross all the trade to themselves, as they were a sea-faring people, they put to sea again, and having taken *Phocæa* their native country by surprise, put all the *Persians* they found in it to the sword. As they were well apprised that the *Persians* would resent such inhuman proceedings, they re-imbarked with all expedition, steering their course towards *Cyrnus* now *Corfica*, where twenty years before they had built the city of *Alaria* or *Calaris*. Before they left *Phocæa* the second time they uttered most dreadful imprecations against such as should stay behind, binding themselves by a solemn oath never to return till a red-hot ball of iron, which on that occasion they threw into the sea, should appear again unextinguished. However, above half the fleet broke through all the engagements, and returned soon to *Phocæa*, the *Persians*, who were desirous the city should be re-peopled, offering a general pardon to such as had been concerned in the massacre. The remaining part arrived safe at *Alaria*, where they continued five years, infesting the neighbouring seas with piracies, and ravaging the coasts of *Italy*, *Gaul*, and *Carthage*. Hereupon the *Tyrrhenians* and *Carthaginians* entering into an alliance against them, fitted out a fleet of 120 sail, with a design to drive them from *Cyrnus*. The *Phocæans*, not at all dismayed at the sight of so powerful a fleet, engaged them in the sea of *Sar. nia* with half their number, and after a bloody engagement put them to flight. But the victory cost them dear, forty of their ships being sunk and most of the rest quite disabled (A). Whereupon not finding themselves

(A) *Herodotus* tells us, that such of the *Phocæans* as had lost their ships in the engagement fell into the hands of the *Carthaginians* and *Tyrrhenians*, who attacked them as they came ashore in their small boats, and put them all to death. As this happened in the territory of *Argilla* in *Tuscia*, both the inhabitants and cattle of that district were seized with a dreadful distemper, which obliged the *Argyllians* to have recourse to the oracle of *Delphos*, being desirous to atone for the crime they had committed in what manner the god of that place should direct. The oracle enjoined them to commemorate yearly the death of the *Phocæans*, with great magnificence and gymnastic combats ; which they did accordingly, beginning as soon as their deputies returned from *Delphos*, and were immediately celebrated

themselves in a condition to stand a second shock, (and the enemies were preparing to attack them anew) they resolved to abandon the island, and retire with their wives and children to *Rhégium*; which they did accordingly, but soon left that place, and settled in *OEnotria*, now *Ponza*, a small island in the *Tyrrhenian* sea, over-against *Velia* in *Lucania*, which their ancestors had founded. Those who returned home lived in subjection either to the *Persians* or tyrants of their own. Among the latter we find mention made ^h of *Laodamas*, who attended *Darius Hystaspis* in his expedition against the *Scythians*, and of *Dionysius*, who joining *Aristagoras*, tyrant of *Miletus* and chief author of the *Ionian* rebellion, retired after the defeat of his countrymen first to *Phœnicia*, where he made an immense booty, seizing on all the ships he met with trading to that country. From *Phœnicia* he sailed with immense riches to *Sicily*, where he committed great depredations on the *Carthaginians* and *Tuscans*; but is said never to have molested the *Greeks* ⁱ. In the *Roman* times the city of *Phocæa* sided with *Antiochus the Great*; whereupon it was besieged, taken, and plundered by the *Roman* general, but allowed to live according to its own laws. In the war, which *Aristonicus*, brother to *Attalus* king of *Pergamus*, stirred up against the *Romans*, they assisted the former to the utmost of their power, which so displeased the senate, that they commanded the town to be demolished, and the whole race of the *Phocæans* utterly rooted out. This severe sentence had been put in execution, had not the *Massilienses*, a *Phocæan* colony, interposed, and with much ado asswaged the anger of the senate ^k. *Pompey* declared *Phocæa* a free city, and restored the inhabitants to all the privileges they had ever enjoyed; whence under the first emperors it was reckoned one of the most flourishing cities of all *Asia Minor*. This is all we have been able to gather from the antients, touching the particular history of *Phocæa*.

Smyrna.

Smyrna, called by the *Turks* *Ismyr*, is situated on the isthmus of the *Ionian* peninsula, at the bottom of a bay, to which it gives name, and is reckoned one of the largest and richest cities of the *Levant*. *Smyrna* was not at first one of the twelve cities of the *Ionian* league, so often mentioned by

^h HERODOT. l. 4. & 6. ⁱ Idem ibid. ^k LIV. Decad. 4. l. 7. & seq. JUSTIN. l. 37.

voiced from the raging dilemma. Our author adds, that they continued even in his time the same combats, and performed all the other rites which the oracle had prescribed on that occasion (1).

(1) HERODOT. l. 1.

the antients, but was in process of time admitted into that confederacy by means of the *Ephesians*, who lived, as *Strabo*¹ informs us, for many years in the same district with the *Smyrnæans*; and hence it is, that *Ephesus* is sometimes called *Smyrna*. *Velleius Paterculus*^m reckons it among the cities of *Æolis*, wherein he agrees with *Herodotus*ⁿ, who tells us, that *Smyrna* was built by the *Æolians*, but afterwards destroyed by the *Ionians*, who claimed the ground on which the city stood, and all the neighbouring country. Be that as it will, it must have been soon after rebuilt; for the same *Herodotus*, or whoever else is the author of *Homer's* life, describes it as a famous emporium in that poet's time, whither merchants resorted from all parts. *Pliny*^o is of opinion, that it was founded by an *Amazon* named *Smyrna*; and adds, that it was many ages after rebuilt and embellished by *Alexander*. What he says of the *Amazon* is commonly looked upon as quite fabulous, though the present inhabitants pretend, that it borrowed its name of an *Amazon*, who, coming into *Asia* at the head of a female army, possessed herself of this city. Neither was it rebuilt by *Alexander*; for *Strabo*, a writer far more exact, informs us^p, that *Smyrna* four hundred years after it had been destroyed by the *Lydians*, during which time the *Smyrnæans* lived in villages, was begun to be rebuilt by *Antigonus*, but that *Lyfimachus* put the last hand to the work. This new city was built, according to the same writer, twenty furlongs distance from the place where the old city stood; between the castle on the shore and the present city, as our best modern travellers conjecture^q from the many ruins of edifices, that are still to be seen in that place (B). This new city, as it was most conveniently situated for trade, became in a short

¹ STRABO l. 14. sub. init. ^m VELL. PATERCUL. l. 1. c. 4.
ⁿ HERODOT l. 1. c. 149. ^o PLIN. l. 5. c. 29. ^p STRABO,
l. 14. p. 444. ^q SPON. LE BRUYN. TOURNIFORT. Voyage
au Levant, &c.

(B) A modern traveller (2) tells us, that many valuable pieces of antiquity have been found there, and mentions four ancient statues that were dug up in that place, while he was at *Constantinople*, and are still to be seen at *Fossilles*. Our author adds, that in 1671. an urn was discovered in the same place with this inscription, *Marcus Fabius, the son of Marcus Fabius, of the Galerian family, surnamed Junius, one and twenty years old*. Upon opening the urn they discovered the bodies both of the father and son lying together in their armour which was still entire.

(2) *Le Bruyn voyage au Levant, &c.*

time one of the most populous and wealthy of all *Asia*, as is plain from several inscriptions, in which it is stiled *The metropolis, The first and chief city of Asia, The ornament of Ionia, &c.* But nothing can give us a greater idea of the magnificence of antient *Smyrna*, than the description of it we read in *Strabo*¹. “It is at present, says he, the finest city in *Asia*. “One part of it is built on a hill, but the finest edifices “stand on a plain not far from the sea, over-against the temple of *Cybele*. The streets are the most beautiful that can “be, strait, wide, and paved with fine stone. It has many “stately buildings, magnificent porticoes, majestic temples, a public library, and a convenient harbour, which “may be shut up at pleasure”. There are still to be seen many vestiges of the antient grandeur of *Smyrna*, namely of a marble theatre, which was reckoned the finest in *Asia*, of a circus, of baths, temples, &c. for the description of which we refer our readers to *Le Bruyn, Tournefort, Spon*, and other modern travellers. Neither the circus, nor the theatre were built, it seems, in *Strabo*’s time, else he would have mentioned them among the other edifices that embellished the city. The walls of *Smyrna* were washed by the *Meles*, a river of great note in the republic of letters, for *Homer* is said to have been born near its banks; whence, as the name of his father was unknown, he was called *Melesigena*, Some writers add², that he composed his inimitable poem in a cave near the spring of this river (C). Under the Roman emperors the city of *Smyrna* was at the height of its grandeur, and ever courted by them, as it was the finest harbour in *Asia*, and distinguished with titles, exemptions, and privileges above all the cities of *Asia*, *Ephesus* alone excepted. *Tiberius* shewed on all occasions a great esteem for the *Smyrnæans*, and *Marcus Aurelius* rebuilt their city, after it had been almost quite ruined by an earthquake, and the succeeding emperors heaped such favours on them as raised no small jealousy among the other *Greeks* of *Asia*. The *Smyrnæans* on the other hand

¹ Vide Marmor. Oxon. apud Prideaux.

² STRABO, l. 14.

³ PAUSAN. Achaic. c. 5.

(C) To this alluded *Statius* (3) when he said in commending *Lucan* born near the *Bætis*, that the *Bætis* would be one day more famous than the *Arctus* itself. *Græco nobilior Melete Bætis*; and *Tibullus* (4), when he raised *Homer*’s poem *Meletæus Chortas*.

(3) *Stat.* l. 1. *Eclog.* 7. vers. 34.

(4) *Tibull.* l. 4. *Eclog.*

l. 1. v. 1.

continued ever faithful to the *Romans*, and are said to have been the first in *Asia* that honoured *Rome*, under the title of *Rome the Goddess*, with a temple, priests, and sacrifices ; which they did while *Carthage* was at the highest pitch of its glory, and *Asia* in great part possessed by powerful princes, who had not yet experienced the *Roman* valour.

As to the present city, it is situated on the shore at the foot of a hill which commands the port, and may be justly stiled the centre of trade to the *Levant*. Its convenient harbour and situation have saved it from undergoing the same fate which most cities in *Asia*, though formerly of great note, have suffered. The great cities of *Sardis* so famous in the *Greek* history, of *Pergamus*, the capital of a rich kingdom, of *Ephesus*, the metropolis of all *Asia*, are at present but small villages : *Thyatira*, *Philadelphia*, *Laodicea*, &c. are known only by some antient inscriptions ; whereas *Smyrna*, tho' often destroyed by earthquakes (D), is still one of the richest and most populous cities in the east, being resorted to by all the trading nations of *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*. They reckon in the city fifteen thousand *Turks*, ten thousand *Greeks*, eighteen hundred *Jews*, two hundred *Armenians*, and as many *Franks*. Its territory is very fertile and pleasant, abounding chiefly in vines and olive-trees ; but the air is not reckoned very wholesome. *Smyrna* was one of the seven churches mentioned in the *revelations*, and is the only one that still remains in any reputation.

As for the particular history of the *Smyrnæans* ; their city at first belonged to the *Æolians*, as we have hinted above, but was taken from them by the *Ionians* in the following manner. A great many of the inhabitants of *Colophon*, an *Ionian* city, being driven out on account of a sedition they had raised at home, fled to the *Smyrnæans*, who received them with great kindness, which they requited with the utmost ingratitude. For not long after, while the inhabitants were performing certain religious ceremonies in honour of *Bacchus* without the walls, they shut the gates, and seized on the city. This alarmed all the *Æolians*, who hastened to the assistance of their countrymen with what forces they could raise ; but the *Colo-*

(D) The *Greeks* of the country count six dreadful Earthquakes, which destroyed the greatest part of the town ; and they have a tradition, that is to be utterly ruined by the seventh, and never after rebuilt (5).

(5) *Le Brayn, abîmé par.*

phonians being supported by the other cities of *Ionia*, both parties came to an agreement, whereby it was stipulated, that the *Ionians* should restore to the *Smyrnæans* all their effects, and the *Æolians* on their part should quit their claim to the city. The *Smyrnæans* consenting to these conditions were distributed among the other eleven *Ionian* cities, and allowed to enjoy the same privileges. The *Colophonians* continued in possession of *Smyrna*, which was thenceforth reckoned among the twelve *Ionian* cities^u. It was afterwards taken by *Alyattes* king of *Lydia*, and continued subject to the *Lydians* till the time of *Cyrus*, by whose general *Harpagus* it was brought under the *Persian* yoke, with the other cities of *Ionia*. The *Smyrnæans*, according to the character *Aristides* gives them^w, followed their pleasures, and lived in great luxury, but, what seldom happens, were at the same time ready to exert themselves, when called upon, and behaved with great gallantry (E).

Clazomenæ.

Clazomenæ, now *Vourla* as is commonly believed, was one of the twelve *Ionian* cities, and of great note in the flourishing times of *Greece*. The antient city, as *Pausanias* * informs us, stood on the continent, and was by the *Ionians* fortified at a vast expence, in order to put a stop to the *Persian* conquests. But the inhabitants were so terrified after the defeat of *Cræsus* and surrender of *Sardis*, that they abandoned the city on the continent, and withdrew with all their effects to one of the neighbouring islands, where they built the city of *Clazomenæ*, so often mentioned in the *Roman* history. *Alexander* joined it to the continent by a causeway two hundred and fifty paces long^y; whence *Ptolemy*, *Strabo*, *Pliny*, and most of the antient geographers count it among the cities on the continent. The *Romans* always treated the inhabitants with great kindness, knowing of what importance their city was for carrying on their conquests in *Asia*; for they not only declared them a free people, but moreover put them in possession of the island of *Drymusa*, and often quarrelled with the princes of *Asia* on their account^z. *Augustus* repaired and embellished their city with many stately buildings, whence on some medals he is stiled the founder of *Clazomenæ* (F), though this

^u HERODOT. l. 1.

^w ARISTID. in Smyrnæ Encomio.

* PAUSAN. Achaic. c. 3.
38 c. 39.

^y Idem ibid.

^z LIV. l.

(E) This gave rise to the proverb Σπερ αὖ δ' ἐπ' αὖθις mentioned by *Aristides*, and apply'd to such as live luxuriously, but at the same time are brave and courageous.

(F) Mr. *Tournfort* make mention of a medal in the king of *Prussia's* cabinet, with the head of *Augustus*, and the inscription.

Augustus

this city was without all doubt founded by the *Ionians*, and from the very beginning one of the *Ionian* confederacy. Some antiquaries take *Clazomenæ* for the ancient city of *Grynium*, which gave the epithet of *Grynæus* to *Apollo*; for there was in antient times a famous temple of *Apollo* in the neighbourhood of *Clazomenæ*; *Cybele* likewise was one of their chief deities, and also *Diana*, as we gather from several antient medals and inscriptions. The *Clazomenians* held out against the *Lydians*, after most of the other cities of *Ionia* were reduced by *Alyattes*, who besieged, but could not master, *Clazomenæ*. The *Persians* got possession of it in the time of *Cyrus*, who carried all before him, and thought it of such consequence, that they could not be induced to part with it at the famous peace of *Antalcidas*. *Alexander* reinstated them in their antient liberty and privileges, which were rather enlarged than diminished by the *Romans*, whom they assisted on all occasions with great fidelity.

Erithræ, one of the twelve *Ionian* cities, is placed by some *Erithræ* on the shore over against the island of *Chios*, but by *Strabo*^a on the peninsula, at the foot of mount *Mimas*, over-against the islands called by the antients *Hippi*. *Erithræ* was the seat of *Herophile*, one of the *Sybils*, thence called the *Erithræan*^b. It had a spacious harbour called *Cyffus*, and a temple of *Hercules*, which was reckoned one of the most stately edifices of all *Asia*. *Erithræ* sided on all occasions with the *Romans*, who rewarded their fidelity with ample privileges, and considerably enlarged their territory^c.

Teos, situated on the south side of the *Ionian* peninsula, was *Teos* likewise one of the twelve cities. *Anacreon* was born here, and also *Hecatæus* the historian. The inhabitants, abandoning in *Anacreon*'s time their native country, where they were grievously oppressed by the *Persians*, retired to *Thrace*, and settled in the city of *Abdera*^d, which *Timesius* of *Clazomenæ* had founded (F). They were the only among the *Ionians*,

^a STRABO, l. 14. p. 443. ^b PAUSAN. in Phoc. c. 12. ^c LIV. l. 35. c. 39. ^d STRABO, l. 14. p. 443.

Founder of Clazomenæ. Another is to be seen in the *French* king's cabinet, with the head of *Augustus*, and on the reverse ΘΕΑ ΛΙΒΙΑ the God *deſs* *Livia*, round the head of *Augustus* is wrote ΚΛΑΖΟΜΙ.

(F) And hence the saying "Ἀβδῆρα καλὴ Τηίων ἀποικία, *Abdera* a *fine colony of the Teians*, signifying, that brave men will choose to live any where, rather than suffer oppression and servitude (7). To this saying some think *Tully* alludes in his epistles to *Atticus* (7).

phonians being supported by the other cities of *Ionia*, both parties came to an agreement, whereby it was stipulated, that the *Ionians* should restore to the *Smyrnæans* all their effects, and the *Æolians* on their part should quit their claim to the city. The *Smyrnæans* consenting to these conditions were distributed among the other eleven *Ionian* cities, and allowed to enjoy the same privileges. The *Colophonians* continued in possession of *Smyrna*, which was thenceforth reckoned among the twelve *Ionian* cities^u. It was afterwards taken by *Alyattes* king of *Lydia*, and continued subject to the *Lydians* till the time of *Cyrus*, by whose general *Harpagus* it was brought under the *Persian* yoke, with the other cities of *Ionia*. The *Smyrnæans*, according to the character *Aristides* gives them^w, followed their pleasures, and lived in great luxury, but, what seldom happens, were at the same time ready to exert themselves, when called upon, and behaved with great gallantry (E).

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(I.) Mr. *Tournefort* makes mention of a medal in the king of *Prussia's* cabinet, with the head of *Augustus*, and the inscription, *Prætor*

this city was without all doubt founded by the *Ionians*, and from the very beginning one of the *Ionian* confederacy. Some antiquaries take *Clazomenæ* for the ancient city of *Grynium*, which gave the epithet of *Grynæus* to *Apollo*; for there was in antient times a famous temple of *Apollo* in the neighbourhood of *Clazomenæ*; *Cybele* likewise was one of their chief deities, and also *Diana*, as we gather from several antient medals and inscriptions. The *Clazomenians* held out against the *Lydians*, after most of the other cities of *Ionia* were reduced by *Alyattes*, who besieged, but could not master, *Clazomenæ*. The *Persians* got possession of it in the time of *Cyrus*, who carried all before him, and thought it of such consequence, that they could not be induced to part with it at the famous peace of *Antalcidas*. *Alexander* reinstated them in their antient liberty and privileges, which were rather enlarged than diminished by the *Romans*, whom they assisted on all occasions with great fidelity.

Erithræ, one of the twelve *Ionian* cities, is placed by some *Erithræ* on the shore over against the island of *Chios*, but by *Strabo*^a on the peninsula, at the foot of mount *Mimas*, over-against the islands called by the antients *Hippi*. *Erithræ* was the seat of *Herophile*, one of the *Sybil*s, thence called the *Erithræan*^b. It had a spacious harbour called *Cyffus*, and a temple of *Hercules*, which was reckoned one of the most stately edifices of all *Asia*. *Erithræ* sided on all occasions with the *Romans*, who rewarded their fidelity with ample privileges, and considerably enlarged their territory^c.

Teos, situated on the south side of the *Ionian* peninsula, was *Teos*. likewise one of the twelve cities. *Anacreon* was born here, and also *Hecatæus* the historian. The inhabitants, abandoning in *Anacreon*'s time their native country, where they were grievously oppressed by the *Persians*, retired to *Thrace*, and settled in the city of *Abdera*^d, which *Timesius* of *Clazomenæ* had founded (F). They were the only among the *Ionians*,

^a STRABO, l. 14. p. 443. ^b PAUSAN. in Phoc. c. 12. ^c LIV. l. 35. c. 39. ^d STRABO, l. 14. p. 443.

Founder of Clazomenæ. Another is to be seen in the *French* king's cabinet, with the head of *Augustus*, and on the reverse ΘΕΑ ΛΙΒΙΑ the God *dess* *Livia*, round the head of *Augustus* is wrote ΚΛΑΖΟΝ.

(F) And hence the saying "Ἀβδῆρα καλὴ Τηίων ἀποικία, *Abdera* a fine colony of the *Teians*, signifying, that brave men will choose to live any where, rather than suffer oppression and servitude (5). To this saying some think *Tully* alludes in his epistles to *Atticus* (7).

(6) Vide *Eras. Chiliad*.
VOL. VII.

(7) Cic. ad Attic. l. 7. § 4.
F

as *Herodotus* observes ^c, who preferred banishment to slavery, and are therefore greatly commended by that writer. Some of them returned afterwards to their antient habitation, for in the *Roman* times the city of *Teos* was of some note, and well peopled ^e. *Augustus* in several medals is called the founder, which title he may have deserved by repairing and embellishing that, as he did most other cities of *Asia*. *Pliny* ^g counts *Teos* among the islands, wherein he is contradicted by all the antient geographers. The small towns of *Eræ* and *Myonnesus*, between *Teos* and *Lebedus*, were formerly subject to the *Teians*, who enjoyed a large territory, extending from their city to the neighbourhood of *Lebedus*.

Lebedus. *Lebedus*, counted by *Mela*, *Strabo*, and *Herodotus* among the twelve *Ionian* cities, stood on the isthmus of the *Ionian* peninsula over-against *Smyrna*, and was famous in antient times for the sports that were there yearly performed in honour of *Bacchus*. *Lyfimachus* utterly ruined the city, and transferred the inhabitants to *Ephesus* ^h. Upon his death they left *Ephesus* and rebuilt *Lebedus*, which, however, never afterwards made any figure, being a village rather than a city ⁱ.

Colophon. *Colophon*, now *Altobosco*, or as others will have it *Belvedere*, was one of the chief cities of the *Ionian* league, seated on the coast, and not an inland city, as *Pliny* ^k calls it. It was destroyed by *Lyfimachus*, and the inhabitants sent to people *Ephesus*; but after his death rebuilt in a more convenient situation. The *Colophonians* were so skilled in horsemanship, that those they sided with were always sure of the victory, which gave rise to the trite proverb ^l (G). *Colophon* was the birth-place of *Nicander*, and one of the seven cities that claimed *Homer*, who lived there some time, as *Herodotus* informs us in the life of that great poet ^m. The antients mention a famous grove and temple of *Apollo Clarius* in the neighbourhood of this city ⁿ. Whence that fabulous deity borrowed the epithet of *Clarius* is uncertain, some pretending that his temple stood in a small town near *Colophon* called *Claros*, and others maintaining that he was so called from a mountain

^c HERODOT. l. i. c. 168. ^e LIV. l. 37. c. 27. ^g PLIN. l. v. c. 31. ^h PAUSAN. Attic. c. 9. ⁱ Vide HORATIUM, l. i. epist. 11. ^k PLIN. l. v. c. 29. ^l STRABO, l. xiv. p. 442. ^m HER. DOT. vita Homeri, c. 8. ⁿ PLIN. l. v. c. 29. STRAB. l. xiv. c. 442.

(G) Τὸν κολ. φῶνα ἐπέλκειν. *Colophonem addere*, that is to put the last hand to a work, to end it with success.

bearing that name. The small town of *Notium* on the same coast often mentioned by *Livy* belonged to the *Colophonians*, and was by the *Romans* allowed to enjoy the same privileges as *Colophon* itself °.

Ephesus, called by the present inhabitants *Aiasolaue*, was *Ephesus*. in former times the metropolis of all *Asia*. *Stephanus* gives it the title of *Epiphanestate* or most illustrious, *Pliny* styles it the ornament of *Asia*, and *Strabo* the greatest and most frequented emporium of that continent. How different was the antient *Ephesus* from the modern, which is but a sorry village inhabited by thirty or forty *Greek* families, who are not capable, as *Spon* observes, to understand the epistle *St. Paul* wrote to them ! The antient city stood about fifty miles south of *Smyrna* near the mouth of the river *Cayster*, and the shore of the *Icarian* sea, which is a bay of the *Ægean* ; but as it has been so often destroyed and rebuilt, 'tis no easy matter to determine the precise place ; most of our modern travellers are of opinion that the antient city stood more to the south than the present, which they argue from the ruins that still remain. *Ephesus* was in antient times known by the names of *Alopes*, *Ortygia*, *Morges*, *Smyrna Trachæa*, *Samornion*, and *Ptela* ^F ; it was called *Ephesus*, according to *Heracledes* [¶], from the *Greek* word *Ephesis*, signifying permission, because *Hercules*, says he, permitted the *Amazons* to live and build a city in that place ; others tell us that *Ephesus* was the name of the *Amazon* that founded the city, for *Pliny* ^r, *Justin* [†], and *Orosius* [‡] unanimously affirm, that it was built by an *Amazon*, while others bestow this honour upon *Androclus*, son of *Codrus*, king of *Athens*, who was the chief of the *Ionians* that settled in *Asia*. But in matters of so early a date, it is impossible to come at the truth, and therefore not worth our while to dwell on such fruitless enquiries. What we know for certain is, that the city, which in the *Roman* times was the metropolis of all *Asia*, acknowledged *Lyfimachus* for its founder ; for that prince having caused the antient city to be entirely demolished, rebuilt at a vast expence a new one in a place more convenient and nearer the temple. *Strabo* tells us, that, as the inhabitants shewed a great reluctance to quit their antient habitations, *Lyfimachus* caused all the drains, that conveyed the water into the neighbouring fens and the *Cayster*, to be privately stopt up ; whereby the city being on the first violent rains in

° *LIV.* l. xxxviii. c. 39.

^F *PLIN.* l. v. c. 29.

[¶] *HERACLID.*

de Polit.

^r *PLIN.* ubi supra.

[†] *JUSTIN.* l. ii. c. 4.

[‡] *OROSIUS*, l. i. c. 15.

great part laid under water, and many of the inhabitants drowned, they were glad to abandon the antient, and retire to the new city. This new *Ephesus* was greatly damaged by an earth-quake in the reign of *Tiberius*, but by that emperor repaired and embellished with several stately buildings, of which there are now but few ruins to be seen, and scarce any thing worthy of antient *Ephesus*. The aqueduct, part of which is still standing, is generally believed to have been the work of the *Greek* emperors; the pillars, which support the arches, are of fine marble, and higher or lower as the level of the water required. This aqueduct served to convey water into the city from the spring of *Halitæe* mentioned by *Pausanias*. The gate, now called by the inhabitants, for what reason we know not, *the gate of persecution*, is remarkable for three bas-reliefs on the mould, of an exquisite taste. The port, of which so many medals have been struck, is at present but an open road, and not much frequented. The *Cayster* was formerly navigable, and afforded a safe place for ships to ride in, but is now almost choaked up with sand.

*The temple
of Diana.*

But the chief ornament of *Ephesus* was the so much celebrated temple of *Diana*, built at the common charge of all the states in *Asia*, and for its structure, size, and furniture, accounted among the wonders of the world. This great edifice was situate at the foot of a mountain, and at the head of a marsh, which place they chose, if we believe *Pliny*, as less subject to earthquakes. This doubled the charges, for they were obliged to be at a vast expence in making drains to convey the water that came down the hill, into the morasses and the *Cayster*. *Philo Byzantius* tells us, that in this work they used such a quantity of stone, as almost emptied all the quarries in the country; and these drains or vaults are what the present inhabitants take for a labyrinth. To secure the foundation of the conduits or sewers, which were to bear a building of such a prodigious weight, they laid beds of charcoal, says *Pliny*, well rammed, and upon them others of wool. Two hundred and twenty years, *Pliny* says four hundred^p, were spent in building this wonderful temple by all *Asia*. It was four hundred and twenty five foot in length, and two hundred in breadth, supported by a hundred and twenty-seven marble pillars seventy foot high, of which twenty-seven were most curiously carved, and the rest polished. These pillars were the works of so many kings, and the bas-

^p PLIN. l. xvi. c. 40.

reliefs of one were done by *Scopas* the most famous sculptor of antiquity ; the altar was almost wholly the work of *Praxiteles*. *Gheironecrates*, who built the city of *Alexandria*, and offered to form mount *Athos* into a statue of *Alexander*, was the architect employed on this occasion. The temple enjoyed the privilege of an asylum, which at first extended to a furlong, was afterwards enlarged by *Mithridates* to a bow-shot, and doubled by *Marc Anthony*, so that it took in part of the city ; but *Tiberius* to put a stop to the many abuses and disorders that attend privileges of this kind, recalled them all, and declared that no man guilty of any wicked or dishonest action should escape justice, though he fled to the altar itself (H). A great many medals are to be seen with the heads of divers emperors, and on the reverse the temple with a frontispiece of two, four, six, and even of eight pillars.

THE priests, who officiated in this temple, were had in great esteem, and trusted with the care of sacred virgins or priestesses, but not till they were made eunuchs. They were called *Estiatores* and *Essenæ*, had a peculiar diet, and were not allowed by their constitutions to go into any private house. They were maintained with the profits accruing from the lake *Selinusius*, and another that fell into it, which must have been very considerable, since they erected a golden statue to one *Artemidorus*, who being sent to *Rome* recovered them, after they had been seized by the farmers of the public revenues⁹. All the *Ionians* resorted yearly to *Ephesus* with their wives and children, where they solemnized the festival of *Diana* with great pomp and magnificence¹, making on that occasion rich offerings to the goddess, and not forgetting her priests. The *Asiarchæ* mentioned by *St Luke*[†] were, according to *Beza*[‡], those priests, whose peculiar province it was to regulate the public sports that were an-

⁹ STRAB. ubi supra.

19. [‡] Annot. ad Acta.

[†] THUCYD. l. iii.

[†] LUKE Act.

(H) Pope *Pius II.* in relating this, observes that the many sanctuaries of *Rome*, open to ruffians, and all offenders without distinction have changed that city, otherwise quiet, into a den of thieves (8). Thus he wrote before he was raised to the papal chair ; but that dignity inspired him, it seems, with different sentiments, for he was the whole time of his pontificate a most strenuous asserter of what they call the *Ecclesiastical Immunity*.

(8) *Pius secundus in Asia.*

usually performed at *Ephesus* in honour of *Diana* ; they were maintained with the gatherings that were made during the sports, for all *Asia* flocked to see them. *The great Diana of the Ephesians*, as she was stiled by her blind adorers ^u, was according to *Pliny* ^w, a small statue of ebony, made by one *Canetia*, though commonly believed to have been sent down from heaven by *Jupiter*. This statue was at first placed in a niche, which, as we are told, the *Amazons* caused to be made in the trunk of an elm. Such was the first rise of the veneration that was paid to *Diana* in this place. In process of time, the veneration for the goddess daily increasing among the inhabitants of *Asia*, a most stately and magnificent temple was built near the place where the elm stood, and the statue of the goddess placed in it. This was the first temple, but not quite so sumptuous as that which we have described, though reckoned as well as the second among the wonders of the world. The second was still remaining in *Pliny's* time, and in *Strabo's*, and is supposed to have been destroyed in the reign of *Constantine*, pursuant to the edict by which that emperor commanded all the temples of the heathens to be thrown down and demolished ; the former was burnt, the same day that *Alexander* was born, by one *Erastratus*, who owned on the rack that the only thing which had prompted him to destroy so excellent a work was the desire of transmitting his name to future ages. Whereupon the common council of *Asia* made a decree forbidding any one to name him ; but this prohibition served only to make his name more memorable, such a remarkable extravagance, or rather madness, being taken notice of by all the historians who have wrote of those times. *Alexander* offered to rebuild the temple at his own expence, provided the *Ephesians* would agree to put his name on the front ; but they rejected his offer in such manner as was no-ways taken amiss by that vain prince, telling him, *that it was not fit one god should build a temple to another* ^x. The pillars and other materials that had been saved out of the flames were sold, and also the jewels of the *Ephesian* women, who on that occasion willingly parted with them, and the sum raised from thence served for the carrying on of the work till other contributions came in, which in a short time amounted to an immense treasure. And this is the temple which *Pliny*, *Strabo*, and other *Roman* writers speak of. It stood between the city and the port, and was built, or rather finished, as *Livy* ^y tells us, in the reign of king *Servius*. Of this wonderful structure there is nothing at present remaining but some ruins, and a few broken pillars.

^u Act. xix. 28, 34.
^y Liv. l. i. c. 45.

^w PLIN. l. xix. c. 4.

^x STRAB. ubi
 THE

THE *Ionians* first settled at *Ephesus*, under the conduct of *Androclus*, who drove out the *Carians* and *Leleges*, by whom those places were possessed at his arrival. The city, whether built by him, as *Strabo* affirms, or by one *Cræsus*, or *Ephesus*, long before the *Ionic* migration, as others maintain, became soon the metropolis of *Ionia*. It was at first governed by *Androclus* and his descendants, who assumed the royal title, and exercised regal authority over the new colony; whence even in *Strabo's* time the posterity of *Androclus* were stiled kings, and allowed to wear a scarlet robe, a sceptre, and all the ensigns of the royal dignity. In process of time a new form of government was introduced, and a senate established, but when, or on what occasion, this change happened, we know not. This kind of government continued till the time of *Pythagoras*, who lived before *Cyrus the Great*, and was one of the most cruel and inhuman tyrants we read of in history; for having driven out the senate, and taken all the power into his own hands, he filled the city with blood and rapines, not sparing even those who fled to the temple of *Diana* for shelter^a. *Pythagoras* was succeeded by *Pindarus*, who bore the same sway in the city, but treated the citizens with more humanity. In his time *Ephesus* being besieged by *Cræsus* king of *Lydia*, he advised the inhabitants to devote their city to *Diana*, and fasten the wall by a rope to the pillars of her temple. They followed his advice, and were, in regard of the goddess, not only treated with great kindness by *Cræsus*, but restored to their former liberty^a. *Pindarus* being obliged to resign his power, retired to *Peloponnesus*. He was, according to *Ælian*^b, grandson to *Alyattes* king of *Lydia*, and *Cræsus's* nephew. The other tyrants of *Ephesus*, mentioned in history, are *Athenagoras*, *Comas*, *Aristarchus*, and *Hegeſias*, of which the last was driven out by *Alexander*, who, coming to *Ephesus* after having defeated the *Persians* on the banks of the *Granicus*, bestowed upon *Diana* all the tributes which the *Ephesians* had paid to the *Persians*, and established a democracy in the city. In the war between *Mithridates* and the *Romans* they sided with the former, and, by his direction, massacred all the *Romans* that resided in their city; for which they were severely fined, and reduced almost to beggary by *Sylla*, but afterwards treated kindly, and suffered to live according to their own laws, as is

^a *SUIDAS*.^a *HERODOT.* l. i. *POLYÆN.* l. vii. *ÆLIAN.* V. H. l. iii. 2. 26.^b *ÆLIAN.* ubi supra.

plain from several antient inscriptions and medals (I). The *Ephesians* were mightily given to *Superstition*, forcery, and curious arts, as the scripture styles them^c, whence came the proverb, *Ephesian letters*, signifying all sorts of spells or charms (K).

Priene. *Priene* was one of the antient cities of *Ionia*, and the birth-place of *Bias*, one of the seven wise men. *Ptolemy* places it at a great distance from the sea, but all other geographers count it among the maritime towns of *Ionia*.

Miletus. *Miletus*, now *Palatschia*, was formerly a city of great note, being stiled, by *Pliny*^d and *Pomponius Mela*^e, the first city and metropolis of all *Ionia*. The same *Pliny*^f mentions the antient and new *Miletus*, the former he calls *Lelegeis*, *Pithyusa*, and *Anaëloria*, and *Strabo* tells us that it was built by the inhabitants of *Crete*^g. The latter was founded, according to *Strabo*^h, by *Nelus* the son of *Codrus* king of *Athens*, when he first settled in that part of *Asia*. This great city stood on the south side of the river *Mæander* near the sea-coast. The inhabitants applied themselves very early to navigation, having founded, according to *Pliny*ⁱ eighty, according to *Seneca*^k three hundred and eighty, colonies in different parts of the world. The city itself was no less famous for a temple and oracle of *Apollo* surnamed *Didymæus*, than for the wealth and number of its citizens. This temple was burnt by *Xerxes*, but rebuilt by the *Milesians* to such an immense size, that it was accounted the greatest in the world,

^c Acts xix. 19.
lib. i. c. 17.

^d PLIN. lib. v. c. 29.

^e MELA,

^f PLIN. *ibid.*

^g STRAB. lib. xii. & xiv.

^h STRAB. *ubi supra.*

ⁱ PLIN. *ibid.*

^k SENECA

de Consol. ad Albinam.

(I) Among others we find one of *Vespasian* with this remarkable inscription: ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ ΠΡΩΤΩΝ ΑΣΙΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ.

(K) By the *Ephesian letters* were meant certain obscure words, and incoherent sentences, which superstitious bigots used to write on their girdles, and even imprint on their feet, and other parts of their bodies. To this purpose *Suidas* tells us, that a famous wrestler of *Miletus*, having for a long time struggled with an *Ephesian*, without being able to conquer him, observed at last that his adversary, who had already got the better of thirty robust and expert wrestlers, was armed with the *Ephesian letters*, which he was no sooner deprived of, than he fell to the ground, owning himself conquered (9).

(9) Vide *Erasmi Chil.*

†

being

being equal in compass, as *Strabo* attests¹, to a village; whence it remained uncovered, but was surrounded with a thick grove, in which the priests dwelt who served the temple. *Pliny* places this temple and grove at a hundred and fifty eight furlongs distance from the city, but *Strabo* says that it stood near the walls². Our modern travellers tell us, that there are still large ruins of the temple to be seen, but that the town is reduced to a few shepherds cottages. Near *Miletus* stood mount *Lathmus*, where the moon, as the poets feigned, made her private visits to *Endymion*. *Thales*, one of the seven wise men of *Greece*, and the first that foretold an eclipse of the sun, was born in this city, and thence surnamed the *Milesian*, to distinguish him from a famous *Lyric* poet bearing the same name.

Miletus was in a most flourishing condition in the time of *Darius Hystaspis*, and accounted the ornament of *Ionia*, as *Herodotus* informs us³, though it had been strangely afflicted with domestic troubles for two generations before, and almost reduced to the last extremities. Their differences were at last composed as the same writer informs us⁴, by the *Parians*, whom they had chosen from among all the *Greeks* for that purpose. These arriving at *Miletus*, and observing that the fields round the city lay in great part uncultivated, told the *Milesians*, that they designed to survey their whole country; which they did accordingly, writing down the name of the owner where-ever they saw in that desolate country any portion of land well cultivated. After they had thus viewed the whole territory, and found but a very small part of it well kept, they returned to the city, and having called an assembly, put the government into the hands of those whose lands they had found in good condition; not doubting but they would administer the public affairs with the same care which they had taken of their own. They strictly enjoined the rest of the *Milesians*, who till that time had been rent into parties and factions, to obey the magistrates they had appointed, and in this manner reformed the state of the city⁵, which thenceforth daily increased in wealth and power. In the time of *Psammiticus* king of *Egypt* a colony of *Milesians* settled in that country, and built a wall, as *Strabo* tells us, called by the *Egyptians* the *Milesian* wall⁶. We may judge of the wealth, power, and flourishing condition of *Miletus* in those days, from the long and expensive war which they maintained against *Gyges*, *Ardayes*, *Sadyattes*, and

¹ STRAB. ubi supra. ² PLIN. & STRAB. ubi supra. ³ HERODOT. l. v. ⁴ Idem, ibid. ⁵ Idem, ibid. ⁶ STRAB. lib. xvii.

Alyattes kings of *Lydia*, without being assisted by any of the *Ionians* except the *Chians*, whom they had supported against the *Erythræans*. In what manner this war was carried on, and how *Alyattes* was at last obliged to sue for peace, we have already related in the history of *Lydia*¹. After the defeat of *Cræsus*, and taking of *Sardis*, all the *Ionians* sent ambassadors to *Cyrus*, offering to submit to him on the same terms which had been granted them by *Cræsus*; but that prince, rejecting the proposals of the others, admitted the *Milesians* alone on the foot of their former agreement with the *Lydians*. By this indulgence of *Cyrus*, *Miletus* flourished above all the cities of *Ionia*, till it fell into the hands, of *Histiæus* and *Aristagoras*, who brought ruin not only on their own country, but on all *Ionia*; for *Miletus* was besieged, taken, and laid in ashes by the *Persians*, whom they had provoked, and the inhabitants transferred first to *Susa*, and thence to *Ampæ*, a city on the red sea, not far from the mouth of the *Tigris*. The *Athenians* were so grieved at their misfortune, that they mourned and shed tears when they first heard it, no otherwise than if the like calamity had happened to *Athens* itself; and some time after one *Phrynica*s, a dramatic poet, having wrote a tragedy on the destruction of *Miletus*, the whole theatre burst out into tears when it was exhibited, and the magistrate fined the author in a thousand drachmas for renewing the memory of a misfortune, which they looked upon as their own, ordering at the same time that the piece should never more be acted². The *Persians* having thus utterly ruined *Miletus*, and transplanted the inhabitants, the lands about the town and level country they reserved for themselves, but bestowed the hilly and less fruitful parts on the *Carians* of *Pedieis*. This misfortune befel *Miletus* six years after the revolt of *Aristagoras* in the reign of *Darius Hystaspis*, and had been long before foretold, if we believe *Herodotus*, by the oracle of *Apollo Didymæus* (L). However, the

Milesians

¹ Vol. V. p. 410, & seq.

² HERODOT. l. vi.

(L.) That author tells us (10), that the *Argians* having consulted the oracle touching the fate of their city, received a double answer, partly concerning themselves, and partly the *Milesians*; the answer relating to the *Milesians* was uttered in the following terms;
 “ *Miletus*, source of evils, thy stores and wealth shall serve to feast
 “ and enrich a multitude; men with long hair shall sit and have

(10) *Herodot. l. vi.*

“ their

Milesians were suffered afterwards to return and rebuild their city, which they did in a different place from that of the former, as we conjecture from the prediction of *Thales* related by *Plutarch* ^t; for that philosopher desired his body might be buried in an abandoned and solitary place at some distance from the city, saying, that it would one day become the market-place of the *Milesians*. The inhabitants never afterwards recovered their former power; for we find them eight years before the *Peloponnesian* war contending with the *Samians* for the sovereignty of *Priene*, and obliged to call in the *Athenians* to their assistance, for which piece of service they sided with them in the *Peloponnesian* war, till they were persuaded by *Alcibiades*, then in banishment, to join the *Lacedemonians* ^u. In the time of *Cyrus* the younger they attempted to shake off the *Persian* yoke, and join that prince against his brother *Artaxerxes*; but *Tissaphernes*, governor of that province, having timely notice of their design, put some of the chief conspirators to death, banished others, and reduced the city to a miserable state of slavery. At the famous peace of *Antalcidas* it was given up to the *Persians*, and remained subject to them till the time of *Alexander*, who restored them to their antient liberty, notwithstanding they had shut their gates against him, and did not submit till reduced to the last extremities ^w. By the *Romans* they were treated very kindly, and suffered to enjoy their liberty, especially under the emperors.

THE *Milesians*, like the other states of *Ionia*, when free from a foreign yoke, were often reduced to a miserable state of slavery by tyrants of their own, who governed them with an arbitrary sway, and made them feel all the evils of a foreign subjection. The first, who usurped this power over their fellow-citizens, were *Thoas* and *Damasenor*, who, as *Plutarch* informs us ^x, filled the city with blood and slaughter, and spared none but such as submitted to their usurped authority. These being destroyed, or driven out, *Thrasymbulus* usurped the sovereignty, which he maintained to his death. In his time and by his means an end was put to the war,

^t PLUT. in Solon. ^u THUCYD. l. i. iv. viii. ^w STRAB. l. xiv. & PLUT in Alexandro. ^x PLUT. in Prolem.

“ their feet washed by thy virgins; *Didyma* shall see her altars
“ transferred to another place”. What the oracle is said to have foretold was fulfilled; for the greater part of the men were put to the sword by the *Persians*, who wore long hair; the women and children were made slaves, and the temple in *Didyma*, with the grove and oracle, reduced to ashes.

which had been for many years carried on between the *Lydians* and *Milesians*, as we have related at length in the history of *Lydia* ¹. He was so famous for his prudence in the administration of public affairs, that most of the petty tyrants of *Greece* courted his friendship, and governed themselves in their unjust usurpations by his advice. Among these *Periander* tyrant of *Corinth* is said to have dispatched a messenger to him, to inquire what methods he had pursued in so settling his authority among the *Milesians*, that none of the citizens entertained any thoughts of shaking off the yoke which he had imposed upon them. *Thrasylbulus*, unwilling to send an answer either in writing or by word of mouth, took the slave into a corn-field, and there, as it were by way of amusement, struck off all the ears of corn that overtopped the rest. Then he sent back the messenger without any answer. *Periander* understood the hint, put all those to death whose overgrown power gave him any umbrage, and thereby enjoyed, without disturbance, the authority he had usurped ². Upon the death of *Thrasylbulus* several other tyrants rose up, mentioned by *Herodotus* ³, *Plutarch* ⁴, and other writers ⁵. Among these the most famous in history are *Histiæus* and *Aristagoras*, who in attempting to shake off the yoke of the *Persian* kings, by whom they were supported, brought utter destruction upon all the *Greek* colonies in *Asia*, as we have related at length in the history of *Persia* ⁶. In the time of *Antiochus* II. king of *Syria*, we read of one *Timarchus* reigning in *Miletus*, and practising great cruelties on the citizens, till he was driven out by that prince, who was on that account honoured by the *Milesians* with the surname of *Theos* or *God* ⁷. *Miletus* gave birth to the celebrated philosophers, *Anaximander*, *Anaximenes*, and *Thales*. The islands of *Chios* and *Samos* were likewise inhabited by the *Ionians*, and belonged to their confederacy; but we shall have occasion to speak of them in the following chapter, containing the history of the *Greek* islands.

Description of Æolis.

Æolis, so called from the *Æolians*, who settled in this part of *Asia*, extended, according to *Strabo* ⁸, from the promontory *Leclus* to the river *Hermus*, and contained the following cities, *Cyme*, *Larissa*, *Neontichos*, *Tenus*, *Cylla*, *Notion*, *Ægiræssa*, *Pitane*, *Ægæa*, *Myrina*, and in more antient

¹ Hist. Univer. Vol. V. p. 412. ² ARIST. Politic. l. iii. c. 10. POLYÆN. l. vi. ZONAR. tom. 2. FRONTINUS, l. ii. c. 15. ³ HERODOT. l. iv. v. vi. ⁴ PLUT. in Sympoſ. ⁵ POLYÆN. l. i. TZETZES Chiliad. 3, & 9. PROBUS in Miltiad. ⁶ Vol. IV. p. 569, & seq. ⁷ APPIAN. in Syriac. Prolog. in Trogum, l. xxvi. ⁸ STRAB. l. xiii.

times *Smyrna*, which, as we have related above, was taken from the *Æolians* by the *Ionians*. These are the eleven ancient cities of *Æolis* mentioned by *Herodotus* ^g. *Cyme* stood on the sea-coast, and was the last of the maritime cities of *Æolis* towards *Ionia*. *Larissa* belongs properly to *Troas*, and is placèd by *Strabo* ^h between *Achæum* and *Colonaë*. In former times *Æolis* comprehended all *Troas*, and extended along the coast from *Ionia* to the *Propontis*. *Neontichos*, or *Neontichos*, is mentioned by *Thucydides* ⁱ as situate in the country of the *Apodoti*, who were a peculiar tribe of *Æolians* inhabiting the sea-coast ^k. *Tenus*, called also *Temnos*, is placed by *Pliny* at the mouth of the *Hermus*, but by all other geographers, in the inland parts of *Æolis*. *Cylla* was a colony of the *Æolians* on the sea-coast of *Myfia*. *Notium* stood on the sea-side about two miles from *Colophon* ^l, and was in after-ages subject to the *Colophonians*. Authors do not agree about the precise situation of *Ægiræssa*, some placing it on the coast, and others at a great distance from the sea. *Pitane* was a considerable town not far from the mouth of the *Caicus* ^m. The inhabitants of this city are said to have had the art of making bricks that floated, like wood, upon the water. *Ægea* or *Ægæ*, bordered on the territory of *Syme*, and is counted by *Strabo* ⁿ among the mediterranean cities of *Æolis*. *Myrina*, the most antient city of all *Æolis*, stood on the coast, and had a very safe and capacious harbour. It was in after-ages called *Sebastopolis* in honour of *Augustus*. To these, *Pliny*, *Strabo*, and *Pomponius Mela*, add *Grynium* and *Elæa*; the former was about forty furlongs distant from *Myrina*, and famous for a temple and grove consecrated to *Apollo*, whence the surname of *Grynæus* is often given by the poets to that deity ^o; the latter, which was the port of *Pergamus*, and the birth-place of *Zeno* the philosopher, stood near the mouth of the *Caicus* ^p. *Cyme*, or as others write it, *Cuma*, was the metropolis of all *Æolis*.

Doris, properly so called, was that large promontory of *Doris*. *Caria*, which runs into the sea over-against the island of *Telos*. The chief cities of *Doris* were, *Halicarnassus*, formerly the capital of *Caria*, and famous for the *Mausoleum* or tomb built by queen *Artemisia*, in honour of her husband *Mausolus*, which was of so noble a structure, that the ancients looked upon it as one of the wonders of the world. This city gave

^g HERODOT. l. i. c. 149.

^h STRAB. l. xiii. HERODOT l. i.

ⁱ THUCYD. l. viii.

^k Idem, l. iii.

^l LIV. l. xxxvii.

^m STRAB. l. xiii.

ⁿ Idem, ibid.

^o Vide Virgil. eclog. 6.

^p & l. 4. Æneid. vers. 345.

^p STRABO, l. xiii.

birth to the two celebrated historians, *Herodotus* and *Dionysius*, and to the poets *Heracitus*, and *Callimachus*. It stood between the *Ceramic* and *Jasian* bays, and was reckoned one of the strongest cities of *Asia* ⁹. It is now a heap of ruins, and known by the name of *Nesi*. *Cnidus* stood on the sea called *Triopium*, having on the north the *Ceramic*, or as others call it the *Ceraunian*, bay, and on the south the *Rhodian sea*. This city was formerly famous for the *Venus* of *Praxiteles*; and as *Venus* was the tutelary goddess of the place, she is thence often stiled by the poets, the *Cnidian goddess* [†]. *Lindus*, *Jalissus* and *Camirus*, were likewise cities of the *Dorians*, as *Herodotus* informs us, but we find nothing relating to them worth mentioning [†].

Origin of
the Ioni-
ans, Dori-
ans and
Æolians.

THAT the *Ionians*, *Dorians*, and *Æolians*, who settled in *Asia Minor*, were *Greek* nations, is not to be doubted. Profane writers give us the following account of their origin, and first settling on the coast of *Asia*. *Deucalion*, say they, who reigned in *Thessaly*, and is famous for the flood that happened in his time, had by his wife *Pyrrha* two sons, *Helenus* and *Amphiclyon*. *Helenus*, who is supposed to have given the name of *Helenes* to the *Greeks*, had three sons, *Æolus*, *Dorus* and *Xuthus*. *Æolus*, who was the eldest, succeeded his father, and, besides *Thessaly*, had for his share *Locris* and *Bæotia*. Many of his descendants went into *Peloponnesus* with *Pelops* the son of *Tantalus* king of *Phrygia*, and settled in *Laconia*. The country in the neighbourhood of mount *Parnassus* fell to *Dorus*, and was from him called *Doris*. *Xuthus* being obliged by his brothers to quit his native country, for appropriating part of his father's effects to himself without their knowledge, retired to *Attica*, where he married the daughter of *Erechtheus* king of *Athens*, by whom he had two sons, *Achæus* and *Ion*.

AN involuntary murder committed by *Achæus*, obliged him to retire to *Peloponnesus*, which was then called *Ægialea* or *Ægiales*; but the country where he settled, ever after bore the name of *Achaia*. Some writers tell us, that he afterwards left *Achaia*, and recovered his grandfather's kingdom of *Thessaly*. *Ion* commanded the *Athenian* forces against *Eumolpus* the *Thracian*, who had invaded *Attica*, and so distinguished himself on that occasion, that the *Athenians* intrusted him with the government of their city, and were from that time called also *Ionians*. Though in process of time they thought fit to lay aside this name, yet it was not altogether out of use in the

⁹ ARRIAN. l. 1. expedit. Alexandr.

[†] HORAT. l. 3 Ode. 28.

[†] HERODOT. l. 1.

time of *Theseus*, as appears from the pillar erected by him in the *Isthmus*, to shew the bounds of the *Athenians* on one side, and the *Peloponnesians* on the other; on the east side of the pillar was this inscription; *This is not Peloponnesus, but Ionia*; and on the south side, *This is not Ionia, but Peloponnesus*^t. In the time that *Ion* governed *Athens* the citizens increased to such a degree, that their country, being not only unfruitful, but confined within narrow bounds, was no longer able to furnish them with necessary provisions. This forced them to contrive some means to disburden it, and therefore they sent colonies to settle in *Peloponnesus*, and these gave the name of *Ionia* to that part which they possessed. Thus all the inhabitants of *Peloponnesus*, though composed of different nations, were blended under the general names of *Achæans* and *Ionians*^u.

ABOUT fourscore years after the taking of *Troy* the *Heraclidæ*, or descendants of *Hercules*, invaded *Peloponnesus* with a design to recover that country, which of right belonged to them. They were conducted in this enterprize by three chief leaders, the sons of *Aristemachus*, namely *Temenus*, *Cresphontes*, and *Aristodemus*; the last dying before the reduction of the country, his two sons *Eurysthenes* and *Procles* succeeded him. The expedition proved successful, and the *Heraclidæ*, having recovered the possession of their antient dominions, divided them among themselves; in which division *Argos* fell to *Temenus*, *Messenia* to *Cresphontes*, and *Laconia* to the two sons of *Aristodemus*^w.

SUCH of the *Achæans* as were descended from *Æolus*, and had inhabited *Laconia*, being driven from thence by the *Dorians*, who attended the *Heraclidæ* into *Peloponnesus*, settled in that part of *Asia Minor*, which from them took the name of *Æolis*, and built there *Smyrna* with eleven other cities; but *Smyrna*, as we have related above, was afterwards seized by the *Ionians*. From *Æolis* they sent colonies to the island of *Lesbos*, and there founded several cities. The *Achæans* of *Mycenæ* and *Argos*, being expelled by the *Heraclidæ*, seized upon that part of *Peloponnesus*, which was held by the *Ionians*. The latter at first returned to *Athens*, their original country, and soon after departed from thence under the conduct of *Nileus* and *Androcles*, the two sons of *Cedrus*, and possessed themselves of the western coast of *Asia Minor*, lying between

^t PLUT. in *Thes* ^u PAUSAN. init. *Lacon.* & *Eliac.* 1. ERATOST. apud. CLEM. ALEX. *Strom.* *Apoll.* 1. 2. ^w STRAB. 13. p. 383. &c. PAUSAN. 1. vii. p. 396. &c.

Caria and *Lydia*, which from them was named *Ionia*. There they built the cities, which we have described above^{*}.

THE power of the *Athenians*, who were then governed by *Codrus*, increasing daily, the *Heraclidæ* thought proper to oppose their progress, but were defeated in a general engagement. Notwithstanding this overthrow they maintained themselves in possession of *Megaris*, where they built the city of *Megara*, placing there the *Dorians*, who had assisted them, in the room of the *Ionians* whom they had driven out[†]. Of these *Dorians* some continued in *Megara* after the death of *Codrus*, others passed over into *Crete*; but the greatest part being perpetually harassed by the *Athenians*, abandoning their country, settled in that part of *Asia Minor*, which was from them called *Doris*, and built there *Halicarnassus*, *Cnidus*, and the other cities mentioned above[‡]. The *Ionic* migration is said by all chronologers, except *Eusebius* and his followers, to have happened a hundred and forty years after the taking of *Troy*, and sixty after the return of the *Heraclidæ* into *Peloponnesus*, that is, about one thousand and forty four before the *Christian æra*. The *Æolic* migration preceded the *Ionic* about fifty two years, and that of the *Dorians* was posterior to the *Ionic* near seventy.

THIS is the account which profane writers give us of these migrations; but their authority in matters of so remote a date is not much to be depended on. There were scarce any records in those rude and illiterate ages, even among the *Greeks*; whence they have obscured their origin with idle tales, and poetical fictions, there being scarce any thing related by their historians concerning their origin that deserves credit, or carries in it the least appearance of truth. Others, perhaps upon better grounds, take the *Ionians* to be descended from *Javan*, the fourth son of *Japheth*; and indeed the *Greek* translators of the holy scripture instead of *Javan* read *Jaon*, and those who are by other writers called *Jones*, are by *Homer* named *Iaones*. Now *Javan* and *Jaon* sound so like each other, that one may conclude they were the same. This opinion receives no small confirmation from holy writ, where the name of *Javan* is used for *Greece* (M). *Javan* is said to have

^{*} *ÆLIAN*. Var. Histor. l. 1. c. 5. *PAUSAN.* in Achaic, [†] *STRABO* ubi supra. p. 393. [‡] *Idem*, *ibid.* p. 653. *PAUSAN.* Achaic. p. 206. *Ælian*. Var. l. 8. c. 5.

(M) Two instances we have in *Daniel*: And when I am gone forth,

have come into *Greece* after the confusion of *Babel*, and to have settled in *Attica*, whence the *Attics* were named *Iaones* and *Iones*. This name the inhabitants of *Attica*, as we have observed above, laid aside, but these who passed into *Asia* retained the same appellation. According to this opinion the *Ionians* were a colony from *Attica*; but *Hecataeus*, as quoted by *Strabo*^a, tells us, that the *Athenians* or *Iones* of *Greece* were a colony of those in *Asia*. As the parts of *Asia* possessed by the *Greeks* lay directly in the way from the valley of *Shinaar* into *Greece*, it is not without foundation, that some have believed *Javan* to have first settled in *Asia*, and from thence, not having room enough on the coast, to have sent colonies into *Greece*, at that time uninhabited, under the conduct of his eldest son *Elisba*, who founded, according to them, the city of *Elis* in *Peloponnesus*. From *Elisba* *Josephus* supposes the *Æolians* to be descended, and therefore calls them *Elisæi*^b.

THE *Ionians*, *Æolians*, and *Dorians*, were at first governed by kings, and divided into many petty kingdoms, the monarchical form of government prevailing, at the time of their migration, all over *Greece*. Besides, *Herodotus* tells us in express terms, that some of the *Ionians* chose only *Lycian* kings of the race of *Glaucus*, others such only as were sprung from *Codrus*, and that some indifferently raised to the throne princes of either of these families^c. But the actions and very names of their kings are buried in oblivion. Monarchy gave way to a republican government, which was settled in almost all the *Greek* cities of *Asia Minor*, each of them being governed by their own laws, and no-ways dependent on one another. However, in most of these states some private citizens, without any right to the throne, either by birth or election, endeavoured to advance themselves to it by cabal,

Their government.

^a STRABO l. 13. ^b JOSEPH. Antiquit. l. 1. ^c HERODOT. l. 1.

forth, behold the prince of *Grecia* shall come (11). And again, He shall stir up all against the realm of *Grecia* (12). Where though the vulgar translators do not render it *Javan*, yet that is the word in the original. And in *Isaiah*; And I will bend those that escape of them to the nations in the sea, in *Italy* and in *Greece*†. Where the *Tigurine* version and that of *Geneva* retain the *Hebrew* words, using the names of *Tubal* and *Javan*, instead of *Italy* and *Greece*.

(11) Daniel c. x. ver. 20. c. lxxvi v. 10.

(12) *Isaiah* c. xlii v. 2.

† *Isaiah*

treachery, and violence, sacrificing to their own security all those, whom merit, rank, zeal for liberty, or love of their country rendered obnoxious to them. It was this cruel and inhuman treatment that rendered these usurpers so odious to the people, and furnished such ample matter for the declamations of orators, and the tragical representations of the theatre.

THE *Ionians*, on their arrival in *Asia*, divided themselves into twelve small states or cantons, having been thus divided, while they inhabited *Peloponnesus*, as were afterwards the *Achæans* who drove them out. Of these twelve states consisted the *Ionian* confederacy, so often mentioned by the antients. The chief and most powerful city of the whole confederacy was *Miletus*. To those we have already described *Thucydides* adds the cities of the islands of *Lemnos* and *Imbros* ^d, and *Velleius* ^e those of *Delos*, *Paros*, *Andros*, *Tenos*, which were all, according to that writer, peopled by the *Ionians*. Some of the cities we have mentioned were built by the *Ionians*, others they possessed themselves of after driving out the antient proprietors. As they brought no women with them out of *Greece*, they forced those of *Caria* away from their parents, putting to death such of their relations as opposed them; in revenge of which violence and cruelty the *Carian* women bound themselves by an oath, which they transmitted as sacred to their daughters, never to take any repast with their husbands, or call them by their names ^f. The *Ionians* being thus established in the most fruitful and pleasant part of all *Asia*, their number soon increased, new adventurers joining them from other countries of *Greece*; the *Abantes* from *Eubæa*, who had nothing in common with the *Ionians*, were no inconsiderable part of this colony; the *Mynian Orchomenians*, the *Cadmæans*, *Dryopians*, and *Molossians*, with the *Pelæsgians* of *Arcadia*, the *Dorians*, *Epidaurians*, and many others of the several states of *Greece*, were, as *Herodotus* informs us ^g, intermixed with the *Athenians*, who were sent by the *Prytanæan* council. The latter who were true and genuine *Ionians*, as deriving their original from *Athens*, built a temple, which from themselves they called the *Pan-Ionium* (N). The privileges of this place they communicated

^d THUCYD. I. 7.

^e VELLEI. I. 2.

^f HERODOT. I. 1.

^g Idem, *ibid.*

(N) The temple was called *Pan Ionium*, from the concourse of people that flocked thither, from all the cities of *Ionia*. A festival was kept here by all the *Ionians* in honour of *Neptune*, surnamed

communicated to no other *Ionians*; neither did the others, as we read in *Herodotus*, ever desire to be admitted, except the *Smyrnæans*, most of them being of the name of *Ionians*, that people having soon degenerated from the virtue of their ancestors, and given themselves up to all manner of vice. The *Pan-Ionium* was a sacred place on the promontory of *Mycale*, dedicated by the *Ionian* confederacy to *Neptune*, surnamed *Heliconius*. Here the *Ionians* met to perform solemn exercises in honour of that deity, and to hold their general assemblies. This festival was peculiar to the *Athenian Ionians*; but the *Apaturian* solemnity (O) was common to all those of the *Ionian* name, except the *Ephesians* and *Colophonians*, who were excluded under pretence of a murder committed in their cities ^b.

^b HERODOT. *ibid.*

Heliconius, from *Helice* a city of *Achaia*, which afterwards perished by an earthquake. One thing was remarkable in this sacrifice, *viz.* that if the bull offered happened to bellow, it was accounted a good omen, because that sound was thought to be acceptable to *Neptune*.

(O) This festival was first instituted at *Athens*, and from thence derived to the *Asiatic Ionians*. It was so called from the Greek word ἀπάτη signifying *deceit*, having been first instituted in memory of a stratagem, by which *Melanthius* king of *Athens* overcame *Xanthus* king of *Bæotia*. For a controversy arising between the *Athenians* and *Bæotians* about a piece of ground lying on the confines of *Attica* and *Bæotia*, *Xanthus* proposed, that an end should be put to the dispute by a single combat between himself and the *Athenian* king. *Thymætes*, at that time king of *Athens*, declined the fight, and was deposed. In his room was chosen one *Melanthius* a *Messenian*, who, having accepted the challenge, met his enemy at the appointed place. But before they began the fight, *Melanthius* pretending to see one behind *Xanthus*, habited in a black goat's skin, cried out, that the articles were violated. Upon this *Xanthus* looking back was treacherously slain by his adversary. In memory of this success *Jupiter* was surnamed *Ἀπατήνῳ*, that is *deceiver*. Others tell us, that the *Apaturian* festival was so called from the Greek word ἀπατρόια, because upon that solemnity children accompanied their fathers, to have their names entered into the public register. Some are of opinion, that the *Apaturian* festival had its name from the Greek word ἀπάτρις, that is, *without fathers*, in a civil sense, it not being till that solemnity publicly recorded, to whom they belonged. The *Apaturia* was celebrated in the month *Pyanepsian*, and lasted three days (14).

(14) *Athenæus* l. 4.

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THE *Dorians*, on their arrival in *Asia*, formed themselves into six independent states or small republics, which were confined within the narrow bounds of so many cities; these were *Lindus*, *Falissus*, *Camirus*, *Cos*, *Cnidus*, and *Halicarnassus*. Other cities in that tract, which was from them called *Doris*, belonged to their confederacy; but the inhabitants of these alone, as true and genuine *Dorians*, were admitted into their temple at *Triope*, where they exhibited solemn games in honour of *Apollo Triopius*. The prizes were tripods of brass, which the victors were obliged to consecrate to *Apollo*, and leave in the temple on an altar of gold. When *Agasicles* of *Halicarnassus* won the prize, he transgressed this custom, and carried the tripods to his own house: Wherefore the city of *Halicarnassus* was ever afterwards excluded from the *Dorian* confederacy; so that the *Dorians* were from that time known by the name of the five cities¹.

THE *Æolians* were divided, like the *Ionians* and *Dorians*, into several small states or cantons, independent of each other, but united in one common confederacy or league. They possessed at first twelve cities; but *Smyrna*, as we have related above, was taken from them by the *Ionians* of *Colophon*. Their country was of greater extent than that of the *Ionians*, but far inferior to it in all other respects, *Ionia* being in the opinion of *Herodotus*², the most fruitful and agreeable region of all *Asia*. The *Dorians*, besides the cities which belonged to them on the continent, possessed five in the island of *Lesbos*, one in *Tenedos*, and another in the *hundred islands*, which we shall have occasion to speak of in a more proper place. Thus the *Greek* states in *Asia* were governed much after the same manner as those in *Europe*, forming three different confederacies, of which the cities were governed by their own laws, and the three different confederacies by their respective general assemblies or diets.

Their religion, laws, &c.

THE religion and laws of the *Greek* colonies in *Asia* were much the same with those of *Greece*. Their principal deities were *Ceres*, *Apollo*, *Diana*, and *Neptune*. The *Ionians*, who came from *Athens*, celebrated every fifth year, the mysteries of *Ceres Eleusina*, which we have already described³. The *Milesians* worshipped *Apollo Didymæus*, as their tutelary god, whence he was likewise called *Apollo Milesius*. Near the city of *Miletus* was a famous oracle of *Apollo*, called the oracle of *Apollo Didymæus*, and also the oracle of the *Branchidæ*; the former denomination it had from *Apollo* or

¹ Idem, ibid.

² Idem, ibid.

³ See before, p. 2, & seq.

the *sun*, who was surnamed *Didymæus*, as *Macrobius* informs us ^m, from the double light imparted by him to mankind; the one directly from his own body, and the other by reflection from the moon; the latter appellation was given both to the oracle and to *Apollo* himself, who was called *Branchides*, from one *Branchus* the reputed son of *Macareus*, but begotten, as was believed, by *Apollo* (P). This oracle was, as we are assured by *Herodotus*, very ancient, and the best of all the *Grecian* oracles, except that of *Delphos* ^m. In the time of the *Persian* war the temple was burnt down to the ground, being betrayed to the *Barbarians* by the *Branchides*, or priests, who had care of it. *Xerxes* in requital of their service allowed them to settle, and build a city, in a remote part of *Asia*, where they thought themselves out of the reach of their angry countrymen. But for all this, their treachery did not escape condign punishment; for *Alexander* having conquered *Darius*, and possessed himself of all *Asia*, utterly demolished their city, and put all the inhabitants to the sword, revenging on the children the treachery of their forefathers ⁿ.

AN annual feast was celebrated by the *Ionians* in honour of *Diana Triclaria*, to appease whose wrath for an incest committed in her temple, men and women used to walk barefooted to it. This solemnity was instituted by the *Athenians*, who till after the *Trojan* war used annually to sacrifice to the angry goddess a male and a female child.

THEIR trade we can only guess at from their situation, *Trade*. which very likely drew merchants from all the neighbouring

^m MACROB. I. I. ⁿ HERODOT. I. I. ⁿ STRAB. I. xiv.

(P) *Varro* tells us, that the mother of *Branchus*, being with child, dreamed, that the sun entering into her mouth penetrated to her womb; and that from thence the child was called *Branchus* from *ἔργχις*, the throat, through which the god passed. *Branchus* received, when he grew up, a crown and sceptre from *Apollo*, and began to prophesy, but soon disappeared. Whereupon a magnificent temple was dedicated to him and *Apollo Philesius*, so called from *φιλεῖν* to kiss, because he was supposed to have imparted the spirit of prophecy to *Branchus* by a kiss. This temple was burnt by the *Persians*, but afterwards rebuilt with such magnificence, that it surpassed all the other *Greek* temples in bigness, being raised to such a bulk, that they were forced to let it remain uncovered, for it was no less than five furlongs in compass (15).

(15) *Strab.* I. 14.

parts

parts to traffic in their country, as well for their own growth, as for foreign productions. Their country was stocked with many useful commodities, and abounded in all things necessary for life. They had a safe coast, convenient harbours, and whatever may incline us to think that they carried on a considerable trade. Besides, we know that they were very powerful by sea, maintained great fleets, and planted colonies, not only in the neighbouring islands, but even in *Gaul*, and beyond the pillars of *Hercules*.

Character. THEY soon degenerated from the valour of their ancestors, and became a most superstitious, effeminate, and voluptuous people; inasmuch, that the *Ionians*, in the time of *Herodotus*, were looked upon as quite unfit for any military service ^o. They are said to have been the first who introduced the use of perfumes and garlands at banquets, and also of sweetmeats or desserts ^p. *Maximus Tyrius*, speaking of the different affections and inclinations of the various *Greek* nations and colonies, tells us, that the *Crotoniates* loved the *Olympic* sports, the *Spartiates* fine armour, the *Cretans* hunting, the *Sybarites* pompous dress, and the *Ionians* lascivious dances ^q. The *Æolians* and *Dorians*, being planted in a less fruitful country, were not so soon debauched by the soft climate of *Asia*; they were accounted no-ways inferior to the *European Greeks*, till they were subdued by the *Persians*, but having lost their liberty, they gave themselves up to idleness, and in a short time became quite unfit for action, and no less effeminate than the other *Asiatics*.

Their history. THE *Greek* colonies settled in *Asia* enjoyed their liberties, and lived according to their own laws, from the time of their migration to the reign of *Cræsus* king of *Lydia*, to whose superior power they were forced to submit, after having baffled all the attempts of his predecessors. They paid him a yearly tribute, furnished him with ships and mariners in time of war, and sent their respective quotas of land-forces when required; but at the same time were free from all oppression, and suffered to enjoy a profound tranquility under his mild government^r. This made them oppose *Cyrus* when he first invaded *Lydia*, and reject the advantageous proposals of that prince. But, after the defeat of *Cræsus* and taking of *Sardis*, they sent ambassadors to the conqueror, offering to submit to him upon the same terms which had been formerly granted to them by *Cræsus*. *Cyrus* having heard them with

^o HERODOT. l. i.

^p VALER. MAX. l. ii. Rer. memorabil.

^q MAXIM. TYRIUS. in Dissert. Quis sit philosophiæ finis. ^r HERODOT. l. i.

attention, returned an answer in the following apologue : A piper seeing numerous shoals of fish in the sea, and imagining he might entice them ashore by his music, began to play ; but finding his hopes disappointed, he threw a net into the water, and drew a great many of them to the land. When he saw the fish leaping on the ground, since you would not dance, said he, to my pipe before, you may now forbear dancing at all. With this answer the *Greek* ambassadors returned home, and having communicated it to their countrymen, they resolved in a general assembly to fortify their cities against any sudden attack, and send ambassadors to solicit succours from the *Lacedemonians*. *Pythermus*, a *Phocæan*, was sent in the name of all the *Greeks* in *Asia* ; but the *Spartans* could by no means be prevailed upon to lend them any assistance. However they dispatched by sea some of their chief men to observe the motions of *Cyrus*, and interpose their good offices with him in behalf of their countrymen. These, putting in at *Phocæa*, sent *Lacrines*, the most considerable person among them to *Sardis*, with instructions to acquaint *Cyrus*, that if he committed any hostilities against the *Grecian* cities, the republic of *Lacedemon* would resent them as offered to herself. *Cyrus*, hearing them speak in this stile, inquired of the *Greeks* about him, who the *Lacedemonians* were, and what number of men they could bring into the field ? Being informed of these particulars, he answered the deputy, that he was no-ways afraid of a people, who in the midst of their cities had a place of public resort, where they met to impose on each other by mutual oaths ; and that if the gods preserved his life, they should have sufficient cause to be concerned for their own calamities, instead of troubling themselves about those of the *Asiatics*. These words were levelled at the *Greeks* in general, who had in their cities large squares, where they met to trade, a custom unknown to the *Persians*^c.

Cyrus, having dismissed the *Lacedemonian* ambassadors with this answer, left *Sardis*, and, setting out for *Ecbatan*, charged *Mazares* one of his lieutenants with the reduction of *Æolis*, *Doris*, and *Ionia*. *Mazares* pursuant to his commission entering *Ionia*, took and destroyed the city of *Priene*, laid waste the fertile plains that were watered by the *Mæander*, and advancing to *Magnesia*, laid that city likewise in ashes. From *Magnesia* he marched to *Phocæa*, but before he made any attempts upon that important place, he fell sick and died. Upon his death *Harpagus*, being appointed to command the army in *Ionia*, laid close siege to *Phocæa*. The *Phocæans*, de-

Year of
the Flood
2455.
Before
Christ,
514.



^c Idem, ibid.

testing slavery, chose rather to abandon their native country, than submit to the *Persian* yoke; and accordingly, having put their wives, children, and all their most valuable effects on board their vessels, they set sail for the island of *Chios*, leaving the *Persians* in possession of an empty city. The example of the *Phœceans* was followed by the *Teians*, who, after *Harpagus* had made himself master of their walls, went on board their ships, and conveyed themselves and their families to *Thrace*, where they settled in the city of *Abdera*, which had been founded by the *Greeks* of the *Ionian* confederacy, under the conduct of *Timesius*, a native of *Clazomenæ*. The other cities of *Ionia* were all reduced by *Harpagus*, and likewise the *Dorians*, *Æolians*, and all the inhabitants of the upper *Asia*, except the *Milesians*, who, distrusting their own strength and that of the *Ionians*, had made a separate peace with *Cyrus*, and by a timely submission obtained the same terms which had been formerly granted them by *Cræsus*. The rapidity of these conquests struck the islanders with such terror, that they all submitted of their own accord. Thus all the *Greek* states, both in the islands and on the continent of *Asia*, were a second time conquered, and forced to live, under the *Persian* monarchs, in a state of greater subjection and dependency than they had ever proved before^c. In the reign of *Darius Hystaspis*, they made an attempt towards the recovery of their antient liberty, and maintained a war against the whole power of the *Persian* monarchy, for the space of six years; but were again, in spite of their utmost efforts, brought under subjection, and punished with great severity by the haughty conqueror, for endeavouring to assert the rights which they had been unjustly deprived of. But of this war, and the many calamities which it drew upon the *Greek* states in *Asia Minor*, we have already given a particular and distinct account in the history of *Persia*^d, to which we refer the reader.

THE *Ionians* assisted *Xerxes* in his expedition against *Athens* with an hundred ships; but as the king had undertaken this war for no other end but to be revenged on the *Athenians* for having sent some ships to the assistance of the *Ionians* when they attempted to shake off the *Persian* yoke, *Themistocles*, who commanded the *Athenian* fleet, imagined, that the *Ionians* served in this expedition against their will, and might therefore be easily prevailed upon to desert the *Persians*, and join their ancient allies and countrymen. But a no opportu-

^c *Ibid.*

^d p. Vol. IV. p. 309, & seq.

nity offered of conferring with them, or sending messengers, he sailed in person to the place where they used to take in fresh water, and there engraved on the rocks the following words: “ Men of *Ionia*, you are guilty of a heinous crime in fighting against your fathers, and helping to enslave *Greece*. Resolve therefore to come over to us; or if you cannot do that, withdraw your forces from the enemy, and persuade the *Carians* to imitate your example. But if both these ways are impracticable, and you find yourselves under an absolute necessity of continuing in the *Persian* fleet, favour us at least when we come to an engagement; and remember, that you are not only descended from us, but are the original cause of the *Barbarians* enmity against us”. *Themistocles* had in so doing a double view; he believed that this invitation, if not discovered to the king, would induce the *Ionians* to come over to the *Greeks*; and on the other hand, if it should come to the king’s ears, he hoped it would make him distrust the *Ionians*, and dismiss them. The *Ionians* coming ashore the next day, as usual read on the rocks the invitation of *Themistocles*, and resolved to comply with it; pursuant to which resolution when the two fleets engaged, the *Ionians* instead of falling upon the *Athenians* tacked about and made to sea. Their flight, which was soon followed by that of the *Phœnicians*, contributed not a little to the famous victory gained by the *Athenians* at *Salamis* ^w. *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that the *Ionians* by means of a certain *Samian* gave private notice to the *Athenians* of all that passed in the enemy’s fleet, assuring them, that as soon as the battle was joined they would desert the *Barbarians* ^x. This, according to our author, so encouraged the *Greeks*, before disheartened, that they attacked the *Persian* fleet, contrary to their former determinations, and gained that victory which is so famous in history ^y.

THE same stratagem was used by *Leotychides*, commander of the *Greek* fleet, before the battle of *Mycale*. The *Ionians*, *Dorians*, *Æolians*, and the inhabitants of the islands made no small part of the *Persian* army, which was drawn up along the shore in order to prevent the *Greeks* from making a descent into the country. *Leotychides* therefore, standing into the shore as near as he could, ordered a herald to speak thus to the *Ionians* in his name: “ Men of *Ionia*, hearken with attention to my words, for the *Persians* will not understand the advice I give you;

^w HERODOT. l. viii.

^x DIODOR. SICUL. l. xi. c. 1. p. 251.

^y Idem, ibid. JUSTIN. l. ii.

“ when the battle begins, every one of you ought in the first
 “ place to remember liberty ; and the next, that the word
 “ agreed upon is *Hebe*, if any of you hear me not, let those
 “ who hear inform him”. These words had such an effect
 on the *Greeks*, that in the heat of the engagement they deserted
 the *Persians*, and joined their countrymen, which occasioned
 the total overthrow of the *Persian* army. Before the en-
 gagement the *Persian* generals had appointed the *Milesians* to
 guard the passes leading to the eminences of *Mycale*, that they
 might have a safe retreat in case they were put to flight, and
 guides to conduct them over the mountains, the *Milesians*
 being well acquainted with the country. But they, acting
 quite contrary to their orders, brought back by other ways
 to the enemy such as fled ; by which means few *Persians* esca-
 ped the general slaughter of that day ^a. Thus the *Asiatic*
Greeks revolted a second time from the *Persians*, and their
 behaviour on this occasion was so pleasing to the *Lacedemoni-
 ans*, that they were for transplanting them out of *Asia* into
Greece. For they were well apprised, that if the *Ionians*
 continued in *Asia*, they would be in perpetual alarms from
 an enemy that far excelled them in strength, and was near
 to them ; whereas their friends, who were at a great distance,
 could not be assistant to them so opportunely, and at such sea-
 sons, as their necessity might require. The *Peloponnesians*
 proposed to drive those nations out of *Greece*, which had sided
 with the *Persians*, and to bestow their territories and estates
 on the *Ionians*. Upon these promises the *Ionians* and *Æolians*
 were preparing to convey themselves and their effects over into
Europe. But the *Athenians* persuaded them to remain in *Asia*,
 faithfully promising to assist them on all occasions to the utmost
 of their power. The *Athenians* were afraid that if the *IONI-
 ans* should settle in *Europe*, by the common concurrence
 of the *Greeks*, they would not for the future own *Athens* as
 their metropolis, and place of their original. The *Pelopon-
 nesians* readily yielded to the *Athenians*, and the *Ionians* upon
 second thoughts determined not to remove out of *Asia* ^a ; but
 upon the conclusion of the peace between the *Greeks* and
Persians, which happened in the reign of *Artaxerxes*, one of
 the articles, sworn to by both parties, was, that all the *Greek*
 states of *Asia* should be made free, and allowed to live accor-
 ding to their own laws ^b.

THE *Ionians*, being thus delivered from the *Persian* yoke,
 entered into an alliance with the *Athenians*, who came by de-

^a HERODOT. l. ix.
 l. xi. c. 4. p. 261.

^a HERODOT. *ibid.* DIODOR. SICUL.
^b DIODOR. *ibid.* p. 74. THUCYD. l. i.
 greeks

grees to treat them as subjects rather than allies, obliging them to contribute to all the charges of the *Peloponnesian* war, no otherwise than if they had been their vassals. Nay, *Euphemus*, who was sent in the time of the *Peloponnesian* war to draw the *Camarinæans* into an alliance with *Athens*, owned that the *Athenians* had subjected both the *Ionians* and islanders, for having joined, said he, the *Persians* against their mother city ^c. This was but a poor pretence, since the victory which the *Athenians* gained at *Salamis*, was in great measure owing to the *Ionians* and other *Greeks*, who served on board the *Persian* fleet, as we have seen above. In the reign of *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, we find them again subject to the *Persians*, and governed by *Tissaphernes*, from whom they revolted to *Cyrus* the younger. Upon the death of *Cyrus* they sent ambassadors to the *Lacedemonians*, imploring their assistance and protection against *Tissaphernes*, who was returning to his government at the head of a numerous army, with a design to punish them for their revolt. The *Lacedemonians*, having now ended the long war which they had waged with the *Athenians*, laid hold of this opportunity of breaking again with the *Persians*, and sent first *Thimbro*, after him *Dercyllidas*, and lastly *Agésilæus* their king, to invade the *Persian* provinces in *Asia*, where they made great conquests, and would have endangered the whole empire, had not *Darius*, by distributing large sums among the leading men in *Greece*, found means to rekindle the war there, which obliged the *Lacedemonians* to recal their king, and conclude a peace with the *Persians* equally disadvantageous and dishonourable to the *Grecian* name. For one of the articles was, that all the *Greek* cities in *Asia* should be subject to the king of *Persia*, and besides the islands of *Cyprus* and *Clazomenæ*. Thus were all the *Greeks* settled in *Asia*, with the utmost injustice and baseness, given up to the *Persians* ^d, whose yoke they bore till they were delivered by *Alexander*, who restored all the *Greeks* in *Asia* to the enjoyment of their antient rights and privileges ^e. After the death of *Alexander*, as they had neither strength nor courage to defend themselves, they fell under the power of the kings of *Syria*, and continued subject to them till the *Romans*, after having delivered *Greece* from the oppressions of *Philip* king of *Macedon*, obliged *Antiochus III.* surnamed *the Great*, to grant the same liberty to the *Greek* colonies in *Asia*, which they had procured for the *Greek* states in *Europe* ^f. Being

^c THUCYD. I. vi.

PLUT. in Agésilæo.

^f LIV. I. xxxv. c. 16.

^d XENOPH. anab. I. i. DIODOR. I. xiv.

^e HERODOT. I. xvii. c. 2. ARRIAN. I. iii.

thus again reinstated in their antient rights, most of the free cities entered into an alliance with *Rome*, and enjoyed such liberty as the *Romans* used to grant, till they were again brought under subjection by the famous *Mithridates* king of *Pontus*, whom they joined against the *Romans*, partly out of fear, and partly out of hatred to *Rome*. By his order they massacred, without distinction, all the *Romans* and *Italians*, whom either trade, or the sweetness of the climate had drawn into *Asia*. On this occasion the *Ephesians* distinguished themselves above the rest, not suffering even their famous temple of *Diana* to be an asylum to such *Romans* as fled to it. However, their ready compliance with the cruel and inhuman orders of *Mithridates* did not exempt them from the most tyrannical oppression. No wonder then, that, upon *Sylla's* arrival in *Asia*, they abandoned *Mithridates*, and declared for the *Romans*, as they had formerly deserted the *Romans* to side with *Mithridates*. *Ephesus* was the first that revolted, and the example of that metropolis was soon followed by *Smyrna*, *Colophon*, *Sardis*, *Trallis*, *Hypæpene*, and *Mesopolis*. The revolt of these cities made the king change his conduct, in hopes of keeping the *Greek* cities steady in his interest, and supporting his faction on the coasts of *Asia*, he restored all the *Greeks* to the full enjoyment of their liberties, declaring that even the slaves should have their share of this universal freedom^a. But they did not long enjoy the liberty, which the king out of a selfish policy bestowed upon them. *Sylla*, having routed the several armies of *Mithridates*, and reduced all the *Lesser Asia*, revenged on the *Asiatics* the death of so many thousand *Romans*, whom they had inhumanly murdered, by depriving them of their liberty, and laying such heavy taxes and fines on their cities, as reduced them to beggary. The city of *Ephesus* was treated with most severity, *Sylla* having suffered his soldiers to live there at discretion, and obliged the inhabitants to pay every officer fifty drachmas, and every soldier sixteen denarii a day. The whole sum, which the revolted cities of *Asia* paid *Sylla*, amounted to twenty thousand talents, that is, 3,875,000 l. sterling, for the raising of which they were forced to sell not only their moveables, but even great part of their lands^b. This was the most fatal blow *Asia* ever received, nor did the inhabitants ever after recover their antient splendor, notwithstanding the favour shewn them by many of the emperors, under whose protection they enjoyed, for many years at least, some shew of liberty.

^a APPIAN, in *Mithridat*.^b Idem, *ibid.* & PLUT. in *Sylla*.



B O O K II.

C H A P. I.

Of the islands of Sicily, Crete, Samos, Rhodes, &c. to their becoming subject to the Romans.

S E C T. I.

The History of SICILY.

HAVING delivered in the two foregoing volumes and the former part of this, the history of the *European* and *Asiatic Greeks* inhabiting the continent, we shall now proceed to their various settlements in the adjacent islands, beginning with *Sicily*, the most considerable of all the islands in the *Mediterranean*, and in former times the theatre of many great and memorable events.

THIS great and fruitful island was antiently known by the Name. names of *Sicania*, *Sicilia*, and *Trinacria* or *Triquetra*; the two former were borrowed from the *Sicani* and *Siculi*, who peopled a considerable part of the country, and the latter from its triangular figure, formed by the three famous promontories of *Pelorum*, *Pachynum*, and *Lilybæum* (A). *Cape Pelorum* is now called by the natives *Capo di Faro*, or *Capo della torre di Faro*. It took its antient name, if we believe *Valerius Maximus*^a and *Pomponius Mela*^b, from the pilot

^a VAL. MAX. l. ix. c. 8.^b POMP. MELÆ, l. ii. c. 7.

(A) *Terra tribus scopulis vastum procurrit in æquor ;
Trinacris a posito nomen adepta loci*, says Ovid.

Pelorus,

Pelorus, who was killed by *Hannibal*. The *Carthaginian* seeing his ship brought into the straits of *Sicily*, and fancying that the pilot designed to deliver her up to the *Romans*, put him to death; but being afterwards convinced of his innocence, he erected a statue to him on the promontory, which from that time was called *Pelorum*, *Pelorus*, and *Peloris*. This fact is related by the abovementioned historians; but their disagreement in the circumstances of the story has made some writers doubt of the truth of this event. This promontory faces *Italy*, from which it is divided by the straits of *Messina*, reaching from the tower of the *Faro*, which is the most northern point of the island, to the *Capo dell' armi*, or *Cape of arms*, the most southern part of *Calabria*. These straits, called by the *Latins* *Fretum Siculum*, by the *Italians* *il Faro di Messina*, and by us the *Fare of Messina*, are, according to *Pliny*^c, *Strabo*^d, and other geographers, between twelve and fifteen miles over in the broadest place, and in the narrowest about a mile and a half; insomuch that when *Messina* was taken by the *Carthaginians*, many of the inhabitants are said to have saved themselves by swimming to the opposite coasts of *Italy*. This narrowness gave rise to an opinion, which once obtained among the antients, viz. that *Sicily* was originally joined to the continent of *Italy* by an isthmus, which was in process of time wore away by the fury of the waves and the violence of earthquakes. *Pliny*^e, with his usual credulity, speaks of this separation as a thing not to be questioned. A modern writer of no mean character^f goes farther, and even pretends to ascertain the time of this memorable event, telling us, that it happened in the reign of *Acastus* the son of *Æolus*, who was raised to the throne by the *Siculi*, about the time that the *Israelites* were delivered from the *Egyptian* bondage. He owns himself indebted for this remarkable discovery to *Eustathius* in his observations on *Dionysius Periegetes*^g. But the most judicious among the antients look upon this pretended separation as fabulous, and speak of it as a thing that is only said to have happened^h (B). The *Fare of Messina* is famous for the rapidity

^c PLIN. l. iv. c. 6. ^d STRAB. l. v. p. 177. ^e PLIN. l. iii. c. 8. ^f TANAQUIL. FABER. l. i. epist. 14. ^g EU-
STATH. in Perieget. ver. 475. ^h MELA, l. i. c. 2. STRAB. lib. v.

(B) Some of the poets speak of it with the same reserve:

Zancle

rapidity of its currents, and the flowing and ebbing of the sea, which is very irregular, and sometimes rushes in with such violence, that the ships riding at anchor are in danger. The famous *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, so much celebrated by the poets, are at the north entrance into the straits. The former is a rock on the coast of *Italy*, the latter a whirl-pool on the side of *Sicily*. The passage between these two was in antient times reckoned very dangerous¹. The other two promontories are *Pachynum* facing *Greece*, and *Lilybæum* over-against *Afric*; the former is now known by the name of *Capo Passaro*, and the latter by that of *Capo di Marsella*, or *Capo di Boeo* (C).

THIS island lies between the 35th degr. 40 min. and the 38th 30 min. of north latitude, extending in longitude from 35 to 39 degrees. Its greatest length from *Pelorum* to *Lilybæum* is two hundred miles, its breadth from *Pachynum* to the city of *Cephalædium*, now *Cefalu*, 180, and the whole circuit of the island 600. Situation.

WE need not enlarge on its fertility, it being well known, *Soil and* that *Sicily* was antiently called the granary of *Rome*, and that *climate.* to this day, whatever desirable things nature has frugally bestowed here and there on other countries, are found in this as in their original seminary.

⁽¹⁾ FLORUS, l. i. c. 4. Seneca epist. 79, &c.

*Zancle quoque juncta fuisse
Dicitur Italiæ, donec confinia pontus
Abstulit, & media tellurem repulit unda* (1).

And Virgil:

*Hæc loca, vi quondam & magna convulsa ruina
(Tantum ævi longinqua valet mutare vetustas)
Diffiluisse ferunt; cum protinus utraque tellus
Una foret, venit medio vi pontus, & undis
Hesperium Siculo latus abscidit; arvaque & urbes
Littore diductas angusto interluit æstu* (2).

(C) *Ælian*, *Pliny*, *Solinus*, and *Valerius Maximus* tell us, that one, to whom they give the surname of *Strabo*, had such an extraordinary sight, that from a watch-tower on the promontory *Lilybæum* he discovered a fleet sailing out of the port of *Carthage*, and acquainted the *Lilybæans* with their bigness and number; and yet *Carthage* is about 180 miles distant from the coast of *Sicily*.

(1) *Ovid. Metam. l. xv. v. 290.*
l. iii. v. 414

(2) *Virg. Æneid.*

Cities,
Messana
now Mes-
sina.

THE most remarkable cities on the eastern coast of Sicily, which faces Greece, and extends from *Pelerum* to *Pachynum*, are *Messana* on the straits of Sicily over-against *Rhegium* in Italy. This city was formerly called *Zancle*, which appellation some derive from the old Sicilian word *Zanclos*, signifying a hook, the shore on which it was built being of that shape^k; others think it was so called from one *Zanclus*, who reigned in that part of the island^l. But however that be, this city, according to the chronologists, was founded five hundred and thirty years before the siege of *Troy*, and nine hundred sixty four before *Romulus* laid the foundations of *Rome*. The inhabitants of this city, being greatly harassed by the pirates of *Cuma*, had recourse to the *Messenians*, a people of Greece, who, hastening to the assistance of the *Zancleans*, cleared their coasts, entered into an alliance with the citizens, and settled in their city, which was from them called by the Greeks *Messene*, and by the Latins *Messana*^m. *Pausanias*ⁿ tells us, that *Anaxilas*, tyrant of *Rhegium*, having entered into an alliance with the *Messenians* of Greece against the *Zancleans*, overthrew their forces, and, with the assistance of his allies, possessed himself of their city, which, in compliment to the *Messenians*, who had assisted him in this expedition, he called *Messene*. This event is mentioned also by *Herodotus*^o, who ascribes all the glory of it to the *Sami*, the allies of *Anaxilas*, or, as he calls him, *Anaxilaus*. This city was afterwards seized by the *Mamertini*, as we shall relate anon, and made their capital, by which means it became one of the most wealthy and powerful cities of Sicily. It was the first town which the Romans possessed in the island, being put into their hands by the *Mamertini*. *Taurominium*, built on the ruins of the ancient city of *Naxos*, which was destroyed by *Dionysius* the tyrant, stood on the declivity of mount *Taurus*. The river *Taurominias* watered the territory of this city^p; and its hills were famous for the excellent grapes they produced. It is now called *Taormina*, and is still a place of some consideration. The coast on which it stood was antiently called *Copria*, that is, *dunghil*, because the sea was supposed to discharge there the wrecks of such ships as had been swallowed up by the *Charybdis*^q. The river *Taurominias*, which gave its name to the city, is now called *Cantara*. *Catana* stood on a gulf of the *Ionian* sea

Tauromi-
nium.

Catana.

^k DIODOR. SICUL. l. 4. c. ultimo. ^l THUCYD. l. vi. p. 413. ^m STRAB. l. vi. p. 185. THUCYD. l. i. ⁿ PAUSAN. in Messen. ^o HERODOT. l. vi. ^p DIODOR. SICUL. l. xiv. c. 60. & l. xvi. c. 7. ^q STRAB. l. 6. p. 185.

called *the gulf of Catana*, and is commended by the ancients as one of the richest and most powerful cities of *Sicily*. It was built and peopled by the inhabitants of *Chalcis*, and continued in great splendor for many ages; but at last underwent the same fate as most of the other cities in the neighbourhood of mount *Ætna*, having been in great part consumed by the eruptions of that mountain, and buried in ruins by the dreadful earthquakes, which have often laid waste the whole neighbouring country. Its territory was watered by the river *Amenes* or *Amenanus*, now called the *Judicello*^f. *Murgentium*, or *Morgantia*, was founded, according to *Strabo*^g, by the *Morgetæ*, a people of *Italy*, who crossed over into *Sicily* with the *Siculi*, and built this city, at a small distance from the mouth of the *Symæthus*, now *la Faretta*. *Thucydides*^h, *Scylax*, and *Pliny*^w place it near the conflux of the *Chrysas*, now the *Dittaino*, and the *Symæthus*. *Fazellus* is therefore mistaken in supposing *Morgantia* to have stood at the mouth of the river *Terias*, called by the natives *Fiume di San Leonardo*. *Stephanus* confounds this city with another in *Samnium* bearing the same name. There are now no footsteps remaining of either of these cities. *Leontini* stood about five miles distance from the coast, ten from *Catana*, and twenty from *Syracuse*. It was built by the *Chalcidians*, under the conduct of *Theocles* the *Athenian*, in the first year of the thirteenth olympiad, as *Thucydides* informs us^x. The territory of *Leontini* was watered by the *Lissus*, which falls into the *Terias* at the distance of eight furlongs from the city^y. *Leontini* was defended in the time of *Thucydides*^z by two strong citadels, the one called the citadel of *Phoceæ*, the other the citadel of *Bricinnia*. At a small distance from the city was a lake abounding in fish, and about twenty miles in compass. The vapours arising from the marshes, made by the overflowing of the lake, greatly infected the air, which was there deemed very unwholesome; but to make amends for this, the fields were so fruitful, that, according to *Pliny*, they yielded an hundred fold^a; whence the city of *Leontini* was called by *Tully* the grand magazine of *Sicily*^a. The wines it produced were thought the most delicious of the whole island; but the inhabitants abused this benefit by their intemperance, which gave rise to the proverb, *The people of*

Murgentium.

Leontini.

^f THUCYD. l. iii. l. vi. p. 186.

^g STRAB. l. 5. p. 166.

^h STRAB.

^w PLIN. l. iii. c. 8.

^x THUCYD. l. vi.

^y POLYB. l. vii.

^z THUCYD.

l. v. p. 344.

^a PLIN. l. iii. c. 8.

^a CIC. orat. Frumen. c. 18.

Megarís
or Hybla.

Leontini are always at their cups^b. *Dionysius* the tyrant, having made himself master of this city, removed the inhabitants to *Syracuse*. *Polybius* gives a very exact and minute account of *Leontini*, and to him we refer our readers for a more particular description of it^c. The city of *Hybla* was built by the *Sicani*, who were driven out by a colony from *Megarís* in *Greece*. These new-comers, having enlarged and embellished the place, gave it the name of their native city^d. The *Hyblæan* honey is, as every one knows, much celebrated by the *Latin* poets. The antient geographers mention three cities in *Sicily* bearing the name of *Hybla*; the city we are here speaking of stood on the eastern coast, and gave name to the gulf which the present natives call *the gulf of Augusta*, from the city of *Augusta* or *Aousta* on that bay. The second city of *Hybla* was situate on an eminence in the same place where the small town of *Ragusi* now stands, and was called the *Little Hybla*. The third, which was called the *Great Hybla*, is supposed to have stood between *Catana* and *Hadranum* in the territory of the present *Paderno*. Some pretend, that there are some traces of it still to be seen near the mouth of the *Catara*, formerly the *Alabon* or *Alabis*^e.

Syracuse.

Syracuse, once the metropolis of all *Sicily*, and a most flourishing commonwealth, was, according to *Tully*^f, the greatest and most wealthy of all the cities possessed by the *Greeks*. *Thucydides* equals it to *Athens* when that city was at the height of its glory^g, and *Strabo* calls it one of the most famous cities of the world for its advantageous situation, the stateliness of its buildings, and the immense wealth of its inhabitants^h. It was built, according to *Thucydides* and *Strabo*ⁱ, by *Archias*, one of the *Heraclidæ*, who came from *Corinth* into *Sicily*, in the second year of the eleventh olympiad. The abridger of *Stephanus*, and *Marcianus* of *Heraclæa* tell us, that it borrowed the name of *Syracuse* from a neighbouring marsh called *Syraco*. This stately city contained within its walls, which were eighteen miles in compass, four very considerable cities, as *Strabo* calls them, united into one, viz. *Acradina*, *Tyche*, *Neapolis*, and the island or *Ortygia*. In *Acradina*, the largest of the four, there was a vast square surrounded with porticoes, a magnificent temple dedicated to *Jupiter Olympius*, the *Prytaneum*, where the the public councils were held, and a spacious palace for the

^b ERASM. Chiliad.

^c POLYB. l. vii.

^d STRAB.

l. 6. p. 185.

^e Vide FAZELL. in descript. Siciliæ.

^f CIC.

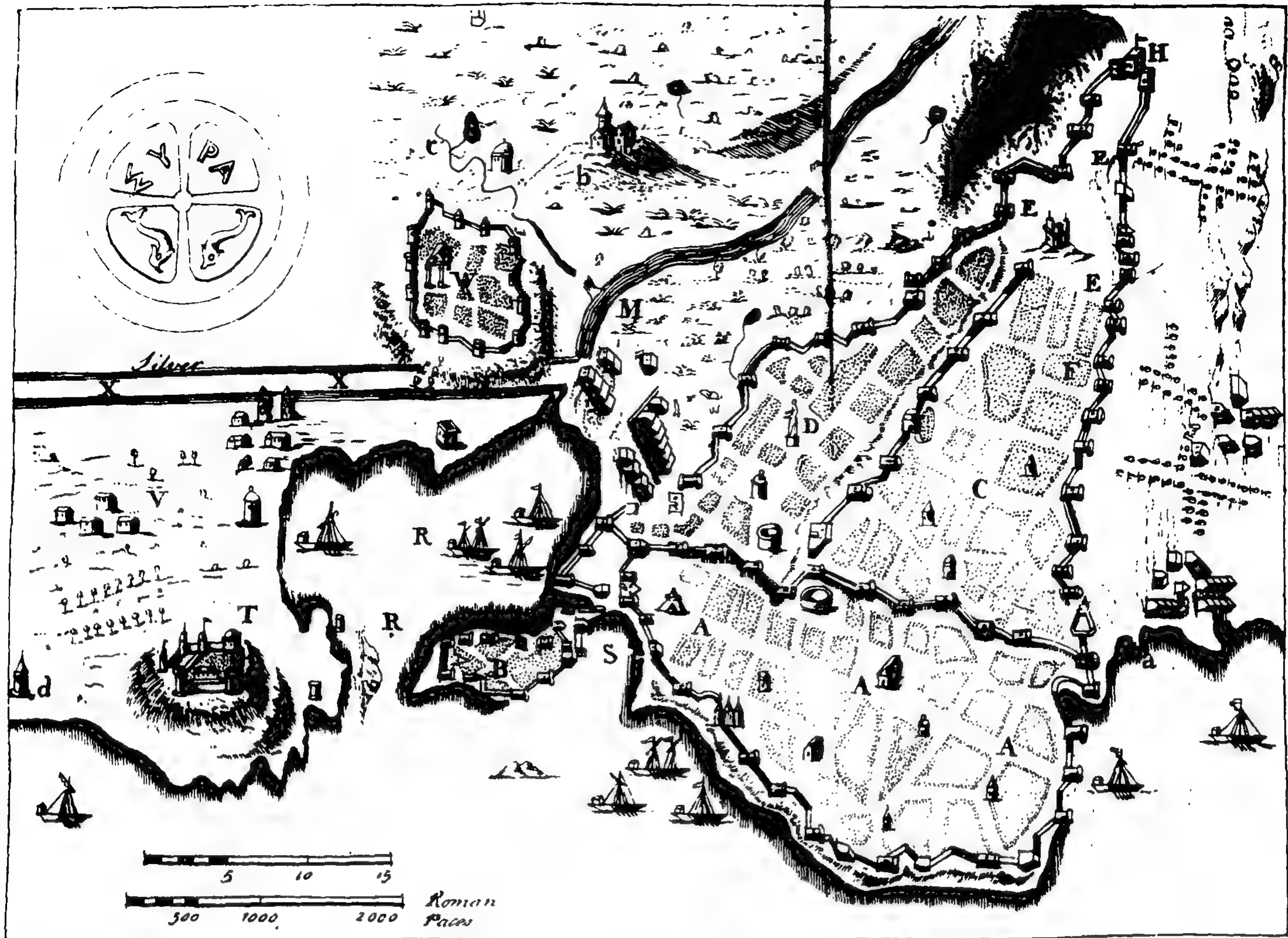
act. 4. in Verr.

^g THUCYD. l. vii. p. 503.

^h STRABO,

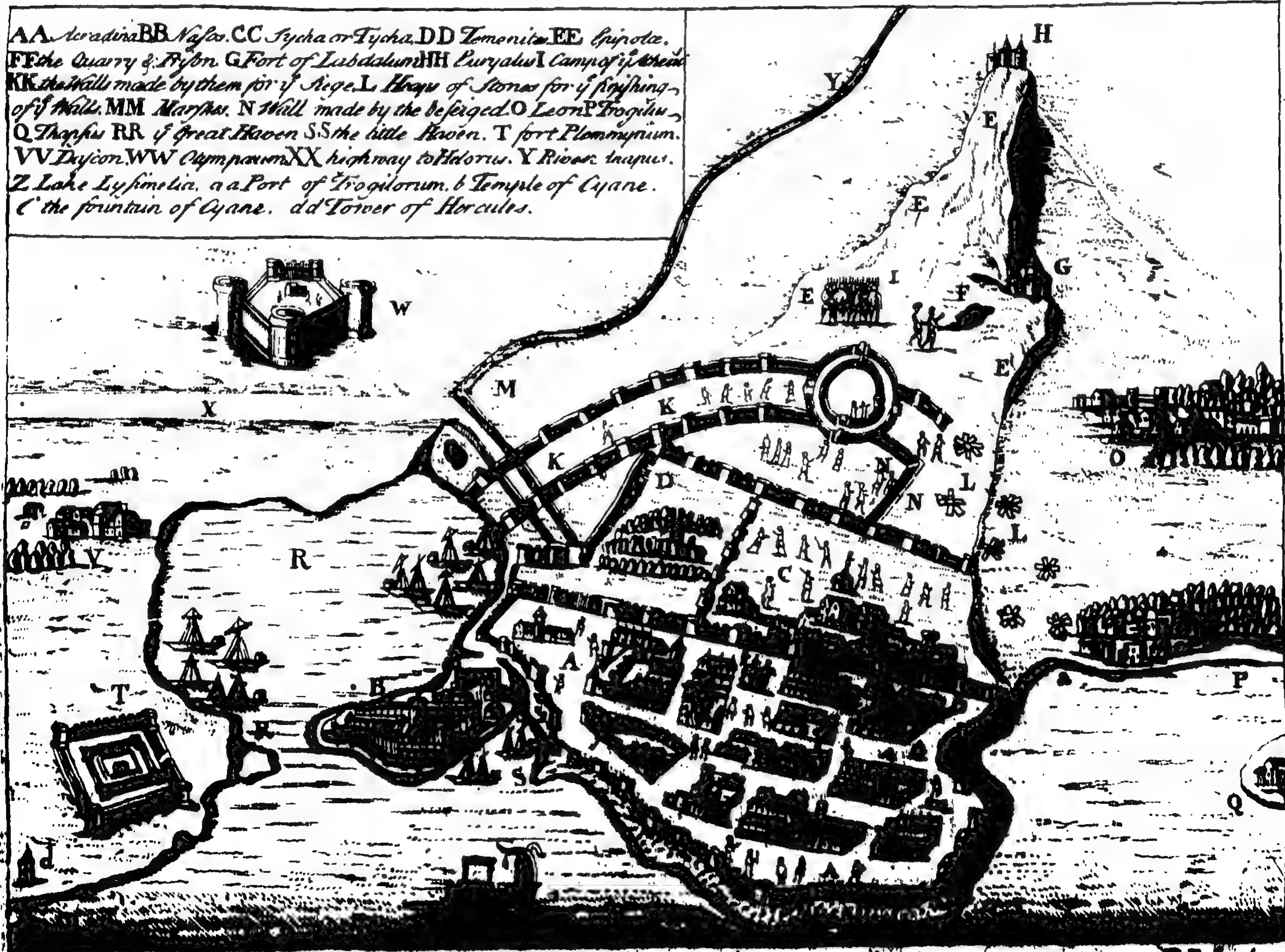
l. vi.

THUCYD. & STRAB. ubi supra.



A MAP OF THE ANCIENT CITY OF SYRACUSE

AA Acropolis BB Naxos CC Tyche or Tyche DD Temonite EE Epitola.
 FF the Quarry & Pylon G Fort of Labdalon H Puryalus I Camp of the Athenians
 KK the Walls made by them for the Siege L Hoops of Stones for the Siege
 of the Walls MM Marshes N Wall made by the besieged O Leon P Troglus
 Q Thapsu RR of Great Haven SS the little Haven T fort Plommyrium
 VV Dycon WW Olympium XX highway to Hadoru Y River inapus
 Z Lake Lysimelia a Port of Troglorum b Temple of Cyane
 c the fountain of Cyane dd Tower of Hercules



SYRACUSE BESIEGED BY THE ATHENIANS

Dr. Sculp.

administration of justice ; not to mention several other buildings which were deemed master-pieces of architecture ^k. This quarter was situated on the sea-side, and divided from *Neapolis* and *Tyche* by a wall of an extraordinary thickness and height. The second city, called *Tyche*, stood between *Acradina* and the hill *Epipolæ*, having the former on the east, and *Neapolis* on the south. The chief ornaments of this division were a spacious and beautiful gymnasium, whither the youth resorted to learn all sorts of exercises, and several temples greatly admired for their inimitable structure, especially that of *fortune*, called by the *Greeks Tyche*, whence this division borrowed its name ^l. The third quarter, called *the island* or *Ortygia* was joined to *Acradina*, *Tyche*, and *Neapolis* by a bridge ; the most remarkable buildings in this part were the palace of *Hiero*, which afterwards became the habitation of the *Roman* prætors, and two magnificent temples, the one dedicated to *Diana*, and the other to *Minerva*, the two tutelary goddesses of *Syracuse* ^m. The last city was called *Neapolis*, or *the new city*, because built after the other three ; the chief ornaments of this city were a spacious amphitheatre, and two temples of wonderful architecture, consecrated to *Ceres* and *Libera*, or *Proserpine*. The statue of *Apollo Temnites*, which was afterwards carried to *Rome*, is celebrated by *Tully* as the most valuable monument in *Neapolis* ⁿ. Of these four cities *Ortygia* alone is now remaining ; there are indeed some footsteps still to be seen of the antient *Syracusa* in the ruins of the porticoes, temples, and palaces, which are described at length by *Fazellus*, to whom we refer the reader ^o. The famous fountain of *Arethusa* (D) rose in this island, but

^k Cic. act. 4. in Verr.^l Idem, ibid.^m Idem, ibid.ⁿ Idem, ibid.^o FAZELL. de rebus Sicul.

(D) The poets, without the least shadow of probability, supposed that *Alpheus*, a river of *Elis* in *Peloponnesus*, rolled its waters either through, or under, the waves of the sea, without mixing with them, as far as the fountain of *Arethusa*, which gave occasion to the following lines of *Virgil* :

Extremum hunc Arethusa mihi concede laborem . . .

Sic tibi, cum fluctus subter labère Sicanos,

Doris amara suam non inter misceat undam (3).

Thy sacred succour *Arethusa* bring,

To crown my labour, 'tis the last I sing ; . . .

So may thy silver streams, beneath the tide,

Unmix'd with briny seas securely glide.

Dryden.

(3) *Virgil. Eclog. 10.*

K 2

15

its spring is now dried up. . Near the city stood a hill called *Epipolæ*, exceeding steep, and of very difficult access. When the *Athenians* besieged *Syracuse*, this hill was not inclosed with a wall as in after-ages, but defended by a fort called *Labdalon*^p. On *Epipolæ* was the famous prison *Latomia*, which word properly signifies a quarry. *Cicero* gives us a minute account of this dreadful prison, which was a cave one hundred and twenty five paces long, and twenty foot broad, cut out of the rock to an incredible depth. It was the work of *Dionysius* the tyrant, who caused those to be shut up in it who had the misfortune to incur his displeasure^q. The whole city was environed with a treble wall, so flanked with towers and castles at proper distances, that it was deemed impregnable. It had two harbours at a small distance from each other, being separated only by the island, viz. the great harbour and the small one, called otherwise *Laccus*; both were surrounded by stately edifices^r. The great harbour was above five thousand paces in circumference, and the entrance of it five hundred paces wide, being formed on one side by a point of the island *Ortygia*, and on the other by the little island and cape *Plennyrium*, which was defended by a fort of the same name. Above *Acradina* was a third port, called the harbour of *Trogilus*. The river *Anaplis* ran about a mile and half distance from the city, and emptied itself into the great harbour. Near the mouth of the river, and about five hundred paces from the city, stood a castle, called *Olympia* from the temple of *Jupiter Olympus*, which was the chief ornament of the place. *Thucydides* in his description of the city mentions only these three divisions, viz. the island, *Acradina*, and *Tyche*; whence it is plain, that *Ncapolis* was added after his time^s. *Syracuse* underwent several revolutions before it was taken by the *Romans*, as we shall have occasion to relate in the sequel of this history; but was always one of the most wealthy and powerful cities of those times; for *Gelon*, who had made himself master of *Syracuse* in the year of *Rome* 260, and the other tyrants his successors, were become formidable both to the *Greeks*, *Africans* and *Asiatics*. *Dionysius* the younger, who governed this city, kept in constant pay 100000 foot and 10000 horse, besides a fleet of 400 sail. It is still a very considerable place, and well peopled, having two harbours, and a great many fine buildings.

Camarina. *Camarina* was formerly one of the most wealthy cities of *Sicily*. It stood between the rivers *Oanus* and *Hipparis*, now

^p *THUCYD.* lib. vi.

^r *THUCYD.* l. vi.

^q *CIC.* *Act.* 6. in *Verr.*

^s *Idem*, *ibid.*

the *Frascolari* and *Camarana*, near the coast. Nothing now remains of this great city but some ruins, and the name of *Camarana*, which the natives give to a tower and a neighbouring marsh. *Thucydides* ^r and *Strabo* ^s tell us, that *Camarina* was founded by the *Syracusians*, who afterwards, upon some dispute between the two cities, took it by storm, and levelled it with the ground. It was rebuilt by *Hippocrates*, tyrant of *Gela*, and after many revolutions brought under subjection by the *Romans* in the first *Punic* war (E). This is the first city of note on the southern coast of *Sicily*, which lies opposite to *Africa*, and extends from cape *Pachynum* to *Lilybæum*. Next to *Camarina* stood *Gela*, a city once of great note, and ^{Gela.} said by *Thucydides* ^w to have been founded by one *Antiphemus*, who had made a descent in the island, being assisted in the enterprize by a body of two hundred *Rhodians* from the city of *Lyndus*. These gave the name of *Lyndus*, their native city, to their new habitation. Some years after a body of *Cretans*, under the conduct of one *Entimus*, landing in this part of the island, joined the *Rhodians*, and together with them peopled the city. In process of time the name of *Lyndus* was changed for that of the river *Gela*, called at present *Fiume di Terra Nova*, which watered the neighbouring territory ^x. This city is commonly thought to have stood at the mouth of the *Gela*, where *Terra Nova* now stands; but some place it in the neighbourhood of the present *Alicate* ^y. *Agri-* ^{Agrigen-} *gentum* or *Agragas* was once a city of great note, and no less ^{tum.} famous for its buildings than *Syracuse* itself. It is said by *Thucydides* ^z to have been founded by the inhabitants of *Gela*, un-

^r THUCYD. l. vi. ^s STRAB. l. vi. p. 187. ^w THUCYD. *ibid.* ^x PLIN. l. iii. c. 8. ^y Vide FAZELL. de rebus Sicul. ^z THUCYD. *ubi supra.*

(E) This city stood near a marsh, which infected the air with its pestilentious exhalations, and occasioned contagious distempers. Hence, though it was a defence to the city, the inhabitants drained it, contrary to the direction of the oracle which they had consulted. They had scarce finished the work, when the *Syracusians* attacking them on that side, took their city by assault, and utterly destroyed it. Hence the proverb *Camarinam ne moveas*, which was the answer of the oracle, and signifies that we ought not to expose ourselves to a greater evil in order to avoid a less (4). The marsh was the same with the present *Lago di Camarina*. *Ptolemy* is certainly mistaken in placing the city of *Camarina* at ten miles distance from the sea, and contradicts therein all the antient geographers.

(4) *Antholog. Græc.* & *Erasm. Chiliad.*

der the conduct of the duumviri *Aristo* and *Pistillus*, about the 99th olympiad. It stood between the rivers *Agragas* and *Hypsa*, of which the former is now called *Fiume di Gergenti* and *Fiume di San Biaggio*, the latter *Fiume Drago*. We may judge of the situation and splendor of the antient *Agrigentum* from the description which *Polybius* gives us of it. “ It exceeds, says he, most cities in *Sicily* for its fortifications, beautiful appearance, and magnificent buildings. It stands a hundred and eighteen furlongs distant from the sea, but can conveniently import by water all sorts of provisions. It is by reason of its situation and fortifications one of the strongest places in the island. Its walls are built upon a rock, which by art is become inaccessible. The river, from which it takes its name, covers it to the south, and the *Hypsa* to the west; to the east it is defended by a fortress built on the brink of a precipice which serves instead of a ditch”. Among other remarkable buildings in it there were three temples greatly commended by the antients, viz. the temple of *Minerva*, the temple of *Jupiter Olympius*, and that of *Jupiter Atabyris*, so called from a mountain in the island of *Rhodes*, where that god was worshipped: For *Agrigentum*, as we have observed above, was built by the inhabitants of *Gela*, who were composed of *Rhodians* and *Cretans*. *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that the citadel called *Omphace*, which stood at a little distance from the mouth of *Agragas*, was much more antient than the city itself ^b. The temple of *Jupiter Olympius* was one of the most magnificent in *Sicily*. It was, according to *Diodorus* ^c, three hundred and forty foot in length, threescore in breadth, and in height a hundred and twenty. This writer highly extols the beauty and size of the columns which supported the building, the admirable structure of the porticoes, and the exquisite taste, with which the bas-reliefs and paintings were performed; and adds, that the last hand was never put to that stately edifice. We shall have occasion hereafter to speak of the immense and almost incredible wealth of the *Agrigentines*. *Heraclea Minoa*, so called, according to *Diodorus* ^d, because built by *Minos* king of *Crete*, stood on the banks of the *Halycus*, now the *Platani*, not far from the place which the natives call *Castel bianco*. Some writers tell us, that this city was built before the *Cretans* arrived in *Sicily*, and was called *Macara*, which name was by the *Cretans*, who seized on the place, changed into that of *Minoa* in honour of their king *Minos*. *Diodorus* is not very coherent

Heraclea
Minoa.

^a POLYB. l. vii.

^d Idem, l. xvi.

^b DIODOR. l. xiii.

^c Idem, ibid.

with

with himself in the account he gives of it ; for in one place ^c he tells us, that it was built by *Minos*, and in another ^e that it was founded by the *Cretans* after their king's death. The *Cretans* were driven out by the *Selinuntii*, and these in their turn by a colony of *Lacedemonians* under the command of one of the *Heraclidæ*, from whom it borrowed the name *Heraclea*. There are still extant some medals with the name of this city and the figure of *Hercules*, from whom the leader of the *Lacedemonians* pretended to be descended.

Selinus was formerly a city of great note, and is rank- Selinus:
ed by the antients among the chief cities of *Sicily*. *Ptolemy* places it between the river *Mazara* and the promontory *Lilybæum* ; but herein he differs from all the antient historians and geographers, who speak of it as standing between the *Mazara* and the *Hypsa*. *Strabo* ^g tells us, that it was built by the inhabitants of *Megara* in *Sicily* under the command of one *Pammilus*, about an hundred years after the foundation of their own city. *Thucydides* seems to allude to their origin when he calls them *Selinuntians* of *Megara* ^h. They had great quarrels with the inhabitants of *Segesta* about their frontiers, which kindled a bloody war between the two cities. The *Segestani*, being overpowered by their adversaries, had recourse to *Hannibal* the son of *Gisco*, who was then in *Sicily* at the head of an hundred thousand men. The *Carthaginian* did not let slip so fair an opportunity of punishing the *Selinuntians* for the insults they had offered his father. For *Gisco*, being banished *Carthage*, had taken refuge in *Selinus*, and perished there for want, the inhabitants refusing to afford him any relief while he was in the utmost distress. *Selinus*, not being able to hold out against so formidable an army, was taken and razed, and most of the citizens inhumanly massacred, without regard to sex or age. Some time after *Hermocrates*, the father-in-law of *Dionysius* the elder, being expelled *Syracuse*, joined the remains of the *Selinuntii*, who had escaped the rage of the *Carthaginians*, and repaired the city, which was subsisting in the second *Punic* war, but in *Strabo*'s time quite deserted ⁱ. *Diogenes Laertius* tells us, that near *Selinus* was a marsh, which with its pestilentious vapours infected the whole neighbourhood ; to prevent which evil, *Empedocles* turned the streams of the two rivers *Selinus* and *Hypsa* into the marsh, and by that means carried off the stagnating waters. The same author adds, that the citizens, in gratitude for so great a benefit, ordered divine honours to be paid *Empedocles*, and

^c DIODOR. l. xvi.^e Idem, l. iv.^g STRAB. l. vi.^h THUCYD. l. vii.ⁱ STRAB. ubi supra.

sacrifices to be offered to *Æsculapius*. The city borrowed its name from the river *Selinus*, and the river from the great quantity of *smallage*, called in *Greek Selinon*, which grew on its banks. The river *Selinus* is supposed to be the present *Madiuni*, and the city the place now called by the natives *Terra delle pulci* ^k. These are the most noted cities on the southern coast, which faces *Africa*. On that which lies over-against *Italy*, and is called by *Ptolemy* the western, but ought to be rather called the northern coast, were the following cities.

Lilybæ-
m.

Lilybæum, which gave name to the cape, was, according to *Tully* ^l, one of the strongest and most considerable cities of *Sicily*. There is nothing now remaining of it but the ruins of some aqueducts and temples, though it was still standing in *Strabo*'s time ^m. The city of *Marsala* or *Marsella*, whence the cape is now called *Capo di Marsella*, is supposed to have been built out of its ruins. *Lilybæum* had a port, which was a safe retreat for ships even in *Julius Cæsar*'s time ⁿ. The *Romans* indeed attempted several times to stop it up in their wars with *Carthage*; but their attempts proved unsuccessful, the heaps of stones which they threw into it being too weak to resist the violence of the seas and the storms. The *Carthaginians*, as *Diodorus* informs us ^o, laid the foundations of *Lilybæum*, after they had been driven from *Motya* by *Dionysius* the tyrant; and, according to the same writer ^p, *Motya* was taken by the tyrant the fourth year of the ninety fifth olympiad. But *Diodorus* herein contradicts himself, as he has but too often the misfortune to do; for he tells us elsewhere ^q, that it was besieged by the *Carthaginians* in the eighty first olympiad, that is about fifty two years before. The sepulchre of the sybil of *Cumæ* was formerly to be seen near this city ^r. *Diodorus* ^s speaks of a well near *Lilybæum*, whereof the waters inspired all those who drank them with a prophetic enthusiasm; whence the inhabitants paid a particular worship to *Apollo*. *Drepanum*, now *Trapani*, antiently a famous mart with a safe harbour, was so called from the *Greek* word *Drepanos*, signifying a *scythe*, such being the shape of the shore on which it stood. It was inclosed with strong walls, and fortified by *Hamilcar*, *Hannibal*'s father, who kept it a considerable time, and made it the seat of war against the *Romans*, till by an order from *Carthage* he concluded a peace with *Lutatius*.

Drepa-
m.

^k FAZELL. ubi supra. ^l CIC. act. 5. in Verr. ^m STRAB. l. vi. ⁿ HIRTIUS de Bell. African. ^o DIONOR. SICUL. l. xxii. ^p Idem, l. xiv. ^q Idem, l. xi. ^r SOLIN. c. 11. ^s DIONOR. de origin. l. viii. c. 8. ^t DIONOR. ubi supra.

Near *Drepanum* was the little island of *Columbaria*, which the inhabitants now call *La Columbara*. In *Drepanum* died *Anchises*, if *Virgil* is to be credited¹. *Eryx* stood on the top of a hill, bearing the same name, at a small distance from the sea, and the place now called *Trepano del Monte*. The city borrowed its name from the mountain, and the mountain, as is supposed, from *Eryx* the son of *Venus*, who is said to have been killed there by *Hercules*. *Mela* tells us², that *Æneas* built a temple on the top of the mountain in honour of his mother *Venus*. It is certain, that the votaries of this goddess came in crouds from all parts of *Greece*, *Italy*, and *Sicily*, to make their offerings to her in this place; whence she was stiled *Venus Erycina*. *Eryx* was the seat of king *Acestes*, who so kindly entertained *Æneas* and his wandering *Trojans*. *Hamilcar* in the first year of the first *Punic* war razed the ancient city of *Eryx*, and repaired *Drepanum* with materials brought from thence. It was soon after rebuilt, for we find it to have been the last city which the *Carthaginians* held in *Sicily*, and delivered up to the *Romans* at the end of the same war. In *Strabo's* time it was almost quite deserted, few people resorting to the temple, after the *Romans* had built a magnificent one to *Venus Erycina* at a small distance from the gate *Collina*³.

Segesta, called by the *Greek* writers *Egesta*, and sometimes *Segesta*. *Acesta*, stood at a small distance from mount *Eryx*, and, according to an antient tradition, was built by *Æneas*, when he was by a storm driven on the coast of *Sicily*. Some writers add, that *Egestus*, or, as *Virgil* calls him, *Acestes*, was left in possession of the city by the founder, on his setting sail for *Italy*, and that from him it was called *Egesta* till it became subject to the *Romans*, who out of superstition changed the name of *Egesta* into that of *Segesta* (F). Others say, that

¹ VIRGIL. *Æneid*. 3, ver. 707. ² MELA, l. ii. ³ STRABO, l. vi. p. 188.

(F) The *Romans*, says *Pompeius Festus* (7) changed the name of *Egesta*, into that of *Segesta*, by adding to it the letter S. This change was wholly founded on superstition. For the word *Egesta* is the same, all but one letter, as *Egelas*, which signifies in *Latin* poverty or want; and such names, as imported any danger that was bad, alarmed the superstitious *Romans*, who thought them ominous of the dangers that threatened the person who pronounced them. (F)

that it was built by *Egestus* before *Æneas* came into *Italy*, and some are of opinion, that it was founded by one *Elymus* a *Trojan*, whence the inhabitants of this district were called *Elymi* *. Their territory was watered by the *Scamander* and the *Simois*, two names given these rivers by the *Trojans*, in memory of those in their native country; the former is now *Il fiume di San Bartolomeo*, and the latter a rivulet without name. This city was taken by *Agathocles* tyrant of *Syracuse*, by whose cruel command all the inhabitants were put to the sword, and even the antient name of the place changed into that of *Dicæpolis*, which it did not long retain. *Tully* tells us, that it was ruined by the *Carthaginians* before the reign of *Agathocles*, if therefore *Diodorus's* account be true, it must have been rebuilt. According to *Strabo's* description of it, it stood near the place where the town of *Barbara* was built many ages after, at a small distance from *Castle a Mare*.

Panormus. *Panormus*, now *Palermo* and the capital of *Sicily*, was built by the *Phœnicians* some time before the arrival of any *Greeks* in the island †. Its territory was watered by the *Orethrus* and the *Leutherus*, the former is now called *Amiraglio*, and the latter *Baiaria*. In the neighbourhood of this city stood antiently a strong fortress called *Erēta*, which name was common to it with the hill, which the natives call *Monte Pellegrino*. **Himera.** *Himera* was built by the inhabitants of *Zancle* or *Messina*, and utterly ruined by the *Carthaginians* ‡. It was afterwards rebuilt, and called by the *Romans* *Thermæ Himerae*, from the hot baths in its neighbourhood. *Tully* speaks of this city as one of the most considerable in *Sicily* §. *Himera* was the birth-place of the famous poet *Stesichorus*. *Tully* tells us, that among the ruins of the old city two statues were dug up, which were deemed master-peices of art; the one representing the city itself under the figure of a woman, and the other a stooping old man with a hook in his hand, supposed to be *Stesichorus*. The city borrowed its name from the river *Himera*, now *fiume di Termini*, which washed its walls (G).
In

* *STRABO* l. 7 ex *APOLLONIO*, & *CIC.* *Act.* 6. in *Verr.*

† *PHILCYD.* l. 6. ‡ *DIODOR.* l. 13, c. 67. § *CIC.* *Act.* 2. in *Verr.*

on these groundless prejudices they changed the name of the city, which was first called *Maleventum*, into that of *Beneventum*, as they did that of *Egesta* into *Segesta*.

(G) There were two rivers in *Sicily* bearing this name; one running

In the reign of *Augustus* it was made a Roman colony, as appears from some medals ^b. *Alæsa*, or *Halæsa*, was a very antient city of Sicily, and stood, as *Fazellus* conjectures, near the place where the city of *Caronia* stands at present, on the river *Alæsus* or *fiume di Casonia*. Near *Alæsa* was a fountain, which, as *Solinus* would make us believe, used at the sound of a flute to bubble up so that it could not be kept within the basin ^c. *Agathyrna*, which *Strabo* ^d calls *Agathyrsum*, and *Antoninus's* ^e *Agathyrna* itinerary *Agatinum*, was according to *Diodorus* founded in the time of the Trojan war. Some think, that it stood near the place now called *Son Marco*, at a small distance from the promontory, which the Sicilians call *Capo d'Orlando*. These are the chief cities we find mentioned by the antient geographers on the coasts of Sicily. Among the inland cities, the following are the most remarkable.

Adranum, now *Aderno*, at the foot of mount *Ætna*, near a river formerly bearing the same name, as it does at present, being called *Fiume d'Aderno*. This city was built, according to *Diodorus* ^e, by *Dionysius* the elder, and was famous for the temple of *Adranus*, the tutelary god of the *Siculi*. Thither the inhabitants of the island and foreigners flocked at stated times of the year, to make their offerings and implore the protection of the deity of the place. *Ælian* tells us, that a thousand large mastiffs were constantly kept here, and that they were endowed with a particular instinct, which led them to fawn upon such as brought presents to the temple, to conduct drunken persons home in the night, and fall furiously on thieves, and tear them in pieces ^f. *Centuripe*, formerly one of the richest cities in Sicily, is now but a small village called by the natives *Centorbe*. It stood, according to *Strabo* ^g, at the foot of mount *Ætna*, not far from the river *Symæthus*, now *La Foresta*.

Enna stood on an eminence in the middle of Sicily, as *Enna*. *Strabo* ^h informs us; whence it was called, according to *Di-*

^b FAZELL. de reb. Sicul. ^c SOLINUS c. 11. ^d STRABO l. 6 c. 184. ^e DIODOR. SICUL. l. 14. c. 38. ^f ÆLIAN. de Animal. l. 3. ^g STRABO. l. 6. ^h STRABO. ibid.

running northward, and this is the river which gave the name to the city; the other runs southward, and falls into the *African* sea. The former is now called *Fiume di Termini*, and the latter *Il Salso* or *Salso* which name agrees with what the antients say of it, viz. that its waters had a salt taste, which they contracted by flowing through salt mines.

adorus ^l, the *navel* of Sicily. It was one of the strongest places in the island, and remarkable for its beautiful plains, fruitful soil, and the many lakes and springs which watered its territory. A modern writer derives the name of *Enna* from the word *Ennaam*, which in the *Phœnician* language signifies a *fountain of pleasure* ^k, the waters of this place being highly commended by the antients for their limpidity and wholesomeness. We are told by *Diodorus* ^l, that *Ceres* was born in this district, and that she first taught the inhabitants of *Enna* the art of agriculture. *Diodorus* adds, that the rape of *Proserpine* by *Pluto* happened near *Enna*, while the young goddess was gathering flowers in a neighbouring meadow. This opinion obtained among the *Ennæans*, who shewed a large cavern, which opened of itself, as they believed, to make the god a way to his infernal kingdom. Hence the worship which the *Sicilians* paid these two divinities, the magnificent temple which *Gelo* erected to *Ceres* in this city, and the solemn festival which the *Syracusians* annually celebrated near the fountain *Cyane*, supposed to have sprung up when the earth opened under *Pluto's* feet. The temple of *Ceres* was resorted to from all parts of *Italy*, *Greece*, and *Asia*, and was deemed one of the richest in *Sicily*. The antient city of *Enna* is supposed to have stood where *Castro Janni* now stands.

Engyum.

Engyum or *Enguyum* stood near mount *Maurus*, which the inhabitants call *Mandonia*, near the springs of *Alesus*. *Cicero* ^m speaks of *Engyum* as one of the most considerable cities of *Sicily*. It was founded by the *Cretans*, and was famous for a temple dedicated to *Ceres*, in which it was constantly affirmed that certain goddesses, called *the Mothers*, appeared from time to time. This temple was, according to *Plutarch*, built by the *Cretans*, and dedicated to the goddesses stiled *the Mothers* (H). That writer adds, that in the temple were lodged javelins and brazen helmets, which had been consecrated to the goddesses of the place by *Meriones* and *Ulysses*. These were the chief cities of *Sicily* in the ages we are to write

^l DIODOR. SICUL. l. 5. c. 3.

^k BOCHART Phal. l. 2. c. 3.

^l DIODOR. SICUL. l. 5. c. 3.

^m CIC. Aët. 3. in Verr.

(H) The *Pagans* gave the name of mothers to the goddesses of the first rank, namely to *Cybele*, *Juno*, and *Vesta*. In the like manner the god, whose protection they implored, was often invoked by the name of father. *Cicero* speaks of a famous temple erected in the city of *Engyum* to *Cybele*, who was stiled *the Great Mother* (G).

(G) Cic. Aët. 2. in Verr.

of;

of; the others we shall describe in our notes, as we shall have occasion to speak of them in the sequel of the history.

Ætna, now *Mount Gibel*, or in one word *Mongibello*, is Mount the highest in *Sicily*, and famous for its frequent and dreadful rains. eruptions, which have often destroyed the whole country to a *Ætna*. great distance. It is said to be eight miles in height and seventeen in circumference. The lower parts are very fruitful, the middle shaded with woods, and the top covered with snow great part of the year, notwithstanding the flames and hot cinders it frequently throws up (1). The fire, which is continually burning in the bowels of this mountain, made the poets place here the forges of the *Cyclopes* under the direction of *Vulcan*, and the prison of the giants who rebelled against *Jupiter*. These fictions the vulgar soon took for truths, and looked on mount *Ætna* as the residence of *Vulcan* and the seat of his empire. Upon this supposition they erected a temple to him on the hill, in which was kept, as *Ælian* informs us ^a, a perpetual fire as in the temple of *Vesta*, this element being a symbol of *Vulcan*. Any extraordinary eruption was looked upon by the *Romans* as ominous, and two very dreadful ones are said to have happened, the one not long before the breaking out of the servile war in *Sicily*, and the other soon after the death of *Julius Cæsar*, both portending the bloody wars that ensued. The most remarkable conflagrations we read of since those times were in the years of the *Christian æra* 1169, 1329, 1408, 1444, 1447, 1536, 1554, by the last of which *Catania* and the neighbouring countries were very near being utterly destroyed, as they were also in 1699. But we must refer the reader for the causes of those eruptions, and a particular account of them, to *Fazellus*, *Cluverius*, and *Leontinus* in his *Pyrologia Typographica*. Next to *Ætna* in height and compass is mount *Eryx*, which we have spoke of above.

THE principal rivers were the *Terius*, now *La Tavetta*, Rivers. the *Himera*, rising on mount *Modenia* and falling into the

^aÆLIAN. l. 11. de Animal.

(1) This is elegantly expressed by *Silius Italicus*, in the following lines :

Summo cana jugo cohibet (mirabile dictu !)
Vicinam flammis glaciem, æternoque rigore
Ardentes horrent scopuli : stat vertice celsi
Collis hyems, calidaque nivem tegit atra favilla (7).

(7) *Sil. Ital. l. 14 v. 571.*

Silius

African sea ; it is now called *Salso* for the reasons we have hinted above ; the *Halycus*, called by the present inhabitants, *Il Platani* ; it rises at a little distance from the small town *Halce*, antiently *Halyciæ*, and discharges itself into the *Sicilian* sea, near the ruins of *Heraclea*, about eighteen miles west of *Agrigentum* ; the *Anapus*, which rises near *Bussena*, waters the territory of *Syracuse*, and empties itself into the *Sicilian* sea, &c.

No country has produced men more famed for learning than *Sicily* ; but we need not enlarge on this subject, it being well known, that *Æschylus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Empedocles*, *Gorgias*, *Euclid*, *Archimedes*, *Epicharmus*, *Theocritus*, &c. were natives of this island.

*The Æolian-
an islands.* THE *Æolian* islands lie off the north coast of *Sicily*, in the *Tyrrhenian* or *Tuscan* sea. They were so called from *Æolus*, who is supposed to have reigned there. They are also known by the name of the *Vulcanian* islands, because some of them vomited out flames like mount *Ætna*, and *Vulcan* was the tutelary god of all such places ; for the same reason they were called by the *Greeks* *Hephestiades*. *Strabo*, *Diodorus*, *Mela*, and *Pliny* count seven of them, viz. *Lipara*, *Hiera*, *Strongylæ*, *Evonymos*, *Didymæ*, *Ericusa*, *Phenicusa*. *Lipara*, now *Lipari*, is the best peopled and the largest of all the *Æolian* islands, being eighteen miles in compass. It is said to have borrowed its name from *Liparus* the son of *Auson*, who reigned in this island^o. The soil is very fruitful, and the country furnished with great plenty of allom, sulphur, and bitumen. It has many medicinal baths, which were formerly much frequented ; whence it had the name of *Thermessæ*. *Strongylæ*, now *Strombolo*, is about ten miles in compass ; and the soil no less fruitful than that of *Lipari*, but the whole country is frequently laid waste by the flames which a mountain in the island throws out. The other islands are noways considerable, most of them being uninhabited and mere rocks. *Ptolemy* reckons up fifteen of these islands ; but, it is evident, he includes in that number several other little islands which are too far distant from the *Æolian* islands to be comprehended under that denomination. They are distant about forty miles from the north coast of *Sicily*, and fifty from the nearest part of the farther *Calabria*.

*The islands
Ægates.* THE islands, called *Ægates*, or *Ægades*, lie north of cape *Lilybæum*, and are three in number, viz. *Phorbantia*, or *Buccina* as *Pliny* calls it, *Ægusa* or *Capraria*, and *Hiera*,

^o DIODOR. SICUL. l. 5. c. 8.

which

which is also called *Maritima*. The first is now called *Levenzo*, the second *Favignana*, and the third *Maretano*.

THE *Cyclopes* and *Læstrigones* were, according to *Justin*, *Pliny*, *Solinus*, and *Thucydides*, the first inhabitants of *Sicily*. They are said to have settled in the territory of *Leontium* and the countries in the neighbourhood of mount *Ætna*; but of their origin we know nothing except what we are told by the poets. That there were formerly *Cyclopes*, or giants, some moderns have endeavoured to prove from the remains of some dead bodies of a gigantic size, which have been found in several parts of this island. They pretend, that these giants were descended from *Japhet*, and that they came into *Sicily* after the confusion of languages^p. Their inhumanity towards strangers, and the flames which mount *Ætna*, a part of their territory, was constantly vomiting out, gave occasion to the many fictions of the poets, especially that the *Cyclopes* fed on human flesh, and that they were employed by *Vulcan* to make thunderbolts for *Jupiter*.

THE most antient inhabitants after the *Cyclopes* were the *Sicani*, who, as *Diodorus* informs us^q, called themselves the original inhabitants of the island. But *Thucydides*^r, *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*^s, *Philistus*, as quoted by *Diodorus*^t, *Solinus*^u, and the poet *Silius*^w tell us, that they came from a country in *Spain*, watered by the river *Sicanus*, which *Servius*^x, upon very weak conjectures, takes to be the *Segro*. Some writers will have them to have been called *Sicani* from the river *Sicanus*; others from their leader, under whose conduct they settled in *Sicily*, and gave their name to the island, which before was called *Trinacria*. *Diodorus* is of opinion, that the *Sicani* were the original inhabitants of *Sicily* and supports his assertion with the authority of *Timæus*, who wrote the history of *Sicily* from the earliest ages. According to that antient writer, the *Sicanians* at first enjoyed the whole island, and applied themselves to cultivate and improve the ground in the neighbourhood of mount *Ætna*, the most fruitful part of the island: they built several small towns and villages on the hills to secure themselves against thieves and robbers, and were governed not by one common prince, but each city and district by its own king. Thus they continued to live till *Ætna* began to throw out flames, and lay waste the whole

^p Vide THOM. FAZELL. Decad. 1. l. 1. c. 7. & Mariar. Valguarnera de primis incolis Siciliæ.

^q DIODOR. SICUL. l. 5. c. 2. ^r THUCYD. l. 6. ^s DION. HALIC. l. 1. ^t DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.

^u SOLINUS, c. 10. ^w SIL. ITAL. l. 14.

^x SERV. in lib. 8. *Æneid*.

seventeenth olympiad, *Archias* the *Corinthian*, one of the *Heracidae*, laid the foundations of *Syracuse*. Seven years after a new colony of *Chalcidians* founded *Leontini* and *Catana*, after having driven out the *Siculi* who inhabited that tract. About the same time *Lamis* with a colony from *Megara*, a city of *Achaia*, settled on the river *Pantarus* at a place called *Trotilum*, where his adventurers lived some time in common with the *Chalcidians* of *Leontini*; but being driven from thence by the *Leontines*, he built the city of *Thapsus*, where he died. Upon his death, the colony left *Thapsus*, and, under the conduct of *Hyblon* king of the *Siculi*, founded *Megara Hyblæa*, where they resided two hundred and forty five years, till they were driven out by *Gelon*, tyrant of *Syracuse*. During their abode at *Megara*, they sent one *Pamphilus*, who was come from *Megara* in *Achaia* their original city, to build *Selinus*. This city was founded about a hundred years after the foundation of *Megara*. *Antiphemus* and *Entimus*, the former a *Rhodian*, the other a *Cretan*, led each a colony of their countrymen, and jointly built the city of *Gela* on a river of the same name, establishing in their new settlement the *Doric* customs, about forty five years after the founding of *Syracuse*. The inhabitants of *Gela* founded *Agrigentum*, an hundred and eight years after their arrival in *Sicily*, and introduced the same customs there. A few years after, *Zancle* was built by the pirates of *Cumæ* in *Italy*, but chiefly peopled by the *Chalcidians*, *Samians*, and *Ionians*, who chose rather to seek new settlements than live under the *Persian* yoke. Some time after, *Anaxilas*, tyrant of *Rhegium*, drove out the antient proprietors, and, dividing their lands among his followers, called the city *Messana* or *Messene*, which was the name of his native city in *Peloponnesus*. The city of *Himera* was founded by the *Zancleans* under the direction of *Eucleides*, *Simus*, and *Sacon*; but peopled by the *Chalcidians*, and some *Syracusan* exiles, who had been driven out by the contrary faction. The *Syracusians* built *Acræ*, *Chasimenæ*, and *Camarina*; the first seventy years, the second ninety, and the third one hundred and thirty five after the foundation of their own city. This is the account which *Thucydides*, a most judicious and exact writer, gives us of the various nations, whether *Greeks* or *Barbarians*, who settled in *Sicily*. He takes no notice of a colony from *Crete*, which, if *Diodorus* is to be credited, settled in *Sicily* long before the *Greeks* got any footing in that island. According to this writer, *Minos*,

^c THUCYD. l. vi.

king of *Crete*, having invaded *Sicily* in pursuit of *Dædalus*, was there treacherously put to death by *Cocalus* king of the *Sicani*. The *Cretans*, who had attended him in this expedition, having lost their leader, and likewise their ships which were all burnt by *Cocalus*, resolved to settle in the island, and build a city; which they did accordingly, calling it from the name of their king *Minoa*. Some time after the inhabitants of *Minoa*, possessing themselves of a place strong by nature, in the heart of the country, built there the city of *Engyum*. After the destruction of *Troy*, *Merion* with other *Cretans* being cast away on the coasts of *Sicily*, were kindly entertained by their countrymen there, and admitted to share all the privileges of their city. Their power being thus increased with their numbers, they began to make frequent inroads into the neighbouring territories, and considerably extended their confines. In process of time they became one of the most wealthy colonies of *Sicily*, and built a most magnificent temple in honour of the *Curetes* or *Corybantes*; called in *Crete* the *Mother Goddesses*[†]. *Strabo* counts among the antient inhabitants of *Sicily* the *Morgetes*, who being driven out of *Italy* by the *OEnotrians*, settled in that part of the island, where the antient city of *Morgantium* stood[‡]. The *Campani*, who assumed the name of *Mamertini*, that is, *invincible warriors*, and the *Carthaginians*, who settled very early in *Sicily*, ought likewise to be counted among the antient inhabitants of the island; but of these we shall have frequent occasion to speak in the sequel of this history.

The His-

tory of the
Sicani and
Siculi.

As the authors, who have wrote the history of *Sicily* from the earliest times, and to whom both *Diodorus* and *Thucydides* refer us for a more full account of what they only hint at, have not, to the irreparable loss of the learned world, reached our times, we cannot pretend to give any satisfactory or connected history of those nations, that inhabited the island, before the arrival of the *Greeks* (K). Of the *Læstrigones*

† DIOD. SICUL. l. v. c. 13.

‡ STRAB. l. vi.

(K) The authors who wrote the history of *Sicily* from the earliest ages are *Timæus*, *Philistus*, *Antiochus* of *Syracuse*, *Hipys*, and *Theopompus*. *Timæus* was contemporary with *Plato*, wrote the history of *Sicily*, and is often quoted and followed by *Diodorus Siculus*. *Philistus* flourished under the two *Dionysii*, and wrote a complete history of *Sicily* from the earliest ages to his time. He was a native of *Naucratis*, but passed great part of his life at *Syracuse*, where he assisted *Dionysius* in the establishing of his authority. He married

Lastrigones and *Cyclopes* we know nothing but what we read in the poets, and is beneath the dignity of history to take notice of. We shall only say, that some writers have, not without good grounds, imagined, that the *Lastrigones* and *Sicani* were one and the same people ^a. As to the *Sicani*, they had at first as many kings as cities, but were in process of time brought under subjection to one common prince. Of all their kings we find two only mentioned in history, viz. *Cocalus* and *Teutus*; all we know of the latter is, that in his time the *Sicani*, being at variance among themselves, were subdued by *Phalaris* tyrant of *Agrigentum*, and *Teutus* himself taken by

^a Vid. RAINACCII. hist. Jul. Vol. II. p. 381.

married the niece of *Dionysius*, unknown to him, and was on that account banished Sicily. He is often quoted by *Josephus*, and seems to have been an accurate writer (18). *Antiochus* of *Syracuse* is quoted by *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* as an author of great credit; he flourished about the 90th olympiad, and wrote the history of Sicily in nine books, which began with the reign of *Cocalus*, and ended with the state of Sicily in the reign of *Darius Notus* king of *Persia*. *Pausanias* mentions this author in these words; *Antiochus son of Xenophanes, a Syracusan, says in his history of Sicily, &c.* He is also quoted by *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, who tells us, that he extracted his history from ancient and authentic monuments. *Strabo*, *Hesychius*, and *Festus* seem to pay a great deference to the authority of this writer. *Hippi* flourished either in the reign of *Darius*, or that of *Xerxes*, and was the first who wrote the history of Sicily, which history was afterwards abridged by one *Myes*. He is frequently quoted by *Plutarch*, *Suidas*, the scholiast on *Aratus*, and others. *Theopompus*, a native of the isle of *Cbios*, flourished in the reigns of *Artaxerxes Ochus* of *Persia*, and *Philip* the father of *Alexander* of *Macedon*. He was the disciple of *Isocrates*, and in the opinion of *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, far excelled his master. *Athenæus* cites and commends him as a lover of truth, and one who spared no pains in the search of it. Besides many other excellent performances, he wrote the history of *Philip*, the father of *Alexander*, in three books; in one of which he gave an account of the affairs of Sicily from the beginning of the reign of *Dionysius* the elder, to the expulsion of *Dionysius* the younger (19). As the works of these authors have not reached us, we are left quite in the dark as to some of the most material points in the history of Sicily.

(18) Vid. *Plut.* in *Dio. Diodor. Sicul. l. xvi.*
Sicul. l. xvi.

(19) *Diodor.*

treachery in *Vessa* his capital¹. *Cocalus* reigned long before him, and was, according to *Diodorus*, contemporary with *Minos* king of *Crete*, who, being highly incensed against *Dædalus* for helping his queen *Pasiphaë* to satisfy her unnatural lust, equipt a powerful fleet, and pursued him into *Sicily*, where *Cocalus* then reigned. Upon his arrival he sent messengers to *Cocalus*, requiring him to deliver up *Dædalus*. The *Sicanian* shewed himself disposed to comply with his request, entertained him very splendidly, and invited him to his palace, where he caused him to be privately stifled in a hot bath. The *Cretans*, who had attended him into *Sicily*, raised a stately monument to their deceased king, whose bones were many ages after dug up in laying the foundations of *Agrirentum*, and sent into *Crete* by *Thero* sovereign of that district². In the time of the *Peloponnesian* war, the *Sicani* sided with the *Lacedemonians*; and afterwards with *Dionysius*, tyrant of *Syracuse*, against the *Carthaginians*; but were at last entirely subdued by the latter, and held in subjection till the *Romans* in the first *Punic* war rescued them from that bondage³.

THE *Siculi* were in like manner first subject to many, and afterwards to one common prince. *Æolus*, according to *Diodorus*⁴ and *Justin*⁵, was their first king, and succeeded by *Butes*; as *Butes* was by *Eryx*. But the most renowned among their princes was *Ducetius*, who governed the *Siculi* with great wisdom, built the city of *Palicon* (L), and re-

¹ POLYÆN. l. v.

EUSEB. in Chron.

² JUSTIN, l. iv.

³ DIODOR. l. iv. c. 13.

⁴ DIODOR. l. xiii. & xvi.

PAUSAN. l. vii.

⁵ Idem, l. xiii.

(L) The city was so called from a neighbouring temple dedicated to the gods *Palici*, who were supposed to be two twin-brothers, and sons of *Jupiter* by the nymph *Thalia*. The temple was very famous for the wonders that were related of it; but far more for the sacredness of the oaths that were taken there, the violation of which was said to be always attended with sudden and exemplary punishment. This sacred place was a secure asylum for all persons, who were oppressed by a superior power; and especially for slaves, who were unjustly abused, or too cruelly treated by their masters. They continued safe in the temple till such time as they had made their peace by the interposition of mediators chosen by both parties; and there was not a single instance of a master's having forfeited the promise he had made to pardon his slaves; so greatly revered were the gods who presided in the temple for the severe vengeance they were believed to take on those who violated their oaths (20).

(20) *Diodor. Sicul. ibid. c. 22.*

moved that of *Neas*, the place of his birth, from the hills to the champain country °. He engaged in a war with the *Syracusians*, by whom he was routed, and surrendering himself to them, was set at liberty, upon condition that he should leave *Sicily*, and lead a private life at *Corinth* (M). The *Syracusians*, having thus got rid of a powerful rival, reduced the whole country of the *Siculi* except the city of *Trinacria* alone, which refused to admit the *Syracusians* within the walls. This city was at that time the metropolis of the *Siculi*, and its inhabitants were accounted the best warriors of the whole na-

° DIODOR. l. xi.

(M) *Ducetius*, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, united all the *Siculi*, the inhabitants of *Hybla* excepted, into one body; by which means he became very powerful, and gained several considerable victories over the *Syracusians*, who began to give no small umbrage to the inhabitants of *Sicily*. But after many glorious successes, *Ducetius* was defeated in a pitched battle, and abandoned by the greatest part of his forces. The consternation, into which so sudden & general a desertion threw him, prompted him to take a resolution, which nothing but the utmost despair could suggest. He withdrew in the night to *Syracuse*, advanced as far as the great square in the middle of the city, and there falling prostrate at the foot of the altar, abandoned his life and dominions to the mercy of the *Syracusians* his professed enemies. Such a sight drew the whole city into the square, and the orators endeavoured to inflame the people thus assembled against the suppliant, whom providence had put into their hands, that they might revenge and punish by his death all the injuries he had done the republic. Such speeches incensed the multitude, who were ready to fall upon him even at the foot of the altar; but, an assembly being convened, the wisest of the senators represented, that they were not to consider what punishment *Ducetius* might deserve, but how it behoved the *Syracusians* to behave on that occasion; that they ought not to look upon him any longer as an enemy, but as a suppliant, by which character his person was become sacred and inviolable; that it was worthy the goodness natural to the *Syracusians* to exert their clemency even towards those who least deserved it, &c. The people was greatly affected with this speech, and all to a man voted for sparing *Ducetius's* life. However, he was banished *Sicily*, and ordered to reside at *Corinth*, the original city of the *Syracusians*, who took upon them to furnish the exile with all things necessary to support himself suitable to his dignity. *Ducetius*, however, returned some years after into *Sicily*, under pretence of founding a new colony, and endeavoured to deliver his countrymen from the oppression they groaned under, but was prevented by death from accomplishing his design (21).

(21) *Diodor. Sicul. l. xi. § xii*

tion.

tion. The *Syracusians* therefore, having drawn together all their troops, marched out against the *Trinacrians*, who met them at some distance from their city, and offered them battle. Both armies engaged with the utmost fury, and the victory was long doubtful. But at last the *Trinacrians* were overpowered with numbers, and thinking it beneath them either to beg quarter or to fly, were all to a man killed on the spot. Such of them as were wounded, preferring death to captivity, dispatched themselves. The *Syracusians*, having gained so compleat a victory over a people never before subdued, levelled the city with the ground, sold all the women and children for slaves, and sent the spoils by way of thanksgiving to the temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos* ^p. Thus were the *Siculi* reduced by the *Syracusians*; but they did not long continue subject to them; for in the war which not long after broke out between the *Syracusians* and *Athenians*, under the conduct of *Nicias*, we find the former soliciting the *Siculi* to join them against a foreign enemy, and espouse the cause of *Syracuse* as their own. But the *Siculi* were so far from complying with their request, that they sent powerful succours to the *Athenians*, and cut in pieces a body of *Spartans* that was marching to the relief of *Syracuse* ^q. In the war which was soon after kindled between *Carthage* and *Syracuse*, they assisted the *Carthaginians* with an army of twenty thousand men ^r. But in the war which *Dionysius* the elder made upon the *Carthaginians* with a design to drive them out of the island, they assisted the *Syracusians* to the utmost of their power. The *Carthaginians* prevailed in this war, and the *Siculi*, notwithstanding the assistance they had lent *Dionysius*, were by him abandoned, and given up to the *Carthaginians*, whose yoke they bore till the time of *Timoleon* the *Corinthian*, who restored most of the cities belonging to the *Siculi* to the full enjoyment of their antient liberties ^s, as we shall have occasion to relate at length in the sequel of this history. This is what we have been able to gather relating to the first inhabitants of *Sicily*, from the few fragments that are still remaining of the authors, who have wrote at length on that subject. We shall now proceed to the history of the *Greek* colonies in *Sicily*, beginning with that of *Syracuse*, the most powerful state and eminent city in the whole island.

^p Idem, l. xii.
l. xiv.

^q Idem, *ibid.*

^r Idem, l. xiii.

^s Idem,

S E C T. II.

The History of SYRACUSE.

WHAT kind of government first prevailed in the city of *Syracuse* is not well known. We find one *Polis*, mentioned by *Athenæus* : and *Ælian* *, as reigning there in the earliest times; whence some have concluded, that the city was first governed by kings. It is certain, that monarchical government, if first introduced, was not of long continuance, being soon changed into a democracy, as is manifest from *Aristotle* †, *Diodorus Siculus* ‡, and *Justin* §. But as the history of that republic is for the space of two hundred years overcast with an impenetrable mist for want of records, we shall begin with the reign of *Gelon*, in whose time *Syracuse* began to make a very considerable figure, and thenceforward furnishes many great and memorable events for the space of above two hundred years. During all that time it exhibits a perpetual alternative of slavery under tyrants, and liberty under a popular government, till it was at length reduced by the *Romans*, and made part of their empire.

Gelon was born in the city of *Gela*, whence he probably took his name (N). He signalized himself in the wars, which *Hippocrates*, tyrant of *Gela*, carried on against the neigh-

Gelon.
Year of
the Flood,
2514.
Before
Christ,
485.

* *ATHEN.* l. iii. c. 28.
† *ARISTOT.* l. v. *Polit.* c. 4.
‡ *TIN.* l. xxii.

* *ÆLIAN.* V. H. l. xii. c. 31.
‡ *DIODOR. SICUL.* l. xx.

† *A-*
‡ *Jus-*

(N) The first of *Gelon*'s ancestors we find mentioned in his history was one *Oecetor*, who was born in the island of *Telus*, but went to settle at *Gela*, whence he was driven with the other inhabitants by *Antiophanes* and the *Lydians* of *Rhodes*, when they possessed themselves of that city. In process of time, one of his descendants, by name *Telines*, was created by the inhabitants of *Gela* high-priest of the infernal gods. At what time the family returned to *Gela* is not known. *Herodotus* (22) informs us, that *Telines* was the first of the descendants of *Oecetor*, who made any figure, and that some of the inhabitants of *Gela* being expelled in a sedition, he by the authority of his function brought them back to their native country, for which good office the priesthood was continued in his family.

(22) *Herodot.* l. vii.

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bouring states, most of which he reduced, and was very near making himself master of *Syracuse*, after having defeated the *Syracusians* in a battle fought on the banks of the *Florus*; however, he obliged them to deliver up to *Hippocrates* the city of *Camarina*, which they had ever possessed to that time. After the death of *Hippocrates*, *Gelon*, under pretence of defending the rights of the tyrant's children, his wards, took up arms against his own citizens, and, having overcome them in a battle, seized on the sovereignty for himself. After this success, he undertook to restore some *Syracusians*, who had been expelled the city by the contrary faction. With these exiles he marched from *Casmene* to *Syracuse*, where he was received by the populace with loud acclamations, and put in possession of the city. Being now master of so wealthy a place, he gave the government of *Gela* to his brother *Hiero*, and bent all his thoughts on the embellishing of *Syracuse*, and extending the limits of that state. His first care was to people it well, and therefore, having destroyed the city of *Camarina*, he transferred the inhabitants to *Syracuse*. He had soon after some disputes with the *Megarians*, who were supported by all the *Eubæans* that inhabited *Sicily*. But their joint forces were not able to cope with *Gelon*, who drove them out of the field, took and razed their cities, and transplanted the most wealthy among the inhabitants to his favourite city, allowing them to enjoy the same rights and privileges as the natives. The common people, though they had no part in promoting the war against him, he sold for slaves, obliging those who purchased them to transport them out of *Sicily*, saying, that it was more easy to govern a thousand men of substance, than one who had nothing to lose*. By this means the power of *Syracuse* rose in a short time to a very great height, and the friendship of *Gelon* was courted, not only by the neighbouring states, but by those of *Greece*, namely of *Athens* and *Lacedemon*, who jointly sent ambassadors into *Sicily*, inviting him to enter into an alliance with them against *Xerxes* king of *Persia*, who was ready to invade *Greece* with a formidable army. *Gelon*, it seems, had been before this time engaged in a war with the *Carthaginians*, and on that occasion had implored in vain the assistance of the *Athenians* and *Lacedemonians*, for he upbraided the ambassadors with the contempt *Athens* and *Lacedemon* had shewn him, when he solicited succours from them against the *Carthaginians*. However, he declared at the same time, that he was so far from retaliating such an ungenerous treatment, that, on the con-

* HERODOT. l. vii.

trary, he was ready to supply them with two hundred galleys, twenty thousand men compleatly armed, two thousand horse, two thousand bow-men, two thousand slingers, two thousand light horse, and besides to furnish the whole *Greek* army with corn during all the time of the war, upon condition they would appoint him commander in chief of all their forces. This proposal was rejected by the ambassadors with indignation, who told him, that if he was willing to succour *Greece* under the conduct of the *Athenians* and *Lacedemonians*, they would willingly enter into a confederacy with him against the common enemy, but, if he disdained to obey their orders, they did not care for his assistance. *Gelon* replied with a great deal of temper, that he could not help thinking he had a better claim to the supreme command, than either the *Lacedemonians* or *Athenians*, since he had a far greater number both of sea and land forces; but, however, he would abate something of his first pretensions, and be satisfied with the command either of the fleet or the army, and allow them to chuse which of the two they liked best. The ambassadors, notwithstanding the straits their respective countries were in, would hearken to no such proposals; whereupon they were commanded by *Gelon* to depart forthwith his dominions ^b.

IN the mean time *Gelon* being informed that *Xerxes* had already crossed the *Hellepont*, and apprehending that the *Greeks* would not be able to resist so formidable a power, dispatched to *Delphos* one *Cadmus*, a person whom he could confide in (O), with rich presents, enjoining him to wait the

^b HERODOT. *ibid.* DIODOR. SICUL. l. xi. ARISTOT. l. viii. Polit. c. 12.

(O) *Cadmus* had been formerly lord of *Cos*, the dominion of which island he had received by inheritance from his ancestors; but because they had usurped that sovereignty, and unjustly deprived the inhabitants of their liberty, *Cadmus* voluntarily resigned his authority, restored the *Coans* to their antient rights and privileges, and retired to the city of *Zancle* in *Sicily*, where he lived a private life. *Gelon*, who was well acquainted with his character, sent him to *Delphos* on this occasion, entrusting him with presents of an immense value. Neither was he deceived in the opinion which he had conceived of his integrity; for *Cadmus* no sooner heard that the *Persians* had been defeated, and that *Xerxes* was retiring with his forces, than he returned to *Sicily*, and delivered up to *Gelon* the treasures he had entrusted him with, though he might with impunity have appropriated them to himself (23).

(23) *Herodot* *ibid.*

event of a battle, and in case *Xerxes* should conquer to present him with the treasure, and pay him homage in his name; but if the *Greeks* should get the better of the *Barbarian*, to bring back the presents to *Sicily* (P). *Gelon*, it seems, was at this time quite ignorant of the alliance which *Xerxes* had concluded with the *Carthaginians* before he undertook his expedition into *Greece*. By that treaty it was agreed, that while the *Persians* invaded *Greece*, the *Carthaginians* should fall on those who were of the *Greek* name in *Sicily* and *Italy*, that they might be diverted from assisting one another. Pursuant to this agreement, the *Carthaginians* made vast preparations with a view to recover the places which they had formerly possessed in *Sicily*. It is not exactly known, at what time the *Carthaginians* first carried their arms into *Sicily*; all we are certain of is, that they were possessed of some part of it as early as the first year after the expulsion of king *Tarquin* at *Rome*; for in the time of the first consuls *Brutus* and *Valerius* the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* entered into a treaty, chiefly in relation to navigation and commerce, whereby it was expressly stipulated among other things, that the *Romans*, who should touch at *Sardinia*, or that part of *Sicily* which belonged to the *Carthaginians*, should be received there in the same manner as the *Carthaginians* themselves ^d. Hence it is manifest, that the *Carthaginians* were already masters of *Sardinia* and part of *Sicily*. This treaty was concluded about twenty eight years before *Xerxes* invaded *Greece*; but at the time of that expedition the *Carthaginians* had not a foot of ground in *Sicily*, having been driven out by *Gelon*, as appears from that prince's speech to the *Athenian* and *Spartan*

^c HERODOT. *ibid.*

^d POLYB. l. iii. c. 22, 23, 24.

(P) The *Sicilian* writers, as *Herodotus* informs us, vary in some particulars of this account, and say, that *Gelon*, having at last prevailed with himself to serve under the *Lacedemonians*, would have assisted *Greece* in her distress, if his own dominions had not been invaded by the *Carthaginians*. These authors make no mention of any alliance concluded between the *Persians* and *Carthaginians*; but tell us, that the *Carthaginians* were invited into *Sicily* by *Terillus*, who had been tyrant of *Himera*, but dispossessed of his government by *Theron* tyrant of *Agrigentum*, to revenge which injury, at the instigation of *Anaxilas* tyrant of *Rhegium*, who had married his daughter, he had recourse to the *Carthaginians*, not doubting but they would gladly embrace so favourable an opportunity of invading *Sicily* (24).

(24) *Idem, ibid.*

ambassadors related at length by *Herodotus* ^e. No wonder then, that the *Carthaginians* readily embraced so favourable an opportunity of recovering their dominions in *Sicily*, and joined in alliance with *Xerxes*, who was an irreconcilable enemy to the whole *Greek* nation. The preparations for this war are said to have been continued for three years, during which time *Hamilcar* the son of *Hanno*, who was charged with the management of it, not only railed what forces he could in *Africa*, but also with the money sent him by *Xerxes* hired a great number of mercenaries in *Spain*, *Gaul*, and *Italy*; so that his army amounted to three hundred thousand men, and his fleet to two thousand ships of war and three thousand transports. With this formidable army *Hamilcar* sailed from *Carthage*, and landing without opposition at *Panormus*, laid siege to *Himera* a maritime city in that neighbourhood. *Theron*, tyrant of *Agrigentum*, whose daughter *Gelon* had married, was then in possession of *Himera*, having driven from thence *Terillus* to whom that city of right belonged. The tyrant seeing his city all on a sudden invested with so numerous an army, dispatched messenger after messenger to his son-in-law, imploring a speedy succour. *Gelon*, upon the first notice he had of the straits *Theron* was in, drew together an army of fifty thousand foot and five thousand horse, and marched with all possible expedition to his relief. *Hamilcar*, on his sitting down before *Himera*, which was a town of great strength, had caused two large camps to be well fortified; in one of which he lodged his land-army; and his ships, which he had caused to be drawn ashore, in the other, placing there all his marines for their defence. *Gelon*, on his arrival at *Himera*, intercepted a courier, carrying letters from the inhabitants of *Selinus*, confederates of the *Carthaginians*, to *Hamilcar*, whereby he understood, that *Hamilcar* was to offer the next morning in the camp of the marines a solemn sacrifice to *Neptune*, and that he had appointed the *Selinuntine* cavalry to join him the same day in the said camp. *Gelon*, taking advantage of this intelligence, drew out an equal number of his own horse, ordering them to advance to the enemy's camp about the time agreed on, as if they were the *Selinuntines*. His orders were put in execution, and the body of cavalry admitted without the least suspicion into the camp. *Hamilcar* was then busy in sacrificing, and the greater part of the soldiery attending him without arms. The *Syracusians* therefore, without the least opposition, making up to Ha-

^e HERODOT. ubi supra.

milcar, killed him, pursuant to their general's orders, cut in pieces most of his marines, and set fire to the ships. In this critical conjuncture, *Gelon*, who had notice of the success by a signal given him from the top of a neighbouring hill, drew out his army and attacked the other camp. The *Carthaginians* at first made a gallant resistance; but when news was brought them of their general's death, and at the same time seeing all their fleet in a blaze, they had no longer courage to stand their ground, but betook themselves to a precipitous flight; and then the slaughter was dreadful. We are told, that no fewer than an hundred and fifty thousand were killed in the pursuit; the rest retired to an eminence, where they made head against the enemy; but being surrounded on all sides without any hopes of relief, they were obliged, for want of provisions, to surrender at discretion; so that of this mighty army, the greatest that had ever been raised in those western parts, not one single man made his escape ^t. *Herodotus* tells us, that this battle was fought the same day as that of *Salamis*, but *Diodorus Siculus* will have the *Carthaginians* to have been defeated the same day that *Leonidas* was killed at *Thermopylae*. After the battle *Gelon* amply rewarded all those who had signalized themselves in the action, especially the body of horse, to whom he was chiefly indebted for the victory. The greatest part of the spoils, which were of an immense value, he offered to the gods, adorning with them the temples of *Syracuse* and *Himera*. The captives he shared with his allies, who employed them in public works for the common good; and so many were taken, that all *Africa*, as our author says, seemed to have been transplanted into *Sicily*. Some of the private citizens of *Agrigentum*, who had distinguished themselves above the rest, had five hundred a-piece. They were all put in irons, and set apart for the public service; and on this occasion it was, that the *Agrigentines* built their famous temple, and made those conduits, which were so much admired by the antients, and called *Pheaces* from one *Pheax*, who was the overseer of the work ^g.

Of the two thousand ships of war and three thousand transports, of which the *Carthaginian* fleet consisted, eight ships only, which happened to be out at sea when the camp of the marines was taken, made their escape, and sailed for *Carthage*; but before they reached that place they were all cast away, a few men only being saved in a small boat. These arriving

^t HERODOT. & DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.
cur. &c.

^g DIODOR. SIC.

at *Carthage* brought the dismal news of the entire defeat of their army and the loss of their fleet. The grief, consternation, and despair, which such an unexpected disaster occasioned in the city, is not to be expressed. As the *Carthaginians* in all great reverses of fortune ever lost their courage, and sunk into despair, they looked upon themselves as utterly ruined, expecting every moment to see the victorious army land at *Carthage*. In this fright they immediately dispatched ambassadors into *Sicily*, enjoining them to strike up a peace with *Gelon* upon any terms. The ambassadors without delay put to sea, and landing at *Syracuse* threw themselves at the conqueror's feet, and with many tears begged him to receive their city into favour, and grant them a peace upon what conditions he should think fit to prescribe. *Gelon* heard them with great humanity, and, being touched with compassion, granted them a peace upon the following conditions; viz. that they should pay two thousand talents of silver to defray the expences they had put him to, build two temples, where the articles of the treaty should be lodged and kept as sacred, and for the future abstain from offering human sacrifices. This last article shews the humanity of *Gelon's* temper; and indeed no prince ever gave more instances of good nature than he, after his authority was once established. Some acts of severity, which he is said to have practised before he was firmly seated on the throne, are generally ascribed to his counsellors, who prompted him to them against the natural bent of his humane temper. The *Carthaginians* did not think this a dear purchase of a peace, which was absolutely necessary for their affairs, and which they hardly durst hope for. They shewed their gratitude to *Damarata*, *Gelon's* wife, who had been chiefly instrumental in procuring them so favourable a peace, by sending her a crown of gold, which was valued at an hundred talents of gold. This crown *Gelon* turned into money, and coined pieces called from his wife's name *Damaretia*, each of them being worth ten *Attic* drachmas ^b.

Gelon, after the conclusion of the peace, having nothing to fear from *Africa*, resolved to embark his troops, and passing over into *Greece*, join his countrymen there against the *Persians*. Upon second thoughts he had changed his mind, and resolved rather to serve under the *Lacedemonians* and *Athenians*, than suffer the barbarians to insult over those of the *Greek* name. But while all things were in a readiness for this expedition, a messenger from *Corinth* brought him the joyful news

^b Idem, *ibid*.

of the victory, which the *Greeks* had gained at *Salamis*, and at the same time acquainted him, that *Xerxes* with a great part of his army had left *Europe*. Hereupon he disbanded his army, after having commended his soldiers and officers for the forwardness they had shewn to assist their countrymen in *Greece*, and given each of them some token of his favour. He commanded the allies to return to their respective homes, and the mercenaries he quartered in places at a great distance from *Syracuse* his metropolis. And now having no troops within, or near, the city, he summoned a general assembly of all the inhabitants of *Syracuse*, commanding them to come armed, as if they were to encounter an enemy. When they were met, he himself repaired to the assembly without arms or guards, and there gave them an account of his whole conduct, shewing to what uses he had applyed the several sums with which he had been entrusted, and in what manner he had employed his authority; adding, that he had never any thing else in view but the public welfare; but, however, if he had through ignorance done any thing amiss, they were at full liberty to inflict upon him what punishment they thought fit, since they were all well armed, and he without arms or guards to screen himself from their vengeance. The numerous assembly struck with so unexpected a speech, and still more with the unusual confidence he reposed in them, answered with loud acclamations, calling him their great benefactor, their deliverer, their king. This last title *Gelon* had ever declined, stiling himself only prætor of *Syracuse*; but the *Syracusians* obliged him, before he left the assembly, to accept of it, and with one consent invested him with the supreme authority¹. Their gratitude did not stop here; a decree was passed, without opposition, settling the crown, after his death, on his two brothers, *Hiero* and *Thrasybulus*. And because he had, by coming without arms or guards into the assembly, put his life into their hands, the assembly commanded a statue to be erected representing him simply in the habit of a citizen, hoping thereby to transmit the memory of so remarkable an action to the latest posterity² (Q).

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¹ Idem, *ibid.*² Idem, *ibid.* & *PLUT.* in *Timol.*

(Q) This statue met afterwards with a very singular fate. About a hundred and thirty years after it had been set up, *Timoleon*, having restored the *Syracusians* to their antient liberty, thought it advisable to sell all the statues of the princes, who had governed till that time, in order to erase the least footsteps of tyranny, and

at

THE *Syracusians* had no cause to repent their having entrusted him with the sovereign power ; for he employed the short time he reigned in the truly royal care of making his people happy. He was the first man, as our author observes ¹, who became more virtuous by being raised to the throne. Before his power was established, he was, contrary to his natural disposition, obliged to use some severity ; but when the supreme authority was by the common consent of the citizens put into his hands, he made it his only study to oblige all, and serve the public to the utmost of his power, without any regard to his private ease or advantage. The first thing he did, after his accession to the throne, was, to bestow on ten thousand foreigners, who had served under him, all the rights and privileges of the *Syracusan* citizens. This he did with a view to people his capital, to encrease the power of the state, and reward the services of so many brave men, who had exposed their lives for the defence of the city ^m. He was, as *Plutarch* informs us ⁿ, particularly famous for his honesty, truth, and sincerity ; for he is said never to have wilfully wronged the meanest of his subjects, and never to have promised a thing which he did not perform. Happening once to be in great want of money for the carrying on of an expedition, and, on the other side, not caring to load his subjects with extraordinary taxes, he convened the people, laid before them the state of his finances, and desired them to contribute voluntarily what every one could afford, and should think proper. The *Syracusians*, who were not yet well acquainted with *Gelon's* character, for this happened before his victory over the *Carthaginians*, seemed unwilling to be at any expence on account of the expedition, for which the money was designed. He therefore entreated them to lend him the necessary sum, assuring them, that though it was to be employed for the public good, they should be reimbursed as soon as the war was ended. He was then furnished with the money he wanted, which he not only repaid at the time agreed

¹DIODOR. SICUL ubi supra. ^m Idem, ibid. ⁿ PLUT in Apophth.

at the same time to relieve the wants of the people. But first he brought them to a trial as so many criminals, hearing the depositions and witnesses against them. They were all condemned with one voice, the statue of *Gelon* excepted, which found an eloquent advocate in the sincere gratitude the citizens still retained for so beneficent a prince (25).

on, but divided great part of the booty, which he got in that expedition, among those who had lent him it °.

ONE of the chief objects of his attention was the encouraging of agriculture, which he took great pains to make his subjects look upon as an honourable employment. He animated the husbandmen by his presence, and took delight in employing his spare hours in working with them in the fields. His design in so doing was not, says *Plutarch* ^p, merely to render the country rich and fruitful, but to inure his subjects to toils, and by that means preserve them from a thousand disorders, which inevitably accompany a soft and indolent life. He was a professed enemy to all luxury, pomp, and ostentation ; and ever used his utmost endeavours to banish from his dominions all such callings as had a natural tendency to debauch the manners, and enervate the courage of his subjects. From his infancy he shewed a great disinclination to music, which was at that time in great request among the *Greeks* ; whence while he was one day at an entertainment, a lyre being presented, according to a custom that then prevailed, to each of the guests, when it was *Gelon's* turn to play, he, instead of sounding the instrument as the rest had done, caused his horse to be brought, and mounting him with wonderful agility and grace, shewed that he had learned a more noble and manly exercise, than that of playing on the lyre ^q.

EVER since the defeat of the *Carthaginians* the several cities of *Sicily* enjoyed a profound peace ; such as had sided with the enemy were, upon their first application, generously pardoned by the conqueror, and suffered quietly to enjoy their antient liberties. The *Syracusians*, above all others, were happy under the auspicious government of so good and beneficent a prince. Their republic, indeed, was changed into a monarchy ; but the laws, and not the monarch, bore the whole sway. Their properties were as safe, their liberties as extensive, as when they were their own masters, and their city in a far more flourishing condition than ever. Their king assumed no part of the kingly office, but the toils and cares of it, and the satisfaction of procuring happiness to others, which of all satisfactions is the greatest. He was often heard to say, that the *Syracusians* in placing the crown upon his head could have no other view than to engage him, by so signal a favour, to defend the state, to preserve order in all things, to protect innocence and justice, and to exhibit, by

° Idem, *ibid.*^p Idem, *ibid.*^q Idem, *ibid.*

his

his simple, modest, frugal, and regular life, a pattern of all civil virtues to his subjects. And this design he answered above any prince that ever had swayed a sceptre before him; his whole life being taken up in promoting the worship of the gods, the observance of the laws, and the welfare of his subjects. But his reign was short, heaven having only shewn, we may say, to the world, that those, who in after-ages were to be set over others, might in him have a perfect pattern of all the virtues that are becoming so eminent a station. He died of a dropsy, in the seventh year of his reign, and the grief of his subjects for the loss of their common father, and best friend, as they not undeservedly stiled him, was equal to the love and esteem they had always bore him. Even on his death-bed he gave an instance of his respect for the laws; the *Syracusians* had enacted one against the extravagant pomp of funerals, and *Gelon*, always willing to confirm with his example what the people agreed on, begged his brother *Hiero*, who was to succeed him, to take care that this law was strictly observed in his funeral. The whole city accompanied the body of their beloved king to the place where it was to be interred, though it was above 20 miles distant from *Syracuse*. The people, in token of their gratitude and affection for so loving a prince, erected in the place where he was buried, a magnificent mausoleum, surrounded with nine towers, of a surprizing height and exquisite structure, and decreed him those honours, which were then paid to the demi-gods or heroes. The *Carthaginians* afterwards demolished the mausoleum, and *Agathocles* the towers; but says our historian, neither violence, envy, nor time, which destroys all other things, could efface the glory of his name, or abolish the memory of his exalted virtues and noble actions, which love and gratitude had engraved in the hearts of his subjects (R).

AFTER *Gelon*'s death, the sceptre continued near twelve years in his family. He was succeeded by *Hiero* his eldest brother, who is commended by some of the antients as an

Hiero.

Year of

the Flood,

2527.

Before

Christ, 1

472.

^r DIODOR. SICUL. l. II. ÆLIAN de Animal. l. I. c. 3. SCHOLIAST. PINDARI, p. 164. PLUT. in Dion.

(R) *Pliny* tells us out of *Philippus* that when his body was burnt according to the ancient custom, a favourite dog of his followed the body of his deceased master to the funeral pile, and, throwing himself into the flame, was with it reduced to ashes (R).

(R) *Pliny* l. x. c. 1.

VOL. VII.

(C)

Excellent

excellent prince, and by others represented as a covetous, headstrong, and cruel tyrant. To reconcile these writers we must distinguish the periods. In the beginning of his reign he behaved more like an unjust tyrant, than a lawful prince; he thought himself above the laws, despised his subjects, and, led by his covetous temper, impoverished the people to enrich himself. His conduct, so unlike that of his predecessor, soon made him the object of the public hatred; but the *Syracusians* bore with his vices, out of the great veneration they had for his brother's memory, which was the only thing that restrained them from rising in open rebellion. He was extremely jealous of his brother *Polyzelus*, whose great interest and credit among the citizens made him suspect, that he designed to drive him from the throne. He therefore employed only foreigners and mercenaries about him, suffering no *Syracusan* to set foot in his palace. In order to get rid of *Polyzelus*, he resolved to put him at the head of a great army, which he was going to send to the assistance of the *Sybarites* against the *Crotoniates*, hoping he might lose his life in that expedition. But *Polyzelus*, being well apprized of his design, refused the command, which so exasperated the tyrant, that he would have caused him to be put to death, had he not by a timely flight saved himself in the territories of *Theron*, king of *Agrigentum*, who had married his daughter. *Hiero* demanded him, but *Theron* could not by any threats be prevailed upon to deliver up his father-in-law, who had taken sanctuary in his dominions. This gave rise to a war, which lasted many years, between the kings of *Syracuse* and *Agrigentum*, and was at last ended in the following manner. The inhabitants of *Himera*, being grievously oppressed by their governor *Thrasyldeus* the son of *Theron*, and not daring to complain to his father, sent ambassadors to *Hiero*, offering to deliver up to him their city, and join him against his rival *Theron*. But *Hiero*, detesting their treachery, discovered the whole plot to *Theron*, who out of gratitude offered to conclude a peace upon terms that were highly advantageous to *Hiero*. The conditions were accordingly agreed to by the contending parties, and the two kings reconciled. On this occasion *Theron*, interposing his good offices in behalf of *Polyzelus*, prevailed upon *Hiero* to receive him again into favour. To make the reconciliation between the two kings more lasting, they cemented it with a new alliance, *Hiero* marrying *Theron's* sister, after which there was, during *Theron's* reign, a perfect harmony between the states of *Syracuse* and *Agrigentum*.

· DIODOR. SICUL. l. ii.

Hiero,

Hiero, having thus concluded a peace with the king of *Agrigentum*, turned his arms against the inhabitants of *Catana* and *Naxos*, whom he drove from their country, and in their room settled a colony of *Syracusians* and *Peloponnesians*. This he did with a view to be honoured after his death as the founder of those cities, for all cities paid their founders such honours as were bestowed on heroes. The *Cataneans* and *Naxians* he transplanted to the city of *Leontini*, incorporating them with the antient inhabitants. The same year he obtained a signal victory over the *Hetruscans* of *Tyrrhenia*, who infested the neighbouring coasts, sunk most of their ships, burnt others, and cleared the seas of those pirates^u. He found himself soon after engaged in a war with the *Agrigentines* under the conduct of *Thrasyldeus*, who had succeeded his father *Theron*, but was very unlike that good and generous prince ; for, going astray from the path which *Theron* had pointed out to him, he no sooner ascended the throne, but, throwing aside all restraint of the laws, he began to oppress his subjects in a most tyrannical manner. *Hiero*, out of the respect he bore to his father's memory, advised him to use his subjects with more humanity, lest they should conspire against him, and drive him from the throne, as one not fit to be entrusted with their lives and fortunes. This wholesome advice so provoked *Thrasyldeus*, who was of a violent temper, that he entered the *Syracusan* territories in an hostile manner, laid waste the country, and even threatened the metropolis with a siege, having under his standards above twenty thousand men. *Hiero*, seeing himself insulted at the very gates of his metropolis, raised an equal number of forces, and marched out against the unjust aggressor. *Thrasyldeus* did not decline the engagement, which was very bloody, most of the troops on both sides being killed on the spot. But the *Syracusians* carried the day, and *Thrasyldeus*, out of despair abdicating the government, fled to the city of *Megara*, where he laid violent hands on himself. Upon his abdication the *Agrigentines* recovered their liberty, and entered into an alliance with *Hiero*^w.

Hiero, a little before his death, invited into *Sicily* the sons of *Anaxilas* formerly tyrant of *Rhegium*, and a great friend of his brother *Gelon*, and advised them, as they were come to years of maturity, to take the sovereign power into their own hands, and call to an account *Mieythus*, who had been left their guardian. *Hiero*, who had contracted a bad state of

^u Idem, ibid.
PAR.

^w DIODOR. SICUL. ibid. Schol. in PINDAR.

health, was mighty desirous to see the children of his brother's friend in possession of their dominions before he left the world. The two young men, loaded with rich presents, set out from the court of *Syracuse*, and arriving at *Rhegium*, commanded *Micythus* to give an account of his administration, which he did in the presence of their friends and relations, no one finding any thing to object to him, but, on the contrary, all admiring and extolling his prudence, his integrity, and justice; for it appeared, says our author, that no man had ever discharged a trust with more honesty and disinterestedness. The young princes, repenting the steps they had taken, earnestly pressed him to resume the government, promising to respect him as if he were their father, and pay him a filial obedience till the hour of his death. But *Micythus* could not by any means be prevailed upon to accept their offer, and was equally pressing with them to take the reins of the government into their own hands; which they no sooner consented to do, but *Micythus* took his leave of them, and embarked for *Greece*, his native country, being attended to the shore by the whole city in the utmost grief for so great a loss. He afterwards led a private life at *Tegæa* in *Arcadia*, where he was no less esteemed and loved, than he had been at *Rhegium* *. Soon after *Hiero* died at *Catana*, which city he had repeopled, and was there buried with great pomp and magnificence. *Diodorus* tells us in one place, that he reigned only eleven years, and in another, that he reigned twelve years and eight months †. But *Aristotle* will have him to have swayed the sceptre only ten years ‡.

THERE is a strange disagreement among authors with relation to *Hiero's* character. *Diodorus* tells us, that he was of a covetous, cruel, and tyrannical temper, and an utter stranger to the candour and sincerity of his brother *Gelon*; that out of jealousy he attempted to make away with his brother *Polyzelus*, and that he oppressed his subjects to such a degree, that they would have deposed him, had they not been restrained by the remembrance of *Gelon's* generosity and general kindness to all his subjects §. On the other hand, *Ælian* ¶ commends him as a just, generous, and good-natured prince, and adds, that the most needy were not more ready to crave, than he was to give, that his generosity knew no bounds, that he was a great admirer of learning, and a bountiful encourager of the learned, that he was a prince of

* Idem, ibid.

† Idem, ibid. & l. xii.

‡ ARISTOT.

l. v. Polit. c. 12.

§ DIODOR. SICUL. l. vi.

¶ ÆLIAN.

var. hist. l. ix. c. 1.

great candour and sincerity, and that he lived in perfect harmony with his brothers, without ever entertaining any sort of jealousy against them. This account is, seemingly, in each particular a direct contradiction to the former. However, some writers have endeavoured to reconcile both testimonies, as we have hinted above. For *Hiero*, as the same *Ælian* informs us elsewhere^c, in the beginning of his reign betrayed a fierce, savage, and untractable temper; but falling afterwards into a lingering distemper, which confined him to his palace, and thereby gave him an opportunity of reflecting seriously on the conduct of his life, he seemed, as it were, to have changed his nature. During his illness, his only delight was to converse with men of learning, whom he invited to his court from all parts, amply rewarding them for the relief their entertaining conversation afforded him. Among these were *Simonides*, *Pindar*, *Æschylus*, *Bacchylides*, and *Epecharmus*. The conversation of these great men did not a little contribute to the softening of *Hiero*'s inhuman temper; for they were not only excellent poets, but also possessed of a great fund of learning, and consulted as the sages of their age. *Simonides* in particular had a great ascendant over the king's mind, and the only use he made of it was to inspire him with sentiments worthy of a prince. He frequently conversed with him on philosophical subjects, and in one of these conversations it was, that *Hiero*, as we read in *Tully*^d, asked him his opinion of the nature and attributes of the deity; to which question *Simonides* answered, that he must have one day to consider on it; the next day he asked two, and went on increasing in the same proportion; when *Hiero* pressed him to give the reason of these delays, he confessed, that the subject was above his comprehension, and that the more he dived into it, the more obscure it appeared to him. Several of the sayings of *Hiero*, related by *Plutarch*^e and *Athenæus*^f, shew, that he profited greatly by the instructions of *Simonides*. Among others they tell us, that he used often to say, that a king's palace and ears ought to be always open to every man, who would speak truth without disguise. It is well known, that *Pindar* in his odes bestows the highest encomiums on *Hiero*, not only for the victory he won in the *Olympic* games, but also for his eminent virtues, calling him a prince, in whom centered all the great and truly princely qualities. We will not take upon us to say, how far we may depend on the praises which *Pindar* gives

^c Idem, var. hist. l. iv. c. 15.

^d Cic. de nat. Deor.

^e PLUTARCH. in Apoph.

^f ATHENÆUS l. vi. c. 4.

Hiero;

Hiero, since poets are not always sincere in the elogiums they bestow upon princes. However, it is certain that *Hiero's* court was a place of resort for all men of wit and learning, and that he invited them to it by his affability, courteous treatment, and much more by his liberality. He was passionately fond of the *Olympic* games, and did not disdain to enter the lists with persons of the lowest rank; on which account he is censured by *Xenophon* in the inimitable treatise he has left us on the art of governing well, which is intitled *Hiero*, and writ by way of dialogue between this prince and *Simonides*. It is said, that *Themistocles*, seeing *Hiero* arrive at *Olympia* with a splendid equipage, in order to assist at the games, was for excluding him from that diversion, for not having succoured the *Greeks* against the common enemy*. This motion was commended by all, but seconded by none. *Hiero* was a powerful and resolute prince, and would not have easily put up such an affront.

Thra-
sy-
bulus.

Hiero was succeeded by his brother *Thrasylbulus*, a most cruel and bloody tyrant. He practised all sorts of cruelty on his subjects, fancying, says our author, that he was of a different nature from them, and that he had been set over them, only that he might with safety trample them under his feet. All those who gave him the least umbrage were barbarously murdered; the most wealthy, upon frivolous pretences, either put to death or condemned to perpetual banishment; and, in short, the city turned into a shambles. Such inhuman proceedings grew soon insupportable to the *Syracusians*, who entering into an association took up arms, and declared *Thrasylbulus* an enemy to his country. The tyrant, seeing the whole city in arms, though he kept always in his pay above fifteen thousand mercenaries, attempted at first to appease the tumult with fair words, but finding that the incensed citizens were not to be imposed upon, he possessed himself of that part of the city which was called *Acradina*, and of the island, and thence made frequent sallies on the enemy, who were masters of the quarter called *Tyche*. The *Syracusians* sent ambassadors to *Gela*, *Agrigentum*, *Selinus*, *Himera*, and other cities, desiring them to join in the common cause, and send speedy succours to the relief of *Syracuse*, since on the fate of the metropolis depended that of the other cities. Upon this embassy they all ran to arms, and joining the *Syracusians*, put them in a condition to venture a general engagement, which was attended with the desired success; for the tyrant was entirely defeated, and closely besieged in *Acradina*,

* *ÆLIAN*. var. hist. l. ix. c. 5.

whence he sent deputies to capitulate with the people. The Thraſy-
 only terms he could obtain were, that his life should be bulus
 spared, on condition he resigned his authority, and driven out,
 retired out of *Sicily*. These he was obliged to comply with, and a popu-
 and accordingly, after having divested himself of all power, lar go-
 he withdrew to the city of *Locros* in *Italy*, where he led a vernment
 private life after a short reign of ten months ^h. Upon his introduced
 resignation, *Syracuse*, and the other cities that had been sub- at Syra-
 ject to him, were declared free, and the popular government cuse.
 every where re-established, and maintained till the reign
 of *Dionysius* the tyrant, that is, for the space of threescore
 ye. s.

THE *Syracusians*, being thus restored to their former liberty,
 called a general assembly, where it was unanimously decreed,
 that a statue should be erected to *Jupiter* the deliverer, of the
 size of a colossus, and that on the anniversary of the happy
 day they had regained their liberty solemn games should be ex-
 hibited, and four hundred and fifty bulls sacrificed, by way of
 thanksgiving, to the gods, and all the people therewith en-
 tertained and feasted, as on a day of general rejoicing ⁱ. It
 was at the same time decreed, that all the magistrates, accord-
 ing to antient custom, should be chosen from among the
 chief citizens, and that none of the strangers, who had been
 made denizens by *Gelon*, should be admitted to any employ-
 ment of trust. This decree incensed the foreigners, who
 could not brook such an odious distinction, after they had been
 by *Gelon* put upon the same foot with the best of the citizens.
 Having therefore complained in vain of such a hardship, they
 at last joined together to the number of seven thousand, and
 seizing on *Acradina* and the island, annoyed from thence the
 other quarters of the town, resolved to obtain by force of
 arms what they could not get by any other means. They
 fortified themselves so strongly in their posts, that the *Syracu-
 sians*, though far superior to them in number, could not dis-
 lodge them. Wherefore they determined to shut them up so
 close on all sides that no provisions could be carried in, and
 thus force them by famine either to surrender, or venture an
 engagement; the besieged chose the latter, and were most of
 them cut in pieces after having made a great slaughter of the
Syracusians. After the example of *Syracuse* all the other
Greek cities in *Sicily* entered into an alliance against the mer-
 cenaries and foreigners, who had been enriched with lands and
 houses by *Gelon* and *Hiero*, drove them from their possession.

Year of
 the Flood
 2539.
 Before
 Christ
 460.

New in-
 muls in
 Syracuse.

^h DIODOR. SICUL. l. xi. ARISTOT. l. v. Polit. c. 10. DIODOR. SICUL. *ibid*.

and restored the antient proprietors to their estates and forme^t habitations. Thus were all the cities of the island freed from foreigners, and restored to that form of popular government which had prevailed before the reign of *Gelon* ^k.

Petalism
introduced
at Syra-
cuse.

THOUGH the tyrants, and those who were suspected to be their abettors, were thus every-where driven out, yet there lay concealed in the minds of many a secret leaven, as we may call it, of tyranny, which frequently disturbed the harmony of the public peace and tranquility, and occasioned several tumults and commotions. In *Syracuse* one *Tyndarides*, having gained by his largesses a considerable party among the populace, attempted to assume the sovereign power; but both he and his accomplices were seized and put to death. Their punishment did not deter others from the like attempt; for no sooner had any citizen acquired a considerable fortune, but he began to entertain thoughts of wearing a diadem, and, with that view, to court the favour of the people. To prevent therefore the many evils daily arising from thence, and to bring down the aspiring minds of the wealthy citizens, the *Syracusians* were at length forced to make a law not unlike that of the *Athenian* ostracism; for as at *Athens* every citizen was to write on a shell the name of the person, whom they conceived to be the most capable, on account of his wealth and adherents, of aspiring to the crown; so at *Syracuse* they were to write on a leaf the names of such as they apprehended powerful enough to usurp the sovereignty. When the leaves were counted, he, who had most suffrages against him, was without any further enquiry, banished for five years. This new-contrived method of impairing the estates, and weakening the interest of the overgrown citizens, was called *Petalism* from the *Greek* word *Petalon*, which signifies a leaf. This law was attended with many evil consequences; for those, who were most capable of governing the commonwealth, were driven out, and the administration of public affairs committed to the meanest of the people; nay, many of the chief citizens, who were able to do their country great service, fearing to fall under the lash of this law, withdrew from the city, and lived private in the country, not concerning themselves with public affairs. Whence all the employments being filled with men of no merit or experience, the republic was on the brink of ruin, and ready to fall into a state of anarchy and confusion. The law therefore of petalism, upon more mature deliberation,

^k Idem, *ibid.* c. 21.

was repealed, soon after it had been first enacted, and the reins of the government again put into the hands of men, who knew how to manage them¹.

IN the mean time *Ducetius*, prince of the *Siculi*, who inhabited the inland parts of the island, having raised a powerful army, laid siege to *Enna*, which he took by storm, and advanced to *Agrigentum* with a design to drive the *Greeks* from all the cities, which had been formerly possessed by his countrymen. The *Agrigentines* went out to meet him, but their army was overthrown, and the city threatened with a siege. Hereupon they had recourse to the *Syracusians*, who sent them a strong reinforcement under the command of one *Bilco Ducetius*, who was then besieging *Motyum*, a strong-hold belonging to the *Agrigentines*, leaving part of his forces before the place, led the rest against the united troops of the *Syracusians* and *Agrigentines*, put them to flight, and returning before *Motyum*, made himself master of that city. The *Syracusan* general upon his return was tried for the loss of his army, for most of the *Syracusians* were cut to pieces in the engagement, and being convicted of holding a secret correspondence with the enemy was put to death, and a worthy citizen, whom the historians do not name, invested with the command. This new general was attended with all the success they could wish, for he entirely defeated the *Siculi*, reduced all their cities, and brought *Ducetius* to such straits, that he was obliged to submit to the *Syracusians*, and throw himself upon their mercy, as we have related above^m.

AFTER the reduction of the *Siculi*, the *Syracusians* became so powerful, that they gave, in some degree, law to the whole island. The *Greek* cities indeed enjoyed a perfect liberty, but at the same time acknowledged *Syracuse* as their metropolis. If that wealthy city had been contented with the respect, which all the *Greek* colonies in *Sicily* willingly paid her, as the most able to protect them against any foreign invasion, the island would have enjoyed a lasting tranquility; but she began by degrees to assume the authority of a sovereign over cities that were no less free than herself, which gave rise to the wars which we are now to relate. She began with the *Leontines*, and invading, on what pretence we know not, their territory, laid waste that fruitful country, and reduced the city of *Leontine* to great straits. The inhabitants, not being able to make head against the superior forces of the *Syracusians*, had recourse to the *Athenians*, from whom they were originally descended; for the *Leontines* came from *Chalcis*, which was an *Athenian*

¹ Idem, ibid. c. 20.^m Idem, ibid.

colony. On this occasion they employed one *Gorgias*, the most famous orator of his time, and who is said to have been the first that taught the rules of rhetoric. *Gorgias* arriving at *Athens* made an oration to the people on the grievances their countrymen suffered from the *Syracusians*, and the advantages that would accrue to them from sending a powerful army into *Sicily*, in which he displayed so much eloquence, and such an elegant diction, that the *Athenians*, though themselves men of great learning, were struck with admiration, and greatly affected with the beauties and charms of his speech. But there needed no great eloquence to persuade the *Athenians* to concern themselves with the affairs of *Sicily*. Ever since the time of *Pericles* they had meditated the conquest of that island. *Pericles* indeed had always endeavoured to check this ambitious and wild project, remonstrating that by living in peace, and contenting themselves with the conquests they had already made, without engaging in hazardous enterprizes, they would raise their city to a flourishing condition. The authority he had at that time over the people, though it kept them from invading *Sicily*, yet could not suppress the desire they had to conquer it. At the time we are now speaking of they were masters at sea, and every-where successful, they had many confederates, a numerous army, experienced commanders, and in ready money above ten thousand talents. With these advantages they did not doubt but they should be able to overcome the *Lacedemonians*, with whom they were then at war, and at the same time reduce the island of *Sicily*. This, and not the gingling oratory of *Gorgias*, was what induced them to espouse the cause of the oppressed *Leontines*. Accordingly they sent without delay an hundred sail of ships well manned, under the command of *Lachetes* and *Chabrias*, enjoining them to make a descent on the territories of *Syracuse*. These arriving at *Rhegium* were there joined by a hundred more from the *Athenian* colonies. With this reinforcement they ravaged the *Æolian* islands, at that time in confederacy with *Syracuse*, defeated the *Myleans* as they were marching to join the *Syracusians*, took their city, and committed great devastations in the enemy's country. However, the *Athenians*, not satisfied with the progress their arms made in *Sicily*, sent forty ships more to reinforce their squadron, which now consisted of two hundred and fifty sail. But in the mean time the *Leontines*, being sensible that the *Athenians* aimed at nothing less than the sovereignty of the whole island, concluded a separate peace with the *Syracusians*, and were all made free of *Syracuse*. The *Athenians*, being by this agreement disappointed in their hopes of conquering *Sicily*, vented their rage, according to the custom

custom of popular governments, upon those who had commanded in that unsuccessful expedition. *Pythodorus* and *Sophocles* were banished, and *Eurymedon* sentenced to pay a heavy fine. The *Athenians* were at that time, which was the sixth year of the *Peloponnesian* war, so blinded by their prosperity, that they believed no power was able to resist them ^a.

ABOUT ten years after broke out the most memorable war *War between the* that had ever to that time been waged in *Sicily*. It was occasioned by a dispute arising between the inhabitants of *Egesta* *Syracusians* and *Selinus* concerning their borders. The territories of *Egesta* and the two cities were divided by a river, which the *Selinuntines* crossed, and possessed themselves of the lands lying next to it, pretending, that they had formerly belonged to them. This provoked the *Egestines*, who, after having endeavoured in vain to recover their property by fair means, took up arms, and drove out the intruders by force. The *Selinuntines*, on the other hand, unwilling to part with those lands, though they could not make good their claim to them, raised an army, entered the territories of the *Egestines* in a hostile manner, and laid waste the whole country. The *Egestines* took up arms in their own defence, but were entirely defeated, and forced to shelter themselves within their walls. In this condition they sent ambassadors to solicit succours from *Agrigentum*, *Syracuse*, and even from *Carthage*; but none of these states would concern themselves with their disputes. It was therefore at last resolved in their general assembly, that ambassadors should be sent to *Athens* to implore the assistance of that republic, and withal to promise, that they in their turn would help the *Athenians* to the utmost of their power, whenever they should stand in need of their assistance. Their ambassadors, arriving at *Athens*, represented among other things, that should they be abandoned, the *Syracusians*, who under-hand supported the *Selinuntines*, would not fail to possess themselves of their city, and by degrees become masters of the whole island; in which case they would be able to send powerful succours to the *Lacedemonians*, who were their founders. The *Athenians* were overjoyed to have a new opportunity of meddling with the affairs of *Sicily*. However, they thought it adviseable first to send deputies into *Sicily* to inquire into the state of the island, and particularly of the *Egestines*; for they had promised to pay all the troops that should be sent to their assistance. Upon the arrival of the ambassadors, the *Egestines*, having borrowed from the neighbouring nations a great many

^a DIODOR. SICUL. l. xii. c. 7.

The Athenians resolve to invade Sicily.
Year of the Flood 2583.
Before Christ, 416.

gold and silver vessels, made a vain shew of them to the *Athenians*, telling them, that they had gold and silver enough to defray the whole charges of the war. When the ambassadors were returned to *Athens*, and the great wealth of the *Egestines* noised abroad, an assembly of the people was called to deliberate on the war which was to be waged in *Sicily*. *Nicias*, a man of no small authority among the people, argued with great prudence against the war, shewing, that it was impossible to contend with the *Lacedemonians*, and at the same time send so great a force, as they must needs do, into *Sicily*; that it was a kind of madness to entertain thoughts of subduing so powerful an island, when they had not yet been able to reduce *Greece*; that they ought first to humble the enemies they had at their doors, before they went in search of others at a distance, &c. Many other things he said, which were well suited to the occasion, and are related at length by *Thucydides*^o and *Diodorus*^p; but the contrary opinion, which was supported by *Alcibiades*, the most eloquent speaker at that time in *Athens*, prevailed by a great majority. It being now determined to pursue this wild enterprize at all events, *Alcibiades*, *Nicias*, and *Lamachus* were appointed to command the fleet, with full power not only to succour *Egesta*, but to regulate the affairs in *Sicily* in such manner as they judged best for the interest of the republic. This commission *Nicias* accepted much against his will, being firmly persuaded, that it could not be attended with success, and dreading to have *Alcibiades* for his colleague. But the *Athenians* could not be prevailed upon to commit the whole management of the war to *Alcibiades*, judging wisely, that his ardor and intrepidity wanted to be tempered with the wariness and prudence of *Nicias*^q. *Nicias*, not daring to oppose any longer openly an expedition on which all *Athens* was so violently bent, endeavoured to do it indirectly by starting a great many difficulties, drawn from the vast charges the republic must be at in carrying it on. But all he could alledge, instead of cooling the ardor of the people, served only to inflame it the more. Nay, an *Athenian* standing up in the assembly and addressing *Nicias*, desired him not to shift off or delay the business any longer, but declare there before them all what forces he would have the *Athenians* decree him. *Nicias* answered, that he could not exactly tell before he advised with his fellow-commanders, but as far as he could judge, an hundred galleys and five thousand land-forces, at least, would be requisite. Hereupon

^o THUCYD. l. vi. ^p DIODOR. SICUL. ubi sup. ^q THUCYD. & DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.

full power was unanimously granted him to raise what forces and fit out what ships he thought necessary ; and accordingly the levies were carried on in *Athens* and the confederate cities, with such success and expedition, that in a few days the number of troops he had required was raised, and the galleys manned and equipt. When all things were ready for their departure, the officers, before they went on board, had a private conference with the senate concerning the administration of affairs in *Sicily*, for they did not at all doubt but they should reduce the island. In this conference it was determined, that the *Syracusians*, and the *Selinuntines* their allies, should be carried away and sold for slaves, and the rest obliged to pay an annual tribute, and live according to the laws of *Athens* ^r. The next day the army, consisting of seven thousand chosen men, marched from the city to the *Pyræus*, where the fleet lay, and there taking leave of their friends and relations went on board the transports, amidst the shouts and acclamations of an immense multitude that attended them from the city. When the troops were embarked, and the fleet ready to put off, the trumpet sounded, and solemn prayers were offered up for the success of the expedition, gold and silver cups filled with wine were carried about to the whole army, both soldiers and officers drinking, according to custom, success to the undertaking (S). The usual libations being poured out, and the ceremonies appointed by law for such occasions duly performed, the ships began to sail out of the harbour one after another, the people, who lined the shore, shouting at the same time, and lifting up their hands to heaven to wish their fellow-citizens a good voyage and a safe return. They first sailed to the island of *Ægina*, and from thence to *Corcyra*, which they had appointed the place of rendezvous for their allies and the transports. Upon the arrival of their confederates at *Corcyra* they put to sea again, and made for *Tarentum*; but meeting there with a very indifferent reception, they sailed along the coast of *Italy* till they came to *Rhegium*, where they made some stay, with a view to prevail upon the inhabitants to succour the *Leontines*, who were originally *Chalcidians*, as well as themselves. But the *Rhegians* answered, that they were determined to stand neuter, and to undertake no-

^r DIONOR. SICUL. *ibid.*

(S) It was a custom among the *Greeks*, and some other nations, before great enterprizes to wish good success, and at the making of leagues and treaties, to ratify what they did, by drinking to one another.

thing but in concert with the other *Greek* states in *Italy*. During their stay here they sent some ships to cruise off the coast of *Sicily* in order to find out some proper and convenient place for landing the troops, and at the same time to know what treasure the *Egestines* could contribute towards carrying on the war, which had been undertaken for their sake. These on their return acquainted the generals, that the *Egestines* had imposed upon them, and abused their credulity, since they were a poor indigent people, and had only thirty talents in the public treasury. Hereupon a council of war being called, *Nicias* was of opinion that they should sail to *Selinus*, which had been the first occasion of this expedition, and then, if the *Egestines* performed their promise, and supplied the army with a month's pay, to oblige the *Selinuntines* and *Egestines* to come to an agreement, and so return to *Athens* without engaging their country in so expensive a war. By this means *Athens*, said he, will shew her readiness to assist her friends, and at the same time save her men and treasure for some more promising enterprize. *Alcibiades*, on the other hand, thinking it highly dishonourable to return home without making any conquests, after they had set out with such a parade, was of opinion, that they should solicit the cities of *Sicily* to a confederacy against the *Syracusians* and *Selinuntines*; and in case they found them disposed to come into their measures, to attack either *Syracuse* or *Selinus*, the former, if they refused to restore the inhabitants of *Leontini* to their city, and the latter, if they did not conclude a peace with the *Egestines*. *Lamachus* offered a third opinion, which perhaps was the most prudent; he was for sailing directly to *Syracuse*, and laying siege to the city before the inhabitants had time to prepare for their defence. But the opinion of *Alcibiades* prevailing, they set sail for *Sicily* ^c.

ADVICE of this expedition coming to *Syracuse* from all quarters, it was thought so improbable there, that no one would give credit to it. But as it was daily more and more confirmed, the *Syracusians* began seriously to think in what manner they should oppose so great a power. They sent deputies to every part of the island asking succours against an enemy, who, as was evident from so great preparations, could have nothing less in view than the subjecting of the whole island; they garisoned all the forts and castles in the country, reviewed their troops, made ready their arms and engines,

^c DIODOR. SICUL. *ibid.* PLUT. in Nic. THUCYD. l. vi.

and in short prepared all things, as though the enemy had been already in the heart of their country^c.

IN the mean time, the *Athenian* fleet arriving in *Sicily*, the land-forces were put ashore near *Catana*, which city they took by surprize, *Naxos* opened its gates to them, *Hyccara*, a small town belonging to the *Sicanians*, was taken by storm, and all the inhabitants sold for slaves. These were the only exploits of this campaign, which being ended and the winter now drawing on, the *Athenian* generals thought it adviseable to take up their quarters in some place near *Syracuse*, that they might be in readiness to undertake the siege of that place early in the spring. But in the mean time *Alcibiades*, as we have already related^d, being called home to take his trial, the command of the army was left to *Nicias* and *Lamachus*. These advancing towards *Syracuse* possessed themselves of an advantageous post by the following stratagem. They sent a person, on whose fidelity they could depend, to *Syracuse*, enjoining him to acquaint the *Syracusians*, as if he had been dispatched from their friends in *Catana*, that the *Cataneans* had conspired to fall upon the *Athenians*, who were quartered within the city, in the night; and that if the *Syracusians* would advance to the *Athenian* camp with all their forces, they might easily possess themselves of it in that confusion. The *Syracusians*, not suspecting any deceit, appointed a night, and at the time agreed on marched out with the flower of their troops to join the *Cataneans*. But the *Athenians*, in the mean time, having embarked their forces and ammunition, set sail for *Syracuse*, and without any opposition landed near *Olympicum*, where they fortified their camp with strong intrenchments, before the *Syracusan* forces returned from *Catana*. The *Syracusians*, finding themselves thus shamefully imposed upon, marched back to *Syracuse* with great expedition, and the very next day drew up their army in battle-array before the enemy's camp. *Nicias* marched out of his trenches to give them battle, which was fought with incredible bravery on both sides. Victory was a long time doubtful; but a very heavy shower of rain, accompanied with thunder and lightning, falling unexpectedly, so terrified the *Syracusians*, the greatest part of whom had never before carried arms, that they began to retire. The *Athenians* durst not pursue them, because their horse, who were still in a body, and had not been defeated, covered their retreat. They therefore withdrew in good order, after having

^c Idem, *ibid*.^d Vol vi. p. 196.

thrown a detachment into the temple of *Olympicum* to prevent its being plundered w.

Syracuse
besieged.

AFTER this battle, the *Athenians*, who were not yet in a condition to attack *Syracuse*, retired with their fleet to *Naxos* and *Catana* to winter there, and in the mean time procured new supplies both from *Athens* and their confederates in *Sicily*. The messengers they sent to *Athens* soon returned with three hundred talents and some troops of horse; the *Egestines* likewise and the *Siculi* sent them a reinforcement of cavalry, and furnished their army with all sorts of provisions. On the other hand, the *Syracusians* dispatched ambassadors to *Corinth*, whence they originally came, and also to *Lacedemon*, to implore their assistance against an enemy, who aimed not only at the sovereignty of *Sicily*, but of all *Greece*. The ambassadors were kindly received in both places, especially at *Lacedemon*, where *Aicibiades*, who had taken sanctuary in that city, enforced their demand with all his credit and eloquence. At his persuasion *Gylippus*, an officer of great experience, was appointed to command the reinforcement which was designed for *Sicily*, and troops raised with a design to invade the territories of *Athens*, and thereby make a powerful diversion. But before any supplies arrived in *Sicily*, *Nicias* leaving his winter quarters set sail for *Syracuse*, and arriving there in the night before the *Syracusians* had any notice of his departure from *Catana*, possessed himself of the important post of *Epipolæ* (T). The *Syracusians* attempted to dislodge him, but after a sharp engagement were driven back into the city, with the loss of three hundred men. *Nicias*, encouraged with this success, began to build a wall round the city, in order to cut off from the besieged all communication with the neighbouring country. This work was carried on with such vigour and expedition as quite terrified the *Syracusians*, who indeed made frequent sallies, but were always repulsed with great loss. The wall was at last finished, and the city blocked up on all sides. However, the besieged were not so far disheartened as not to annoy the enemy with vigor-

w DIODOR SICUL. l. xiii. p. 137, 138. THUCYD. l. vi. p. 453, 454.

(T) *Epipolæ* was a hill which stood without the city, and commanded it. It was exceeding steep, and of very difficult access. At the time of the siege we are speaking of, it was not surrounded with walls, as in after-ages. The pass leading to it was called *Euryelus*. On the top of the hill was a fort called *Labdalon* (27).

(27) *Thucyd* l. vi.

rous sallies, in one of which they put the *Athenians* to flight, demolished great part of their works, and made a great slaughter of those who defended them; among the rest *Lamachus*, one of their chief and best commanders, was slain, and several other officers of distinction. Notwithstanding this advantage gained by the *Syracusians*, *Nicias* who was now the sole general, pursued the siege, and after repairing his works, began a wall of circumvallation, in order to prevent any succours from being thrown into the place. He caused also the canals to be cut by which water was conveyed into the place, which soon brought the *Syracusians* to the utmost distress. Seeing themselves therefore on the brink of ruin, and without any hopes of relief, they began to think of capitulating; and accordingly an assembly was held to settle the articles, in order to send them to *Nicias*. But before they came to any determination, an officer, by name *Gongyles*, arriving from *Corinth* on board a galley, brought them the joyful news of the approach of *Gylippus*, with a force sufficient to dispel all their fears, and oblige the enemy to raise the siege. The joy, which this news so unexpected occasioned in the city, is not to be expressed. They passed from one extreme to the other, and, instead of capitulating, began to prepare themselves for new sallies, in order to facilitate *Gylippus's* entrance into the city. While they were making these preparations, *Gylippus* appeared at the head of three thousand foot and two hundred horse, and making directly for *Epipolæ*, where *Nicias* had fortified himself in a castle called *Labdalon*, drew up his small army under the walls, and then sent a herald to *Nicias* to let him know, that he would allow him only five days to leave *Sicily*. *Nicias* not condescend to return any answer to this proposal; whereupon *Gylippus* attacking the fort, carried it by storm, and put all the *Athenians*, who were in it, to the sword. This opened him a way into the city, where he was received with loud acclamations, and honoured as the deliverer of the city. Having allowed his troops a few days rest, he marched out with his own and the *Syracusan* forces to demolish the enemy's works; whereupon a sharp engagement ensued, in which many were killed on both sides: But at length the *Athenians* carried the day. Their victory was chiefly owing to the narrowness of the place, which made the *Syracusan* cavalry and bow-men quite unserviceable. *Gylippus*, to encourage his soldiers, reproached himself with the ill success they had met with, and publicly declared, that he, not they, had occasioned the late defeat. However, he promised to give them very soon an opportunity of retrieving both their honour and

Gylippus arrives in Sicily.

Gylippus enters Syracuse.

his, and accordingly the very next day he led them against the enemy, and gained a very considerable victory *.

AFTER this success thirteen galleys arrived from *Corinth*, with considerable supplies both of men and money for the *Syracusians*; and *Gylippus*, not content to send ambassadors to the cities of *Sicily*, went himself from town to town, soliciting them to join him. By this means he raised above three thousand men, and with these fresh supplies returned to *Syracuse*. *Nicias*, on the other hand, finding his troops lessen daily in proportion as those of the enemy's increased, began to be disheartened, and wrote to the *Athenians* in the strongest terms, shewing that, without powerful supplies both by sea and land, the enterprize would prove abortive, and the small army remaining be lost. His letter made a great impression on the minds of the *Athenians*, who immediately nominated two officers, who served under him, *Menander* and *Euthydemus*, to assist him till other generals should be sent; for he had desired, on account of his bad state of health, a colleague to bear part of the burden and care of the war. *Eurymedon* and *Demosthenes* were chosen to succeed *Lamachus* and *Alcibiades*. The former set out immediately, with ten galleys and a considerable sum of money, to assure *Nicias*, that a speedy succour should be sent him; the latter was employed in raising troops, and equipping ships, in order to set sail the following spring.

A sea fight
between
the Athe-
nians and
Syracu-
sians.

ON the other side, the *Lacedemonians* having, at the instigation of *Alcibiades*, broke the truce they had made with the *Athenians*, invaded *Attica* under the conduct of *Agis* and *Alcibiades*, in order to divert them from sending any supplies into *Sicily*. But they were so infatuated with the *Sicilian* expedition, that, notwithstanding the straits they were in at home, they decreed fourscore galleys and five thousand land-forces to be sent into that island. The *Syracusians*, hearing that the enemy was soon to be reinforced with such powerful supplies, fitted out a fleet with all possible expedition, in order to venture a sea-engagement, and destroy the *Athenian* ships that blocked up the city by sea, before they were joined by the squadron, which *Demosthenes* was bringing over into *Sicily*. With this view they sailed out with a fleet of fourscore sail well manned, and being met by the *Athenian* fleet, consisting of sixty sail, a sharp engagement ensued, which drew the *Athenians* from their posts to the sea-side. But while they were standing on the shore idle spectators of

* DIODOR. SICUL. *ibid.* p. 138. THUCYD. l. vi. p. 471. PLUT. in *Nic.* p. 534.

the combat, *Gylippus*, who foresaw this, attacked the forts unexpectedly, and as great part of the garisons had flocked to the shore, he possessed himself of them without great opposition, and made a dreadful slaughter of those who hastened from the shore to the assistance of their companions. Hereupon a great noise and tumult arising in the camp, the *Athenians* engaged at sea were struck with terror, and made what haste they could to gain the shore, and there assist their land-forces in the defence of the forts. But finding, as they drew near, that *Gylippus* was already in possession of the posts they were coming to defend, they tacked about, and with their whole fleet in line of battle fell upon the *Syracusians*, who were pursuing them in disorder, sunk eleven of their vessels, killed great numbers of their marines, and made ample amends for the battle they had lost by land, with a complete victory by sea. After the fight both parties set up trophies; the *Athenians* for their victory by sea, and the *Syracusians* for their Success by land. The *Athenians* lost in the forts, that were taken, all their treasure, and great part of their provisions and military stores.

THE *Syracusians*, notwithstanding the loss they had sustained by sea, were determined to attempt a second engagement both by sea and land, before the succours, which *Demosthenes* was bringing, should arrive. In order therefore to provoke them to a fight, they daily drew up their fleet in line of battle before the great harbour, where the *Athenian* fleet was anchored, and, with biting jokes and rallery, put their patience to the utmost trial. *Nicias* was averse from venturing a second battle; saying, that as he expected a fresh fleet every moment and a great reinforcement, it would betray the greatest want of judgment, should he hazard a battle without being forced to it, when his troops were inferior in number to those of the enemy, and already fatigued. On the other hand, *Menander* and *Euthydemus*, who had been appointed to share the command with him till the arrival of *Demosthenes*, wanting to perform some mighty exploit before they resigned their commission, represented to *Nicias*, that, should they shun a battle, the reputation of the *Athenian* arms would be forfeited, and they forsaken by all their allies in *Sicily*. They were so pressing with *Nicias*, that they forced him at last to a compliance, and accordingly the fleet, consisting of seventy five gallies, sailed out of the harbour. The first day the two fleets continued in sight of each other without engaging; the second some vessels engaged, but neither side gained any considerable advantage; the third day the *Syracusians* drew up their navy earlier than usual, and having continued so till

the day was far spent, they withdrew as they had done the day before. The *Athenians* supposed they were not to return that day, and therefore began to retire without observing any order, when all on a sudden the enemy's fleet, sailing out of the little harbour, fell upon the *Athenians* before they had time to draw up in line of battle. Victory did not long continue in suspense; the *Athenians* were put to flight, after having lost seven galleys and a great many men, some being killed, and others taken prisoners¹.

Demosthenes arrives from Athens with new supplies.

THIS loss threw *Nicias* into the utmost consternation, and renewed the memory of all the misfortunes he had met with since his first coming into *Sicily*. But while he was revolving in his mind these gloomy ideas, *Demosthenes's* fleet appeared advancing to the great haven with such pomp and assurance of victory as filled the enemy with dread. This fleet consisted of seventy three galleys, having on board eight thousand men, besides mariners, and great store of provisions and warlike engines to be employed in the siege. All the galleys were richly trimmed, and their prows adorned with costly streamers: They were manned with chosen rowers, commanded by experienced officers, and furnished at a vast expence with all sorts of warlike machines used then in sea-engagements. As they approached the shore the sound of the trumpets mixed with repeated shouts and loud acclamations, both from the fleet and the camp, made all the city resound. This air of pomp and triumph *Demosthenes* affected purposely to strike terror into the enemy. And truly the besieged, notwithstanding their late advantages, began now to be quite disheartened, finding they had to do with an enemy, who could send such powerful succours abroad, while they had so troublesome a war on their hands at home. The common people were for putting an end to their calamities by capitulating, before the city was reduced to the last extremity, and while they could hope for tolerable terms. But *Demosthenes* did not give them time to come to any resolution; thinking it adviseable to take advantage of the general consternation, which his arrival had occasioned, he prepared to attack the city the same day he arrived, being determined either to put a speedy end to the war, or raise the siege, and return to the relief of *Athens*, which was in a manner blocked up by the *Lacedemonians*. *Nicias*, terrified at this bold and precipitate resolution, conjured him not to be over-hasty, but to take time to weigh things maturely, that he might have no cause to repent when it would be too late. He observed to

¹ DIONOR. SICUL. THUCYD. & PLUT. ubi supra.

him, that the enemy would be ruined by delays, that they were in great want both of money and provisions, that their allies were ready to abandon them, and that they would be soon forced to surrender, as they had before resolved to do. This *Nicias* said, because he had certain advice sent him daily of whatever was transacted in the city. But his remonstrances were construed an effect of the dilatoriness, with which he had always been reproached. And indeed it was peculiar to him to start difficulties on all occasions, and deaden the vivacity of the troops by delays, distrusts, and timorous precautions. All the officers therefore came over to the opinion of *Demosthenes*, and *Nicias* himself was forced to acquiesce in it ^a.

A GENERAL assault being resolved on, *Demosthenes* march-
ed in the dead of the night to attack the important post of *Epipolæ*; and was at first attended with success, having made himself master of the castle, and cut the garison in pieces. *Gylippus* at the first alarm hastened to the relief of the place; but his troops, being seized with a panic, which was increased by the darkness of the night, were easily repulsed and put to flight. But as the *Athenians* advanced in disorder to prevent their rallying, they met with a body of *Bæotians* under the command of *Hermocrates*, an officer of great courage and experience, and were by them stopt till the *Syracusians*, who had fled, had time to recover from their surprize. Then *Gylippus* encouraging his men, brought them back to the charge, and the fight was renewed. The *Athenians*, though in disorder, stood their ground for some time, but at last, fresh troops continually arriving from the city, they were forced to give way, and not knowing the roads many of them either fell from the tops of the rocks, and were dashed in pieces, or were slain the next day as they were straggling from one another up and down the fields and woods. Two thousand *Athenians* were killed on this occasion, and a great many arms and warlike engines taken.

AFTER this overthrow *Demosthenes* was for returning to *Athens*, especially as the season was not too far advanced for crossing the sea, and they had ships enow to force their passage, in case the enemy should dispute it. He declared, that in his opinion it would be of far greater advantage to oblige the *Lacedæmonians* to raise the blockade of *Athens*, than to continue that of *Syracuse*, in which they spent their strength to no purpose. But *Nicias* had still hopes of becoming master

^a THUCYD. l. 7. p. 513, 518. PLUT. DIOD. SICUL. ubi supra.

of the city, which he knew to be in great want of all things, and besides was under great apprehensions of the people of *Athens*, who had banished two generals in former times for returning from *Sicily*, though they had acted a very prudent part in so doing. He said, that as those who were to judge him had not been eye-witnesses of the state of affairs, they would be of a different opinion, and that those very men, who then exclaimed against the difficulties they laboured under, would perhaps change their note, and accuse them of having been bribed to raise the siege. He concluded by declaring, that as for himself he chose rather to fall gloriously by the enemy's sword, than be ignominiously condemned by the suffrages of the populace. These reasons were not able to convince *Demosthenes*, who was still of opinion that the only way left to save themselves was to quit the country. However, as he had been unsuccessful in his former advice, he was afraid of insisting upon this, and yielded to *Nicias* ^a.

IN the mean time, the *Syracusians* were reinforced with powerful supplies from the *Siculi*, *Selinuntines*, *Geleans*, and *Camarineans*; which encouraged them as much as it disheartened the *Athenians*, in whose army a violent plague broke out, occasioned by the unwholesome air of the fens and marshes, near which they were encamped. This calamity, added to many others, made *Nicias* alter his opinion, and orders were privately issued enjoining the officers of the fleet to be in a readiness to set sail at a minute's warning. The soldiers were commanded to ship all their baggage, and be ready to go on board upon a signal that should be given. But when all things were ready, and most part of the soldiers embarked, without the *Syracusians* having the least suspicion of their design, the moon was suddenly eclipsed, which so terrified *Nicias*, who was naturally superstitious, that he would needs consult the soothsayers before he suffered the rest of the soldiers to go on board. It was customary on such occasions to suspend the enterprize, that was in hand, for three days. But the soothsayers, whom *Nicias* consulted, pronounced, that he must not set sail, till three times nine days were past; which, without all doubt, was a mysterious number in the opinion of the people ^b.

THE *Syracusians*, in the mean time, receiving notice of the intended departure of the *Athenians*, took fresh courage, and resolved to attack them both by sea and land. Pursuant to this resolution, they sailed out with threescore gallies against

^a THUCYD. l. 7. p. 518, 520. PLUT. in Nic. p. 538, 542. DIODOR. SICUL. p. 142. ^b Idem, ibid.

the *Athenian* fleet consisting of fourscore and six. *Eurymedon*, who commanded the right of the *Athenian* fleet, extended his line, as he had more ships, in order to surround the opposite wing of the enemy. But being in this attempt separated from the rest of the fleet, he was driven by *Agatharcus*, the *Syracusan* admiral, into the gulf called *Dasion*, and there killed with great part of his men. The death of the admiral disheartened both the soldiers and officers, who now every-where gave way, and being chased by the enemy sheltered themselves within the haven; which, as we shall see anon, proved fatal to them. In this engagement the *Athenians* lost eighteen ships and two thousand men. *Gylippus*, who commanded the land army, seeing the enemy's galleys forced ashore, advanced with part of his troops to fall upon such as landed, but was repulsed by the *Tuscans*, who guarded that quarter, and driven into the marsh called *Lysimelia*, where many of his men were killed by the *Tuscans* and *Athenians*, who flew to their assistance. Each party erected trophies, the *Syracusians* for their victory by sea, and the *Athenians* for the advantage they had gained by land. But the minds of the two nations were differently disposed. The *Syracusians*, who had been so terrified at the arrival of *Demosthenes*, seeing themselves victorious in a naval engagement, took fresh courage. On the contrary, the *Athenians*, overcome by sea contrary to their expectation, lost all hopes, and only thought of retiring.

THE enemy, to prevent their escaping by sea, blocked up the mouth of the great harbour, which was about five hundred paces wide, with ships and galleys, joined and fastened together with anchors and iron chains. The *Athenians*, seeing themselves thus penned up on all sides, held a council of war, in which it was unanimously resolved, that they should attempt, at all adventures, to break through the fleet, that shut up the harbour, and retire with all their forces on board to *Catana*; but if they should not succeed in this bold undertaking, to set fire to their ships, and march by land to the nearest city belonging to their allies. Pursuant to this resolution the flower of the troops, and the most experienced among the officers were put on board an hundred and fifteen galleys, and the rest of the army drawn up in battalia on the shore. On the other side the *Syracusians* fitted out seventy four galleys, which they placed with many other vessels behind those that stopped up the harbour, to the end, that if any of the latter were sunk, or the chains, which joined them, broken, the *Athenians* might yet find themselves a second time stopped and entangled. As this engagement was to determine

Another sea engagement.

termine the fate of *Syracuse*, the walls of the harbour, and every eminence within the city, was filled with crouds of spectators. The commanders on both sides employed all their eloquence to animate their men. *Nicias*, leaving his post on the shore, went on board a vessel, and, sailing round the *Athenian* fleet, exhorted the commander of each galley in particular to behave like an *Athenian*, putting them in mind, that on their valour, in the fight now approaching, depended the safety and preservation of their wives, their children, and their country, as well as their own. *Nicias* was scarce returned to his post, when the trumpets sounded the charge, and the *Athenian* fleet advanced with great violence, to break the blockade at the mouth of the harbour. But the *Syracusan* galleys, which had been left within the vessels chained together, on purpose to stop the course and fury of the enemy, rowed up against them with such impetuosity, that they put both their own and the enemy's fleet in the utmost confusion. In this disorder the lines on both sides being broken, and the vessels dispersed, they engaged here and there in small squadrons. However, the fight was obstinate on both sides. The *Athenians*, seeing they were utterly lost, unless with an invincible resolution they forced their passage, despised all dangers, and fought like men in a desperate condition. On the other side, the *Syracusians*, knowing that they were observed by their parents and children, exerted their utmost efforts in defence of their country. The fight was no less dreadful than the confusion, and the slaughter great on both sides. The lamentable outcries of the wounded, and those who were perishing in the water, the noise of the oars, and the loud shouts from the ramparts and the shore, where both armies were drawn up, prevented any orders from being heard or attended to. As the battle was fought under the very walls of the city, parents were eye-witnesses of the death of their children, wives of the miserable end of their husbands, and one friend beheld another wallowing in his blood, without being able to lend him any relief. After the battle had lasted many hours, and both parties were quite tired out, and no more able to manage either their arms or their oars, yet if any of them offered to fly to the shore, they were driven back with bitter reproaches by their countrymen under whose eyes they fought. The *Athenians* asked those who made to the shore, whether they intended to sail to *Athens* by land, and obliged them, though covered over with wounds, to return to the charge. The *Syracusians* met with no better treatment from their countrymen, who prevented even those from
landing

landing, whose ships were quite disabled and ready to sink, bidding them save their lives by boarding the enemy's ships, or die an honourable death in defence of their country. Thus the battle was continued the whole day, and it was by far the most bloody and obstinate which had ever been fought in those seas. At length the *Athenians* were, in spite of their utmost endeavours, driven ashore, and the city immediately acquainted with the victory by an universal shout from the fleet, which was answered by loud acclamations of joy from the army on the shore, and the spectators on the walls. The *Athenians*, who escaped, leapt out of their broken and shattered ships, and fled to the land army. The *Syracusians* lost on this occasion eight ships, and had eleven disabled; the *Athenians* lost three-score, and most of the rest were rendered quite unserviceable.

The Athenians defeated.

IN this desperate condition the *Athenian* officers met to consider what measures they should take in so critical a conjuncture. *Demosthenes* was for manning with fresh soldiers the few galleys that remained, and while the *Syracusians* were under no apprehensions on account of their late victory, to fall upon them again, and force their way out of the harbour. This was no ill advice, but *Nicias* opposed it; others say, that the soldiers refused to obey, alledging that it would be impossible for them to sustain a second engagement. It was thereupon determined to abandon the ships, and retire that very night by land to the cities of their confederates. But *Hermocrates*, commander in chief of the *Syracusan* forces, suspecting their design, ordered all his troops to be immediately drawn out with a design to stop all the passes and prevent their retreat. The *Syracusians* were then in the height of their rejoicings, and thinking of nothing but how to divert themselves after the toils they had sustained. They therefore unanimously declared, that they would not upon any account whatsoever, take up arms again till they had been allowed some days rest. Hereupon *Hermocrates*, thinking it of the utmost importance not to suffer so great a body of forces to make their escape, since they might fortify themselves in some corner of the island, and there begin a new war, devised the following stratagem to gain time. He sent some horsemen to the *Athenian* camp, who were to pass for friends, and advise *Nicias* not to quit his camp, which was well fortified, since the *Syracusians* lay in ambush for him, and had seized on all the passes leading to the cities of their allies. This false advice stopt *Nicias* at once, and he did not even set out

c DIONOR, & THUCYD. *ibid*

the next day, that his soldiers might have more time, to refresh themselves, and carry off whatever might be necessary for their subsistence. He might have passed with great safety, had he not been thus deluded. The next day *Hermocrates*, having prevailed upon his men to march out, possessed himself of the most difficult passes, fortified the avenues leading to the places where the rivers were fordable, broke down the bridges, and spread detachments of horse up and down the plains; so that there was not one outlet through which the *Athenians* were not obliged to fight their way. However, as they could no longer subsist in their camp, the third day after the battle they set out to the number of forty thousand men, leaving behind them all their galleys, and great part of their baggage. The whole army was in the utmost consternation in seeing such great numbers of men, either dead or dying, abandoned to wild beasts or the cruelty of the enemy. Some who were sick or wounded, hanging on the necks of their friends and companions, conjured them with many tears, to take them along with the army; others dragging themselves after them, followed as far as their strength allowed them, and when this failed, had recourse to tears and sighs, calling upon the gods as well as men to revenge the cruelty they met with; so that every place echoed with groans and mournful lamentations. But the most melancholy part of the spectacle, and which most deserved compassion, was *Nicias* himself. That great man, dejected and worn out with a tedious illness, destitute of all necessary things when his age and infirmities required them most, tormented not only with his own grief, but with the affliction of others, thought of nothing but how he might best comfort his soldiers, and rouse their courage; he ran from one part of the army to the other, exhorting his men to pluck up their spirits, by representing to them, that matters were not yet desperate, since other armies had escaped far greater dangers; that they ought not to grieve too immoderately for misfortunes which they had not occasioned; that if they had offended any god, his vengeance must be satiated by this time; that fortune, after having so long favoured the enemy, would at last be tired of persecuting them, &c. Above all he insisted upon their marching in good order, since by a prudent and courageous retreat, which was now become their only resource, they might not only save themselves but their country, and enable it to recover its former splendor^d.

^d *THUCYD. & DIODOR. ibid.*

THE hopes of the desponding army being somewhat revived by this speech, they marched out in two bodies, both drawn up in the form of a phalanx; the van was led by *Nicias*, and the rear by *Demosthenes*, with the baggage in the centre. They forced their passage over the river *Anapis*, notwithstanding the vigorous opposition they met with. But being every day harassed by the *Syracusan* horse and bowmen, who were continually discharging showers of darts upon them, and finding all the outlets guarded, so that they were obliged to dispute every inch of their way, they began again to despond. *Nicias* offered the enemy battle, but *Hermocrates* and *Gylippus*, not caring to engage men whom despair made invincible, retired as soon as they saw them drawn up in battalia, but when they began to proceed in their march, they then fell upon their rear with the utmost fury.

Demosthenes and *Nicias*, seeing the miserable condition to which the army was reduced for many were daily wounded, and besides, they were in great want of provisions, the enemy having laid waste the whole country through which they were to pass, resolved, to alter their rout, and, instead of pursuing their march to *Catana*, to turn toward the sea, and make the best of their way for *Camarina* and *Gela*. Accordingly, having lighted a great many fires in their camp, they retired in the dead of the night. The van-guard led by *Nicias* kept together and advanced in good order; but half the rear, commanded by *Demosthenes*, fell into great confusion and lost their way. However they got early in the morning to the sea-side, but could have no advice of the rest of the army. In the mean time the *Syracusians*, having intelligence of their march, by break of day made after them with all possible expedition, and came up with *Demosthenes* about noon. The *Athenians* were then in some disorder, as not suspecting the enemy could overtake them so soon. The *Syracusians* did not fail to take advantage of their confusion, and immediately charging them with their cavalry, they forced them into a narrow pass, and there surrounded them on all sides. *Demosthenes*, seeing there was no hopes of escaping, after having fought from noon to night, thought it adviseable to save the lives of so many brave men by capitulating. Accordingly having stipulated, that neither he nor any of his men should be put to death, or sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, they all, to the number of six thousand, laid down their arms and surrendered^c.

^c THUCYD. & DIONOR. *ibid.*

Nicias arrived the same evening at the river *Erineus*, which he crossed and encamped on an eminence, where the enemy came up with him the next day, and summoned him to surrender as *Demosthenes* had done. *Nicias*, not believing what they told him of his colleague, obtained leave to send a horseman to enquire of the truth. Upon the return of the messenger, being informed that *Demosthenes* had really surrendered, he sent a herald to the enemy's camp, offering to pay the whole charges of the war, upon condition that he was allowed to leave the country with all his forces. But this proposal being rejected, the enemy attacked him with great vigour, and the *Athenians*, though quite tired out with their long marches, and faint with hunger, stood their ground till night put an end to the combat. When all things seemed quiet, *Nicias* commanded his men to file off in silence, for he was there in absolute want of all necessaries. But they no sooner took up their arms, than the advanced guards of the *Syracusians* gave the alarm. Whereupon the *Athenians*, seeing themselves discovered, remained there all night. However, three hundred of them broke through the enemies guards, and marched as far as they could that night. At break of day *Nicias* pursued his march, being galled all the way by showers of darts from all sides. When they arrived at the river *Asinarus*, they rushed into it without any order, every one striving to get over the first, and in that confusion the *Syracusan* cavalry advancing full gallop into the river, trod many of them down with their horses, cut others in pieces, and made such a dreadful havock of those unfortunate men, while they were not in a condition to make any resistance, that the *Asinarus* was for many miles dyed with their blood. Our historian tells us, that the *Athenians* were so tormented with drought, occasioned by their long and quick march, that, unmindful of their present danger, they seemed to be more intent on quenching their thirst than saving their lives, though what they drank was rather the blood of their companions than the waters of the stream. On this occasion above eighteen thousand *Athenians* were by the merciless *Syracusians* inhumanly butchered. *Nicias* with a small body, which escaped the slaughter and kept together, being hemmed in on all sides, surrendered, not to the *Syracusians*, but to *Gylippus*, hoping to meet with better treatment from him than from the *Syracusians*. The only condition he asked was, that their lives should be spared, which being granted, they threw down their arms and surrendered. After this the *Syracusians* detached several small bodies of horse to all parts, and these took

took the three hundred, who had forced their way through the guards the night before, with many others whom they found straggling in the fields; so that out of so numerous an army very few had the good fortune to escape either death or servitude ^f.

THE *Athenians*, it seems, were displeased with their general for surrendering in this manner, since his name was omitted on a public monument, where the names were engraved of those commanders who had lost their lives in the service of their country ^g.

THE *Syracusians*, upon this happy success, having erected two trophies, and fixed to them the arms of the two captive generals, returned to the city, which they entered in triumph among the loud and joyful acclamations of their fellow-citizens, who flocked from all quarters to be spectators of so glorious a sight. The whole city returned thanks to the gods, in the most solemn manner, for having auspiciously ended the greatest war they had ever been engaged in, and put a period to their calamities with a signal and complete victory ^h.

THE next day an assembly was called to determine the fate of the captives, when one *Diocles*, a man of great esteem and authority among the people, was of opinion, that the two *Athenian* generals should be first whipt with rods, and then put to death, that the rest should be shut up in the quarries, and there allowed only two small measures of flower and one of water a day, and that the inhabitants of the island, who had joined them, should be sold for slaves. This opinion was strenuously opposed by *Hermocrates*, to whom the *Syracusians* were chiefly indebted for their late victory; he was a man highly esteemed for his eminent probity and justice; but nevertheless, so incensed was the multitude against the *Athenians*, that they would not suffer him to continue his speech. *Hermocrates* being thus interrupted by the shouts and clamours which echoed from all parts of the assembly, a venerable old man, by name *Nicholaus*, who had lost in this war two sons, the only heirs to his name and estate, rose up, supported by two of his servants. He no sooner offered to speak, but a profound silence was made, no one doubting but he would make a bitter invective against the prisoners. *Nicholaus* seeing the eyes of the whole multitude fixed upon him, spoke thus: “ Dear countrymen,

^f THUCYD. & DIODOR. *ibid.*
DOR. SICUL. *ibid.*

^g PAUSAN. l. i.

^h DIO-

“ you

“ you see me now appear here supported by the hands of my
 “ slaves, who formerly made my appearance supported by
 “ those of my beloved children ; But they are now gone,
 “ and I deprived of the only comfort of my old age. How-
 “ ever, though I am every day desiring they were alive, yet
 “ I cannot help thinking them happy for having sacrificed in
 “ defence of their country that life which they must have
 “ one day parted with by the law of nature. They are hap-
 “ py, and I alone miserable, who have lost my children,
 “ and with them all hopes of posterity. And since I have
 “ bore so great a part in the calamities of this war, I shall
 “ ever hate and detest the *Athenians*, who, without any pro-
 “ vocation, kindled it in the very heart of our country.
 “ They indeed deserve the severest treatment ; but have not
 “ the gods, the just avengers of crimes, already punished
 “ their injustice, and revenged our sufferings sufficiently ?
 “ They invaded us with a fleet of two hundred sail, and an
 “ army of forty thousand men, and not one ship, not one
 “ man has made his escape to carry home the news of their
 “ destruction. Have they not therefore suffered already
 “ above the degree and measure of their offence ? And will
 “ you, O *Syracusians*, be so hard-hearted as to insult them
 “ in their distress, and treat them inhumanly while they lie
 “ prostrate at your feet ? You have shewn your bravery
 “ and valour in reducing them to the state they are now in ;
 “ let your mercy and compassion exert themselves, as much
 “ as your courage has done. But what do I say mercy and
 “ compassion ? you are bound in justice to treat them with
 “ humanity, and reject with horror the very thought of put-
 “ ting them to death. When their generals laid down their
 “ arms and surrendered, did you not promise to spare their
 “ lives ? and if we put them to death, shall we not be eternal-
 “ ly branded with the just reproach of having violated the law
 “ of nations, and dishonoured our victory with the blackest
 “ treachery ? What then, you will ask, is to be done with
 “ the captives ? My opinion is, and I hope it will not seem
 “ strange to any here present, that they be all dismissed, and
 “ suffered to return unhurt to their country. Let it be said
 “ in all nations, that we have overcome the *Athenians*, not
 “ only in arms, but in mercy and humanity. Thus our
 “ enemies will not only be censured by others, but will even
 “ condemn themselves for having attempted to destroy men
 “ of so merciful a temper. To use that severity, which
 “ some unthinking men have advised, is intailing the hatred
 “ of so great and powerful a nation on our posterity, which
 “ is

“ is no-ways safe, the issues of war being so uncertain, that
 “ the conquerors are often by a sudden change of fortune
 “ brought lower than the conquered, as the event of this
 “ war has shewn. Those who besieged us in our capital are
 “ by an unexpected turn of fortune become our prisoners.
 “ It is therefore great prudence to shew compassion in the
 “ miseries of others, if we expect to find the same ourselves
 “ in their condition. As for *Nicias*, you all know, that he
 “ pleaded your cause in the assembly of the *Athenians*, and
 “ did all that lay in his power to dissuade his countrymen
 “ from this expedition. How base then and ungenerous
 “ would it be, to condemn this worthy man to death for
 “ obeying the commands of his superiors, though contrary
 “ to his own opinion and inclination? How hard-hearted
 “ must that man be, whose anger is not assuaged in seeing
 “ so renowned a general, lately the admiration of *Greece*,
 “ loaded with irons, and suffering under the miserable con-
 “ dition of a slave, as if fortune in his life gloried to shew
 “ the greatness of her power? Since therefore under her
 “ kind auspices we have triumphed over our enemies, let us
 “ carry it with humanity and moderation, and not insult,
 “ with the cruelty of barbarians, over those who are of the
 “ same stock with ourselves.”

THE people seemed moved to compassion by this speech,
 especially as they expected to hear this venerable old man cry
 aloud for vengeance, on those who had brought all his ca-
 lamities upon him; instead of which he earnestly sued for
 their pardon. But the enemies of the *Athenians* expatiating
 on their inveterate hatred to the *Syracusians*, and the many
 calamities which they had brought upon them, the people
 returned to their former resolution, and followed the advice
 of *Diocles*. The generals were first whipt, and then put to
 death, all compassionate men bewailing the hard lot of two
 such illustrious personages, especially of *Nicias*, who, as
 our author tells us, of all men of his time least deserved to
 be brought to so great a degree of misery. *Thucydides* says,
 that *Gylippus* pleaded their cause with a great deal of elo-
 quence, out of gratitude with regard to *Nicias*, who after
 the overthrow which the *Lacedemonians* received at *Pylus*, had
 persuaded the *Athenians* to restore the captives to their liber-
 ty; out of generosity with respect to *Demosthenes*, who had
 ever been a professed enemy to the *Spartans*. On the other
 hand, *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, ¹ that *Gylippus*, seeing the

¹ DIODOR. SICUL. *ibid.*

people greatly affected by the speech of *Nicholaus*, and inclined to pardon the captives, effaced the good impressions he had made in their minds, and by a most bitter invective against the *Athenians*, which our historian sets down at length, so prejudiced the assembly against the generals, that they were immediately put to death. The other prisoners were thrust down into the quarries, where, crouded upon one another, they suffered inexpressible miseries for the space of eight months. They were there ever exposed to the inclemencies of the air and alterations of the weather; scorched in the day-time by the burning rays of the sun, and frozen in the night by the colds of autumn; poisoned by the stench of their own excrements, and the bodies of those who died of their wounds and of diseases, and lay together in heaps; in fine tormented with hunger and thirst, their allowance being scarce sufficient to keep them alive. Most of them died of the hardships they suffered; others were taken out of the quarries, and being sold for slaves met with a most generous treatment from their masters, who, moved with compassion, and thinking they had already sufficiently atoned for any fault they could be guilty of, restored them to their antient liberty *.

Year of
the Flood,
2586.
Before
Christ,
413.

SUCH was the issue of this war after it had lasted near three years, and cost the *Athenians* an immense treasure, without their reaping any thing by it but shame and dishonour. The *Syracusians* rewarded their allies, especially the *Lacedemonians*, with great part of the spoils; what remained was divided among their own soldiers, and hung up in their temples, as monuments of the victory they had obtained by the powerful assistance of the deities worshipped there. *Gylippus*, on his return to *Lacedemon*, was accompanied by five-and-thirty *Syracusan* gallies to be employed under the conduct of *Hermocrates* against the *Athenians*. But this fleet was intirely destroyed in a sea engagement near *Abydus*, and the commanders obliged to return to the defence of their own country, which was soon involved in a new war.

The Car-
thaginian
war.

THE *Egestines*, who had called the *Athenians* into *Sicily*, and constantly adhered to them during the whole course of the war, dreading the resentment of the *Syracusians*, and being anew attacked by the *Selinuntines*, who laid claim to great part of their territories, had recourse to the *Carthaginians*, offering to put their city into their hands, and declaring that they had rather live subject to *Carthage* than to *Syra-*

* THUCYD. & DIODOR. *ibid.*

cuse. After their ambassadors had delivered this message to the senate, the *Carthaginians* were greatly perplexed what to resolve. On one side, they were desirous of getting foot anew in *Sicily*, and possessing themselves of a city, which lay so convenient for them; on the other, they feared the power of the *Syracusians*, who had lately obtained so signal a victory over the *Athenians*, and would not fail to assist their antient allies the *Selinuntines*. At last the desire of enlarging their dominions prevailed, and the *Egestines* were promised succours. But before the *Carthaginians* came to an open rupture, they attempted to sow seeds of division between the *Selinuntines* and *Syracusians*. With this view they sent ambassadors to *Syracuse*, entreating that city to compose the differences of the contending parties in an amicable manner, and oblige the *Selinuntines* to content themselves with that portion of the lands in question, which they should think fit to allow them. They hoped, that if the *Selinuntines* should decline the arbitration of the *Syracusians*, that would breed a misunderstanding between the two cities; whence the *Syracusians* would not think themselves obliged to lend any assistance to the *Selinuntines*, who had refused to stand to their arbitration, nor the *Selinuntines* have the confidence to recur to them after they had thus affronted them by rejecting their mediation. But this trick of *Punic* policy did not succeed; the *Syracusians* indeed interposed their good offices, but finding the *Selinuntines* unwilling to come to an accommodation upon the terms they proposed, and remembering their eminent services during the late war, they would neither compel them to it, nor, for so slight a cause, renounce their alliance. Hereupon the *Carthaginians*, being resolved at all events to get possession of *Egesta*, sent to the *Egestines* five thousand men from *Africa*, and eight hundred from *Campania*. The latter had been hired by the *Chalcidians* to assist the *Athenians* against the *Syracusians*; but after their overthrow sailing back into *Campania*, stayed there, in hopes that some state might soon stand in need of their assistance. Accordingly the *Carthaginians* took them into their service, bought them horses, and placed them in garison at *Egesta*. These, in conjunction with the five thousand *Africans*, falling unexpectedly upon the *Selinuntines*, put them to flight, killed a thousand of them on the spot, and took all their baggage. Upon this open rupture between the two cities, both dispatched ambassadors to solicit succours from their confederates, the *Selinuntines* from the *Syracusians*, and the *Egestines* from the *Carthaginians*, which being promised on both sides, a most dreadful war broke out between the *Egestines* and *Carthaginians*.

Selinus be-
sieged by
the Car-
thagi-
nians.

nians on one hand, and the *Selinuntines* and *Syracusians* on the other. The *Carthaginians*, foreseeing the greatness of the undertaking they were to embark in, committed the whole management of the war to *Hannibal*, empowering him to raise what forces he thought fit. He was grandson to *Hamilcar*, who had been defeated and killed by *Gelon* before *Himera*, as we have related above, and son to *Gisco*, who being banished his country had retired to *Selinus*, where he died for want of necessaries. As he bore therefore a natural hatred to all the *Greeks*, and was desirous to wipe off by his own valour the disgrace of that defeat, which he considered as a stain upon his family, he was indefatigable all that summer, and the ensuing winter, in raising forces, not only in *Africa*, but in *Spain* and *Italy*, and making the other necessary preparations; insomuch that in the beginning of the spring he had no fewer than three hundred thousand men under his standard. These with an immense store of provisions, engines, arms, and all other things necessary for such an undertaking, he put on board threescore long gallies, and fifteen hundred transports, and setting sail, as soon as the season would allow, crossed the sea, and landed safe at a place called *the well of Lilybæum*, where the city of *Lilybæum* was afterwards built. After he had landed his forces, he caused all his ships to be drawn ashore for fear of giving umbrage to the *Syracusians*, and then, being joined by the *Egestines*, marched strait to *Selinus*, which city he invested, and began to batter the walls with incredible fury. The *Selinuntines*, who had been the only people in *Sicily* that sided with the *Carthaginians* against *Gelon*, did not think they would have come to such extremities, and therefore were at first struck with great terror. However, as they were not altogether without hopes, but expected speedy succours from *Syracuse*, and other confederate cities, they all joined as one man, and made a vigorous defence; even the women and children, regardless of danger, appeared on the ramparts, ready to sacrifice their lives in the defence of their country¹.

As the walls were incessantly battered day and night by the rams and other warlike engines, a breach was soon opened, and the first who entered it were the *Campanians*, out of an ambition of distinguishing themselves above the rest; but they were repulsed with great loss, as were the *Africans* and *Spaniards*, whom *Hannibal* sent to support them. The fight lasted from noon to night, when *Hannibal* sounded the retreat. In the mean time the *Selinuntines* sent exprestes to

¹ DIODOR. SICUL. l. xiii. c. 6. & 7.

Agrigentum, *Gela*, and *Syracuse*, acquainting them with the state of affairs. The *Agrigentines* and *Geleans* immediately armed their troops, but waited for the *Syracusan* auxiliaries with a design to fall upon the enemy with united forces. The *Syracusians* likewise without delay drew together what forces they could, but as they did not think them sufficient to relieve effectually the besieged, whom they apprehended to be in no imminent danger, they put off their march for some days, till they got together a stronger force. But *Hannibal*, as soon as it was light, renewing the assault, possessed himself of the breach which had been made the day before, and of another which his rams had opened near it, and from thence charging the besieged, obliged them to give ground, but could not put them in disorder, nor enter the city. Many fell on both sides; but the *Carthaginians* were constantly supplied with fresh men; whereas the *Selinuntines* had none to relieve them, being all employed at once in defending the breaches. Thus the assault was daily renewed for the space of nine days with incredible slaughter. At length the besieged being quite tired out, the *Iberians*, after a long contest, lodged on the ramparts; from thence they advanced into the city, but finding all the streets and passages barricadoed, and being at the same time sorely galled by showers of tiles and stones thrown by the women from the tops of the houses, they were obliged to retire to the ramparts. The next day they returned to the charge very early, and by continually pouring fresh men into the city, forced the *Selinuntines* to abandon the narrow streets, and pursued them into the market-place, where they made a stand, and were all to a man cut in pieces. Two thousand six hundred had, by the favour of the night, made their escape to *Agrigentum* before the enemy had forced the narrow passes; so that now there was not one single man left alive in the city. The *Carthaginians* therefore, raging in all parts without restraint, rifled the houses, and then set fire to them, and either threw into the flames the women and children they found in them, or, dragging them into the streets, put them all, without distinction, to the sword. Neither did this satiate their inhuman cruelty, which they carried so far as to mangle, in a barbarous manner, even the dead bodies, some of them carrying about with them numbers of hands tied round their girdles, and others, out of ostentation, bearing the heads of the slain on the points of their swords and spears. The city was razed two hundred and fifty years after it had been built, and the few women and children, who outlived this fatal day, carried away captives. Those who fled to *Agrigentum*, were

*Taken and
razed.*

received there with great humanity and tenderness, and abundantly supplied with all necessaries out of the public stores " (U).

Himera
besieged.

Hannibal, having thus taken and demolished *Selinus*, marched with all his army to *Himera*, extremely desirous to revenge on that city the death of his grandfather *Hamilcar*, who had been slain there by *Gelon* with an hundred and fifty thousand *Carthaginians*. On his march he was joined by twenty thousand *Siculi* and *Sicani*, whom he sent with the main body of the army to lay siege to the city, while he with a body of forty thousand men encamped on a rising ground at a small distance from it. The *Syracusians* had sent four thousand men to the assistance of the *Himereans*, under the conduct of *Diocles*, before the city was invested, and the other confederates had likewise sent what troops they could well spare. Wherefore the inhabitants, encouraged by these succours, and dreading to undergo the same fate as the *Selinuntines*, made a most vigorous defence. The *Carthaginians* made several breaches in the wall, but were constantly repulsed for several days successively, without being able to gain an inch of ground. This did not a little discourage the enemy, notwithstanding their late success at *Selinus*; which the *Himereans* observing made a sally with ten thousand men, cut many of the *Carthaginians* in pieces, and put the whole army to flight, pursuing them with great slaughter to the hill, where *Hannibal* was encamped. That general seeing his army in confusion,

• Idem, *ibid*.

(U) A few days after the city was taken, three thousand *Syracusians* arrived at *Agrigentum* on their march to the relief of *Selinus*. But understanding that the city was taken, they sent ambassadors to *Hannibal* to treat of the redemption of the captives, and to beg of him that he would at least spare the temples. *Hannibal* returned answer, that since the *Selinuntines* had not been able to defend their own liberty, they deserved to be treated like slaves; and that the gods, provoked at their wickedness, had forsaken both the city and the temples; whence it would be no sacrilege to strip them of their ornaments. The *Syracusians*, not satisfied with this answer, sent a second embassy, and on that occasion employed one *Empediones* of *Selinus*, who had always been of the *Carthaginian* party, and advised the citizens to open their gates to them, when they first appeared before the city. *Hannibal* received him with great demonstrations of kindness, restored him his estate, pardoned all those prisoners who were any ways related to him, and permitted the others, who had fled to *Agrigentum*, to return and people the city anew, upon paying to the *Carthaginians* an annual tribute.

hastened

hastened to their relief; upon which the battle was begun anew, and continued for some hours, victory inclining to neither side. At length the *Himereans*, being overpowered with numbers, gave ground; but three thousand of them kept their posts, and covered the retreat of their companions, sustaining the shock of the whole *Carthaginian* army till they all died upon the spot.

AFTER this engagement five and twenty gallies appeared off of *Himera*, and a report was spread all over the city and the enemy's camp, that the *Syracusians* with all their forces were coming to the relief of the city. Hereupon *Hannibal*, having put the flower of his troops on board his gallies, prepared to sail for *Syracuse*, hoping to surprize the city now that it wanted, as he supposed, sufficient forces to defend it. But those gallies proved to be the fleet, which the *Syracusians* had sent some time before to the aid of the *Lacedemonians*, returning home. As they touched at *Himera*, *Diocles*, commander in chief of the *Syracusan* auxiliaries there, advised them to sail with all speed to *Syracuse*, lest *Hannibal* should make any attempt upon that city. He thought it also adviseable to leave *Himera* for a while, and with one half of his forces to return to *Syracuse* on board the gallies, leaving the other half behind him, which he thought sufficient to hold out till he, after putting his own city in a state of defence, should return. This the besieged took very ill, but could not prevail upon *Diocles* to alter his measures. Upon his departure the *Carthaginians* doubled their attacks, and battered the walls night and day without intermission. On the other hand the besieged believing the ships would return speedily, were indefatigable in defending the walls, repairing the breaches, and repulsing the enemy. Thus they held out against the repeated assaults and utmost efforts of above three hundred thousand men till the very day the fleet appeared, when the *Carthaginians*, summoning all their courage and resolution, gave a general assault, and, with their numbers bearing all down before them, drove the citizens from the ramparts, and, in spite of their utmost efforts, entered the city sword in hand. There is no sort of cruelty which the barbarous *Carthaginians* *Taken and* and *Iberians* did not practise on this occasion; all they met, *razed.* without regard to sex or age, were inhumanly butchered; the slaughter was so merciless, that the very channels in the streets flowed with blood. After they had plundered the temples and houses, and levelled the city with the ground, *Hannibal* caused three thousand of the captives to be carried to the place, where his grandfather had been defeated and killed

by *Gelon's* cavalry, and there first exposed them to the insults of his barbarians, and then caused them to be cruelly massacred ⁿ.

THUS ended this campaign, after which *Hannibal*, dismissing the *Siculi* and confederates, and disbanding the *Campanians*, embarked his troops, and set sail for *Africa*. When he arrived at *Carthage*, the whole city went out to meet him, and received him with loud and joyful acclamations, as a general that had performed greater things in so short a time than any ever before him.

Hermocrates banished.

ABOUT this time some disturbances arose in *Syracuse*, occasioned by the return of *Hermocrates*. This brave officer had signalized himself in the war against the *Athenians*, and had been afterwards sent with a fleet of thirty five galleys to the aid of the *Lacedemonians*. During his absence, the contrary faction, headed by *Diocles* (W), prevailing at home,

ⁿ Idem, *ibid*.

(W) *Diocles* was a man of great authority among the people. By his advice the form of government was altered after the first *Carthaginian* war, and the magistrates, contrary to the antient custom, chosen by lot. He also instituted laws for the *Syracusans*, which were observed, not only in the city of *Syracuse*, but in most of the free states of *Sicily*, *Diocles* being highly esteemed by all for his wisdom and probity. Others after his time made laws, namely *Cephalus*, who flourished under *Timoleon*, and *Polydorus*, who was contemporary with *Hiero*; but these were only called interpreters of the law, which was written in such obsolete language as was hardly understood; the title of law-giver was bestowed upon none but *Diocles*. He is said to have been a man of an inexorable nature and great severity. Among the many laws he made, one was, that if any man came armed into the court, where the public assemblies were held, he should be put to death, even though he had done it inadvertently. Not long after the publication of this law, some of the neighbouring people having invaded the territories of *Syracuse*, *Diocles* put on his armour to march out against them; but in the mean time a tumult arising in the court, he hastened thither to appease it with his sword by his side; which one there present observing, cried out, that he transgressed the laws which he himself had made. Whereupon *Diocles*, drawing his sword, answered, that he would confirm them with his blood, and ran himself through in the court. After his death divine honours were paid to him, and a temple erected to his memory, which was afterwards pulled down by *Dionysius*, when he surrounded the city with a new wall (28).

(28) *Diodor. Sicul. l. xiii. c. 4.*

he

he was tried, and, without so much as being heard, condemned to banishment. As he was a man of great probity, and had on all occasions been very serviceable to his country, many of the citizens sought to have him recalled, knowing that his enemies had prevailed on the ungrateful multitude to banish him merely on account of his virtue, which gave them no small umbrage. But all their endeavours proving unsuccessful, *Hermocrates* himself returned into *Sicily*, and having raised an army of six thousand men, by the advice of his friends he advanced to *Syracuse*, and surprised one of the gates of the city. But the adverse party running to arms, and falling furiously upon his small army, cut most of them in pieces, and slew *Hermocrates* himself. All those who had declared in his favour, were condemned to perpetual banishment, and among the rest his son-in-law *Dionysius*, who made the *Syracusians* pay dear for the excesses they committed on this occasion, as we shall see in the sequel of the history °.

THE late success of the *Carthaginians* in *Sicily* revived the design which they had ever entertained of subduing the whole island. With this view they began to make new preparations, and raise another army, committing the whole management of the war to the same *Hannibal*. But as he pleaded his great age, and shewed himself unwilling to take upon him the command and return to *Sicily*, they joined in commission with him *Imilcar* the son of *Hanno*, one of the same family. These two generals being plentifully supplied with money, and impowered to raise what forces they thought necessary for so great an undertaking, not only made great levies at home, but sent officers with large sums into *Spain*, *Italy*, *Libya*, *Sardinia*, and the *Balearic* islands to hire numerous bodies of mercenaries. When all their forces were mustered at *Carthage*, the army was found to consist of three hundred thousand chosen men, as *Ephorus* informs us; but *Timæus* says, that they amounted only to an hundred and twenty thousand, or thereabouts. All things being got ready, the troops were embarked on a thousand transports, which, under the convoy of a numerous squadron of galleys, arriving safe in *Sicily*, landed on the coast of *Agrigentum*, and marched straight to that city P.

The Carthaginians return to Sicily.

THE *Syracusians* and their confederates had sent ambassadors to *Carthage* to complain of the late hostilities practised upon them by *Hannibal*, and persuade the senate to forbear sending any troops into *Sicily*. But the *Carthaginians* returning a doubtful answer to this embassy, the *Syracusians* had

° DIODOR. SICUL. ibid.

P Idem, ibid.

Agrigen-
tum be-
sieged.

put themselves in a posture of defence, and were prepared to give the enemy a warm reception. The *Agrigentines* especially, expecting this great storm would first discharge itself upon them, had carefully provided all things necessary for the sustaining of a long siege, following therein the directions of *Dexippus* the *Lacedemonian*, an officer of great courage and experience. *Hannibal*, on his arrival before the city, sent ambassadors to the *Agrigentines*, inviting them either to join him, or stand neuter, declaring he would be well satisfied with either, and forbear all hostilities if they only agreed to a treaty of amity and friendship. But both proposals being rejected, *Imilcar* and *Hannibal*, after having viewed the walls, and found a place, where they thought it would be no hard matter to make a breach, began to batter them with incredible fury. But the defence was no less vigorous than the attack; the besieged, in the first sally they made, burnt all the enemy's engines, destroyed the towers they had raised against the city, and after having made a great slaughter in the camp, returned in good order into the city. Hereupon *Hannibal* commanded all the tombs and stately monuments standing round the city, to be demolished, and mounts to be raised with the rubbish as high as the wall. Soon after the plague broke out in the army, and in a short time carried off a great number of the soldiers and the general himself. The *Carthaginian* soothsayers interpreted this disaster as a punishment inflicted by the gods in revenge of the injuries done to the dead; wherefore *Imilcar*, in whom the whole power was now vested, ordered supplications to be made according to the practice of *Carthage*, and a boy to be sacrificed to *Saturn*, in compliance with a custom which had long obtained among the *Carthaginians*; by his orders *Neptune* likewise was appeased, and several priests thrown into the sea, as the most pleasing victims to that deity. *Imilcar* having, as he imagined, by these cruelties atoned for the sacrileges of *Hannibal*, and pacified the gods, the assaults were renewed with more vigour than ever, and the city reduced to great straits.

IN the mean time the *Syracusians* having raised an army of above thirty thousand foot and five thousand horse, sent them to the relief of the besieged under the command of one *Daphneus*. *Imilcar*, upon intelligence of their approach, detached all the *Iberians* and *Campanians* with forty thousand *Carthaginians*, enjoining them to engage the enemy in the plains of the river *Himera*. Pursuant to his orders the *Syracusians* were attacked a few hours after they had passed the river, as they were advancing in good order through those large plains towards *Agrigentum*. The dispute was sharp, and the victory

a long time doubtful, the enemies being far superior in number to the *Syracusians*. But at length the latter carried the day, and pursued the *Carthaginians*, with great slaughter, to the very walls of *Agrigentum*. Upon the approach of the *Syracusians*, that body which was carrying on the siege, abandoning their posts, saved themselves by flight to *Imilcar's* camp, which was pitched on the neighbouring hills. *Daphneus* pursued them in good order with a design to attack the camp; but finding it strongly fortified, he thought it more advisable to guard all the avenues leading to it with his cavalry, and by that means oblige the enemy either to perish with famine, or come out of their lines and venture an engagement. Accordingly all the passages being blocked up, and the convoys intercepted, that numerous army was soon brought to such straits, that the *Campanians* and other mercenaries began to mutiny, and going in a body to *Imilcar's* tent, threatened to join the enemy if they had not their usual allowance of bread. The general, with much ado, prevailed upon them to bear patiently their present want for a few days, assuring them they should be very soon plentifully supplied with all sorts of provisions. He had been informed, that the *Syracusians* were then loading many ships with corn to be sent to *Agrigentum*, and did not the least doubt but he should intercept the convoy, the *Syracusians* not suspecting that he would attempt any thing by sea. Accordingly he dispatched messengers to *Motya* and *Panormus* where his fleet lay, enjoining the commanders to man the galleys with all possible expedition, and lie in wait at an appointed place, for the ships that were to bring the provisions. His orders were put in execution, and forty galleys being speedily equipped, the *Syracusan* fleet, consisting of threescore transports, laden with corn and all sorts of provisions, was intercepted. As this unexpected relief gave the *Carthaginians* fresh courage, so it greatly disheartened the *Agrigentines*, who, having already held out for the space of eight months, were in great want of all things, and without hopes of being relieved so quickly as their present necessity required. Eight hundred *Campanians*, who had formerly served under *Hannibal*, but were now in the service of the *Agrigentines*, observing the desperate condition the city was reduced to, went all over in a body to the *Carthaginians*; *Dexippus*, the *Lacedemonian*, was said to have been bribed with fifteen talents by the *Carthaginians*, and to have advised the *Campanians* and other *Italian* mercenaries to desert, since they were likely to be starved in the city, without the least prospect of rendering any service to those who had hired them. Thus the mercenaries falling off, and the

*The Agri-
gentines
abandon
their city.*

inhabitants desponding for want of necessaries, a council of war was summoned, when it was judged absolutely impossible to hold out any longer, there not being provisions enough in the public stores to support the soldiery and people two days longer. Some were therefore for attacking the *Carthaginians* in their camp, others for abandoning the city, and conveying the inhabitants to some place of safety; this opinion prevailed, and the following night was fixed for their departure. This resolution, when publickly known, threw the whole city into the utmost consternation; lamentable outcries were heard in every house, and the grief and dread they were all seized with, in seeing themselves obliged to abandon their native country, their goods, and estates, is not to be expressed. They were inconsolable in seeing themselves stript at once of all their riches, but as life was still dearer, and they expected no mercy from so cruel an enemy, they complied with the resolution which had been taken in the council. What above all grieved them was the necessity they were under of leaving behind them the aged and sick, who, they knew, would be treated by the enemy with the utmost cruelty. Many, not finding in their heart to abandon their sick parents and relations, stayed behind to comfort them at their death, and then die by them. The rest, being guarded by the *Syracusan* troops, marched out and arrived safe at *Gela*, where they were received with great kindness and humanity, and plentifully supplied with all necessaries at the expence of the public. The *Syracusians* afterwards granted them the city of *Leontini* and its rich territory.

THE *Syracusan* army was no sooner retired, but *Imilcar*, marching out of his trenches, entered the city, not without some fear and jealousy, and put all those he found in it to the sword, not sparing even such as had fled to the temples. Among these was *Gellias* (X), a citizen famous for his wealth and integrity,

(X) *Gellias* was the richest citizen of *Agrigentum*, and is said to have built several rooms in his house of an extraordinary size for public entertainments, placing his servants at the gates, and charging them to invite all those who went by to be his guests. Five hundred horsemen from *Gela* happening to pass through *Agrigentum* in winter time, he not only entertained them with great magnificence, but furnished them all on their departure, as it was rainy weather, with cloaks and coats out of his wardrobe. *Polyclitus* the historian, as quoted by *Diodorus*, tells us, that when he served among the troops of *Agrigentum*, he saw a wine-cellar in his house, which contained three hundred great vessels full of wine, each of which held an hundred *amphoræ*. This *Gellias*, as our author in-

informs

integrity, who seeing that the *Carthaginians*, without respecting the gods, plundered their temples, and murdered those who had taken sanctuary in them, set fire to the temple of *Minerva*, and consumed in the flames both himself and the immense riches of that stately edifice. However, the booty, which the enemy found in the place, was immensely rich, such as might be expected in one of the most opulent cities of *Sicily*, which contained two hundred thousand inhabitants, and had never before been plundered, or even besieged. An incredible number of pictures, vases, and statues, done by the greatest masters of those times, fell into the enemy's hands, the *Agrigentines* having an exquisite taste for the polite arts. Among other curiosities was the famous bull of *Phalaris*, which was sent to *Carthage* ^a (Y).

Imilcar having thus gained the city after an eight months siege, a little before the winter solstice, did not presently raze it, but there took up his winter quarters to give his army the necessary refreshment. In the mean time the deplorable fate of *Agrigentum* being publickly known, the whole island was struck with terror, and many of the inhabitants, forsaking their native cities, fled to *Syracuse*, or retired with their families and effects to *Italy*. Those who took sanctuary in *Syracuse* were treated with extraordinary kindness, and the chief men among them made free of the city. Among them were many *Agrigentines*, who filled the city with their complaints

^a *Idem, ibid.*

forms us, was of a very mean presence, but was endowed with extraordinary parts. Being once sent with the character of ambassador to the *Centuripines*, when he appeared in the assembly, all who were present burst out in a loud laugh; so ridiculous was his aspect. But *Gellias* told them, that they ought not to be surprized at his mean figure and appearance, since the *Agrigentines* always sent the most comely and handsome men to the noblest cities, but to those that were insignificant and of no account, such as himself (29).

(Y) *Timæus* endeavoured to prove in his history, as our author tells us, that there never had been any such bull, and bitterly inveighed against those historians who were so credulous as to believe such a fable. But the truth of their accounts was afterwards made plain; for *Scipio Africanus*, when he razed *Carthage*, about two hundred and threescore years after the destruction of *Agrigentum*, found among other things this very bull, and returned it to the inhabitants of *Agrigentum*, where it was still to be seen when *Diodorus* wrote his history, that is, in the reign of *Augustus* (30).

(29) *Diodorus Sicul. l. xiii. c. 12.*

(30) *Idem, ibid. c. 13.*

against the *Syracusan* commanders, as if they had betrayed *Agrigentum* into the enemy's hands. This raised such disturbances in *Syracuse*, as gave *Dionysius* a fair opportunity of seizing on the sovereign power, and depriving the inhabitants of that liberty which they had long abused, and by degrees turned into an unbridled licentiousness. The power of the populace was so great, that the most worthy citizens had either abandoned their native country, or led at home a private life, through fear of giving them any jealousy, or incurring their displeasure. The eminent services of their best commanders were often rewarded with death or banishment, the capricious multitude being led, by their groundless suspicions, to treat as enemies even those to whom they were indebted for their lives and safety. But *Dionysius* found means to curb their insolence, and punish both their cruelty towards strangers, and their ingratitude towards their own citizens.

*Dionysius
stirs up
the people.*

Dionysius was a native of *Syracuse*, born, according to some, of a noble and illustrious family; according to others of a mean extraction. He was one of those who accompanied *Hermocrates*, when he attempted to return to *Syracuse* by force of arms, after he had been banished through the intrigues of his enemies. *Hermocrates* was killed in the attempt, and many of his friends afterward publicly executed. *Dionysius* was dangerously wounded, and the report of his death, purposely spread abroad by his relations, saved his life. When the war, we are now speaking of, broke out, he was by the intercession of his friends recalled, and distinguished himself at the battle fought near *Agrigentum* in a very particular manner. When the *Agrigentines* charged the *Syracusan* officers with treachery, as if they had been gained over by the *Carthaginians* with bribes to betray their country, *Dionysius* backed their accusations, and even impeached the magistrates as keeping a secret intelligence with the enemy, and attempting to introduce an oligarchy. His speech, which was entirely levelled against the wealthy and powerful citizens, and therefore agreeable to the humour of the people, set all the assembly in a flame; the people, already incensed against their commanders, being more exasperated by the speech of *Dionysius*, forthwith deprived them of their commands, and named others in their room, among whom was *Dionysius*, now as much esteemed and favoured by the populace, as he had been lately persecuted and hated. Having gained this step to preferment, he began to consider with himself how he might have his colleagues turned out, and the whole command of the army lodged in himself. With this view he never joined in any council of war with the other commanders, nor imparted to them

*Is chosen
one of the
generals.*

them his resolutions, giving out that he durst not trust them, and that they had more at heart their own interest, than the welfare of their country. While he was thus by degrees paving his way to the throne, the most prudent among the citizens, being well apprised of his wicked designs, complained of his proceedings to the senate and magistrates, who fined him as a disturber of the public peace. According to the laws the fine was to be paid before he could speak in public, and *Dionysius* was not in a condition to discharge it. Hereupon *Philistus the historian*, a man of great wealth, not only paid the fine for him, but encouraged him to speak his mind freely, as it became a zealous citizen to do, offering to pay all the fines they should lay upon him. *Dionysius*, being thus supported by the wealth of a rich citizen and the favour of the people, as he was an eloquent speaker, bitterly inveighed against all those, who on account of their power or interest were in a condition to obstruct his designs, and by degrees brought them into disgrace with the people ⁹.

ANOTHER scheme, which he formed, was attended with *Gets the* all the success he could have wished, and greatly strengthened *Syracusan* his party. There were at that time a great many *Syracusan exiles re-* exiles dispersed up and down *Sicily*, whom the faction of the nobility had banished, at different times and under various pretences. These *Dionysius* looked upon as the most proper tools for the execution of his designs; for he did not doubt but their gratitude towards him, and their hatred against those who had occasioned their misfortunes, would unalterably attach them to his party and interest. Wherefore in one of the assemblies, that were then frequently held to deliberate on the state of affairs, he applied with his usual address to the people in behalf of the exiles. A decree had passed for the raising a numerous body of troops to oppose the progress of the *Carthaginians*, and the people were very uneasy on account of the expence which the new levies would amount to. *Dionysius* took advantage of this favourable conjuncture and disposition of the people. He represented, that it was absurd and impolitic to bring troops from *Italy* and *Peloponnesus* at a vast charge, when they might be supplied with excellent forces, without being at any expence at all; that if they recalled their own countrymen, who were dispersed all over *Sicily*, they would by that kindness oblige them to sacrifice willingly their lives in defence of those who restored them to their former condition, &c. His speech had such an effect on the people, that a decree was immediately passed in favour of the

⁹ DIODOR. *ibid.* ARISTOT. *Polit.* l. v. c. 6.

exiles. Many plainly perceived what he had in view, but none durst contradict him, knowing that he had gained such an ascendant over the people, that their opposition would not only prove ineffectual, but incense the multitude against them, and raise the reputation of *Dionysius*, to whom alone the exiles would be indebted for their return. The decree was no sooner published, but the exiles flocked from all parts to *Syracuse* ^r.

Gains the
soldiery.

IN the mean time the inhabitants of *Gela*, falling out among themselves, implored the protection of *Syracuse*, lest the common enemy should take advantage of their disagreement, and by the assistance of one party possess themselves of the city. *Dionysius* immediately marched thither with two thousand foot and four hundred horse, and finding the city in an uproar occasioned by the unjust pretensions of the nobility over the people, he sided with the latter, and caused those to be put to death, whom the people condemned in their assembly. Their estates he confiscated and sold, and with the money arising from the sale paid the soldiers, who were there in garison under *Dexippus*, their arrears, distributing the overplus among the troops that came with him from *Syracuse*. At the same time he assured them all, that their pay should be doubled, which gained him the hearts of the soldiery. The *Geleans* treated him with the highest marks of distinction, and even sent ambassadors to *Syracuse* to return their thanks for the important service that city had done them in sending thither *Dionysius*.

DURING his stay at *Gela*, he endeavoured to gain over to his views *Dexippus*; but not being able to persuade the *Lacedemonian* to come into his measures, he marched back to *Syracuse* with all his forces, promising to return soon with a more numerous army. He arrived at *Syracuse* just as the people were coming out of the theatre, who thronging about him enquired what news he brought concerning the *Carthaginians*. He answered with a sad and dejected air, that the city had not so much cause to be afraid of them, as of her own officers and magistrates, who instead of making the necessary preparations against the approach of so formidable an enemy, lulled the people asleep with trivial amusements and idle shews, and suffered the troops to want necessaries, converting their pay to their private uses; that he had long suspected, but now saw plainly, what they aimed at; that *Imilcar* had sent an officer to him under pretence of redeeming some captives, but in truth to persuade him not to pry too narrowly into the

^r Idem, ibid.

conduct of his colleagues, and if he would not enter into their measures, at least not to obstruct them; that he was come determined to lay down his commission, that he might leave no room for injurious suspicions of his acting in concert with traitors, who basely sold their country.

THIS speech being divulged about the city and among the troops, the very next day an assembly was convened, when *Dionysius* renewed his complaints against the generals, and was heard with universal applause. At length some in the assembly cried out, that it was necessary to appoint him generalissimo, and that the thing ought not to be put off till the enemy was battering the walls; that the greatness of the war required such a commander, and that *Gelon* was chosen generalissimo on the like occasion, and defeated the *Carthaginian* army consisting of three hundred thousand men. As for the traitors, their cause might be referred to another day, but the present affair would admit of no delay. Nor was it deferred in effect, for the people, who, as the historian observes, are always apt to close with the worst advice, elected that instant *Dionysius* commander in chief, with an absolute and unbounded power. *Made generalissimo.*

ALL things succeeding thus according to his wish, he caused a decree to be passed, ordering that for the future the soldiers pay should be doubled, alledging that they would be thereby encouraged to fight more chearfully in defence of their country. When the assembly broke up, the *Syracusians* upon second thoughts began to repent of what they had done, being sensible, they had acted imprudently in putting the whole power into the hands of one man, which was in effect giving themselves a master, who might, if he pleased, lord it over them without control. *Dionysius* therefore, to prevent the change of the people's minds, began to contrive how he might procure a guard for his person; if he could but gain this point, he concluded he might easily usurp the sovereignty. With this view he commanded all that were able to bear arms, and under forty years of age, to march with thirty days provisions to the city of *Leontini*, which belonged to the *Syracusians*, and was full of foreigners and exiles, persons very fit for the execution of his design. He encamped the first night on the plains of *Leontini*, where he caused a great noise and clamour to be made in the dead of the night by his servants and attendants, as if his enemies had attempted to assassinate him in his tent. In this alarm he fled to the castle of *Leontini*, where he passed the rest of the night, after having caused a great many fires to be lighted, and drawn off with him such of the troops as he most confided in. At break of day he acquainted the people *Procures a guard.*

ple of *Leontini* with the danger he pretended to have been in, and feigning to be still under great apprehension, he demanded leave to chuse himself a guard of six hundred men for the security of his person. His demand seemed very reasonable, and was accordingly complied with. He chose out a thousand men for his guard upon the spot, armed them completely, and encouraged them with great promises. He also attached the mercenaries to his interest in a peculiar manner, by addressing them with great freedom and affability. He then made several alterations and removals in the troops, giving commissions to such as he could rely upon, and turning out those whom he distrusted. Among the latter was *Dexippus* the *Lacedemonian*, whom he sent back into *Greece*, not doubting but the *Syracusians* would chuse him for their general, if they should attempt the recovery of their liberty; for he was an officer of great experience, and could not by any offers be prevailed upon to fall in with *Dionysius*. At the same time he sent orders to the garison of *Gela* to join him, and assembled from all quarters fugitives, exiles, debtors, and criminals^c.

Seizes on
the citadel,
and de-
clares him-
self king of
Syracuse.
Year of
the Flood
2595.
Before
Christ,
404.

WITH this train he returned to *Syracuse*, which trembled at his approach. But the people were no longer in a condition to oppose his designs, or dispute his authority; the city being full of mercenaries, who were in arms, and the *Carthaginians* with a mighty army on the frontiers. The first thing he did after his return to *Syracuse* was to possess himself of the citadel, where the arms and provisions were lodged; which he no sooner saw himself master of, than bidding defiance to his opposers, he publicly declared himself king of *Syracuse* in the twenty-fifth year of his age. To strengthen himself the more in the tyranny, he married the daughter of *Hermocrates*, whose family was the most powerful of *Syracuse*, and gave his own sister in marriage to *Polyxenus*, brother-in-law to *Hermocrates*. Afterwards he called an assembly, in which he caused *Daphneus* and *Demarchus*, who had been the most active in opposing him, to be condemned. Thus *Dionysius*, from a simple notary, as *Diodorus* informs us, raised himself to the sovereignty of the greatest and most opulent city of *Sicily*^c.

Gela be-
sieged by
the Car-
thagini-
ans.

IN the mean time, the *Carthaginians*, under the command of *Imilcar*, having on the return of the spring razed the city of *Agrigentum*, marched with all their forces against *Gela*, and sitting down before that place, fortified their camp with a deep ditch and a wall, not doubting but *Dionysius* would come to the relief of the besieged with a powerful army. The Ge-

^c Idem, *ibid.* & *ARISTIDES*, in *Panathen.*

^c Idem, *ibid.*

leans in the beginning of the siege were for sending their wives and children to some place of safety ; but not one of them could be prevailed upon to retire, they all protesting that they would undergo the same fate as their husbands and parents. This resolution encouraged the *Geleans* to exert themselves in the defence of persons so dear to them, and to whom they were so dear. They made several sallies, and cut great numbers of the enemy in pieces. No sooner was a breach opened in the wall, but the inhabitants repaired it, being indefatigable night and day on the ramparts, where their wives and children cheerfully shared with them the labour and danger. Thus they held out a long time, though their city was but very indifferently fortified, against an army of above three hundred thousand men, without receiving any aid from their allies. At length *Dionysius* advanced to their relief at the head of fifty thousand foot and a thousand horse ; but after some unsuccessful attempts, not caring to put all to the issue of a battle, he persuaded the inhabitants to abandon their country, as the only means to save their lives, and covered their retreat with the forces he had brought to relieve the place. The *Carthaginians* immediately entered the city, and either put to the sword or crucified all those they found in it. From *Gela* they advanced to *Camarina*, whither the *Geleans* had retired ; and *Dionysius*, being informed of their march, obliged the *Camarinians* likewise to remove from their native city, and withdraw with their wives and children to *Syracuse*. The moving sight of aged persons, matrons, and tender infants, hurried on beyond their strength from two several cities in one and the same country, and stripped of all their wealth and possessions, raised compassion in the breasts of *Dionysius's* soldiers, and incensed them against the tyrant. They suspected him to act in concert with the *Carthaginians* ; the more because they did not offer to pursue him, and none of his mercenaries had been killed in the attacks he made on the enemy's camp before *Gela*. The *Italians* therefore left his camp in a body, and marched homewards through the heart of the country. The *Syracusan* cavalry, after having attempted to kill him on the march, clapt spurs to their horses, and rode full gallop to *Syracuse*, where they entered the citadel without opposition, the guards being quite ignorant of what had happened at *Gela* and *Camarina*. Upon their arrival they forced his palace, ransacked his treasures, carried off all his rich furniture, and abused his wife so cruelly, that through grief and shame she poisoned herself. In the mean time *Dionysius*, suspecting their design, followed them with all possible expedition, and, having marched fifty miles without ever halting, arrived at midnight

The Syracusians revolt from Dionysius.

He possesses
himself of
the city.

with an hundred horse and five hundred foot at the gate of *Acradina*, which he found shut against him. He immediately caused the gate to be burnt down, and having thus opened himself a way into the city, he cut in pieces a body of the most wealthy and noble citizens, who, without waiting for the people, had hastened to the defence of the gate. Being now master of the city, he scoured the streets, putting all those to the sword that came in his way, and even entering the houses of such as he took to be his enemies, and cutting them off with their whole families. Next morning at break of day the whole body of his troops arrived; but the unhappy fugitives from *Gela* and *Camarina*, incensed against the tyrant, retired to *Leontini*.

A peace be-
tween the
Carthagi-
nians and
Dionysius.

In the mean time, a plague breaking out in the *Carthagi-*
nian camp, *Imilcar*, not finding himself in a condition to carry on the war, sent a herald to *Syracuse* to offer terms of peace to the conquered. His unexpected arrival was very acceptable to *Dionysius*, and a peace was immediately struck up on the following terms: That the *Carthaginians*, besides their antient acquisitions in *Sicily*, should still possess the countries of the *Sicani*, and the dismantled cities of *Selinus*, *Agrigentum*, and *Himera* with their territories; that the *Geleans* and *Camarineans* should be suffered to return to their respective countries and live there, paying an annual tribute to the *Carthaginians*; that the *Leontines*, *Messenians*, and all the other inhabitants of *Sicily* should live according to their own laws, and enjoy their liberties, except the *Syracusians*, who should continue subject to *Dionysius*. These articles being agreed to by both parties, *Imilcar* embarked his troops, and set sail for *Carthage*, after having lost above the half of his army by the plague, which afterwards made a dreadful havock in *Africa* *.

Dionysius, foreseeing that the *Syracusians* would not fail to take advantage of the peace with the *Carthaginians* to attempt the recovery of their liberty, neglected nothing on his side in support of his power. He fortified the island, which was very strong by nature, and divided it from the rest of the city with a high and thick wall, which was at due distances flanked with strong towers. He built likewise at a vast expence a castle, which commanded the city, to serve him for a retreat in case of any sudden commotion. As to the lands, he chose the most fertile for himself and his friends, the rest he equally distributed among the citizens, including in that number the slaves, whom he made free, and called *Neopolitas*, or new

* DIONOR. SICUL. *ibid.*

citizens. In the same manner he divided the houses, except those in the island, which he bestowed on his mercenaries, and such friends as he could confide in ^{w.}

HAVING taken these precautions for his own security, and thinking his authority sufficiently established, he began to think of extending his dominions, and subjecting several free states of Sicily, which had sided with the *Cartbaginians*. He marched first against the city of *Herbessus*; but while he was employ'd in the siege of that place, the *Syracusians*, who had been lifted for that expedition, seeing their swords restored to them, thought it their duty to employ them in the recovery of their liberty. One of the tyrant's officers, endeavouring to prevent their meeting together in private cabals, was killed on the spot; and his death served as a signal for the rest to take up arms and join in the common cause. They sent immediately to *Ætna* for the horse, for they had retired thither, and possessed themselves of that castle when *Dionysius* first usurped the sovereignty. *Dionysius* alarmed at these commotions broke up the siege, and hastening to *Syracuse* made himself master of that city, before the news of the revolt in the army had reached it. The revolted, being joined by the cavalry from *Ætna*, followed him close, and, encamping on *Epi-polæ*, cut off all communication with the country. At the same time they dispatched messengers to *Rhegium* and *Messina*, soliciting their aid by sea for the recovery of their liberty. The messengers were kindly received in both places, and fourscore galleys well-manned sent with all possible expedition to support so good a cause. Being thus reinforced, they promised by the common crier, a great reward to any one that should kill the tyrant, and the freedom of the city to all foreigners, who should abandon him and come over to them. A great number of *Dionysius's* mercenaries allured by these promises forsook him, and were immediately made free of *Syracuse*, and besides rewarded with large sums, which so encouraged them, that in a few days the tyrant saw himself quite abandoned by those in whom he chiefly confided. And now the *Syracusians*, having prepared engines for the battering down of the wall, with repeated assaults so harassed those few that still kept with the tyrant, that they were soon reduced to the utmost extremity. In this desperate condition *Dionysius* assembled his friends, to consult with them rather by what kind of death he should put an end to his career, than by what means he might save his life or maintain the sovereignty. They were

*The Syra-
cusians
revolt.*

*Dionysius
besieged in
the island.*

*And re-
duced to
great
straits.*

^w Idem, *ibid.*

divided in their opinions. *Heloris* advised him to lay violent hands on himself before he was forced to resign the sovereign power, telling him, that the royal title would be the greatest ornament of his sepulchre. *Polyxenus* would have had him attempt to break through the enemy's camp, on the swiftest horse he had, and retiring to those places, which were subject to the *Carthaginians*, implore the assistance of the *Campanians*, whom *Imilcar* had left to defend his conquests in *Sicily*. But *Philistus* the historian opposed this advice, telling *Dionysius* that he ought not to fly from the crown, but hold it to the last gasp with both his hands. *Dionysius* closed with this advice, and resolved to part with his life, rather than with the power he had acquired. However, to gain time, he sent deputies to the *Syracusians*, demanding permission to depart the city with his friends and adherents, which was granted; and five ships were allowed him to transport his men and effects. In the mean time he sent privately dispatches to the *Campanians*, who garisoned the places in the possession of the *Carthaginians*, with great offers, if they would hasten to his relief*.

THE *Syracusians*, believing they had now got the better of the tyrant, and trusting to the treaty, disarmed part of their troops, and suffered the others to rove about in the fields, as if there were nothing further to be feared. In the mean time the *Campanians*, encouraged by *Dionysius*'s generous promises, arrived unexpectedly at *Syracuse*, and having killed all who opposed them, broke through into the port, where he was shut up. At the same time three hundred mercenaries more came to his assistance. The face of affairs was then entirely altered; and *Dionysius*, taking advantage of the consternation and distraction that reigned in the enemy's camp, made a vigorous sally, and drove them as far as that part of the city, which was called *Neapolis*. The slaughter was not great, *Dionysius*, to ingratiate himself with the *Syracusians*, having given orders to spare those that fled. With the same view he caused the dead to be buried, which had so good an effect on the minds of the simple populace, that above seven thousand of them joined him. But the *Syracusan* cavalry could not by any offers be prevailed upon to side with him; wherefore seeing all lost they retired anew to their strong castle of *Ætna*, waiting there for another opportunity of pulling down the tyrant. *Dionysius* sent frequent messages to them, exhorting them to lay aside their animosi-

* Idem, l. 14. c. 3.

ties, and return to their country; but the only answer they returned was, that they had rather live free in exile, than in their own country subject to a tyrant. All the rest returned home, and again acknowledged *Dionysius* for their sovereign, who treated them for some time with great kindness and humanity. When all things were again quiet, he discharged the *Campanians* with great rewards, not daring to trust their fickle and unconstant humour. These arriving at the city of *Entella* prevailed with the citizens to receive them within their walls; which favour they requited by murdering in the night all the townsmen, and possessing themselves of the city, they married the wives of the deceased, and maintained themselves for many years in possession of the place.

Dionysius being now convinced by experience, that he could not by any means trust the *Syracusians*, resolved to disarm them all, and because that, if done with open violence, might occasion great commotions, he waited till most part of the inhabitants had left the city, and were employed abroad in gathering in their harvest. He then searched narrowly every house, and seized on all the arms he could find. Afterwards he enclosed the citadel with another wall, fitted out a powerful fleet, hired a great many foreigners, and took all possible measures to secure himself against the attempts of the *Syracusians*.

*He disarms
the Syra-
cusians.*

Having sufficiently provided for his safety at home, he began to extend his conquests abroad, not only with a view of enlarging his dominions, and encreasing his revenues, but in order to divert his subjects from the sense of the evils attending slavery by employing them in military expeditions, to which the hopes of riches and plunder would stir them up. Having therefore mustered his troops, he took the field, and in the very first campaign possessed himself of *Naxos*, *Catana*, *Leontini*, *Ætna*, *Enna*, and other cities. Some of them he treated with great clemency, to gain the esteem and affection of the people, others he plundered, and sold the inhabitants for slaves, to strike terror into the country.

THESE conquests alarmed the neighbouring cities, that saw themselves threatened with the same danger. *Rhegium*, situate on the opposite coast of the strait which divides *Sicily* from *Italy*, taking umbrage at the great naval preparations carried on at *Syracuse*, entered into an alliance with *Messana*, on the *Sicilian* side of the strait, and, having raised a considerable army, sent a messenger to the *Syracusians*, acquainting them, that if they were desirous of shaking off the yoke they groaned under, they should be assisted with a numerous fleet
and

and powerful army. The *Syracusians* readily promised to perform their part; but while the joint forces of *Messana* and *Rhegium* were upon the point of marching against the tyrant, disputes arising among the troops and officers of the two armies, the enterprize was dropped, and the mighty preparations for war ended in a treaty of peace and alliance between *Dionysius* and the two cities.

Prepares
to make
war on
the Car-
thagini-
ans

Dionysius had concluded the late peace with the *Carthaginians*, with no other view, but to gain time to establish his authority: He therefore no sooner saw himself firmly seated on the throne, but he began to make the necessary preparations for renewing the war, designing nothing less than to drive them quite out of *Sicily*. As he was very sensible how formidable the power of the *Carthaginians* was at that time, he made preparations suitable to the undertaking he was going upon. His first care was to bring to *Syracuse*, from all parts of *Sicily*, *Greece*, and *Italy*, great numbers of workmen, whom he employed in forging all sorts of arms. Not only the porches of the temples, but the schools, walks, piazzas about the forum, and every public place, nay even private houses were filled with workmen. The great wages, which *Dionysius* paid them, induced the best artificers in every profession to quit their own country, and flock to *Syracuse*. *Dionysius* himself was continually among them, encouraging them with great rewards to dispatch the work in hand. Such as distinguished themselves by their ingenuity or application, were sure to receive some particular marks of his favour. He even invited them to dine with him, and took pleasure in entertaining them with all the freedom and kindness of a friend. The artificers thus encouraged were indefatigable, striving to outvie one another; insomuch, that in a short time an hundred and forty thousand compleat suits of armour were finished. He then applied himself entirely to the fitting out of a fleet, capable of disputing with the *Carthaginians* the sovereignty of the sea. The timber for building his gallies he brought at a great expence from *Italy*, where it was drawn on carriages to the sea-side, and then shipped for *Syracuse*. Having provided the necessary materials, he employed such a vast number of workmen, that a fleet of two hundred sail was soon ready to put to sea; to these he added an hundred and ten old gallies, which he caused to be made as serviceable as the new ones. The preparations he made both by sea and land were so great and expensive, that one would have taken them, as our author observes, to have been the utmost effort of the whole island. The fleet was manned with an equal number

number of citizens and foreigners. *Syracuse*, and the cities in its dependence, supplied him with great part of his land-forces: many came from *Italy* and *Greece*, the great pay he offered inducing them to flock over in crouds and list in his service. Being sensible of what importance it is for a general to gain the affection of his troops, he applied himself in a particular manner to oblige all, especially the *Syracusians*. With this view he entirely changed his behaviour for some time; kindness, civility, a disposition to do good, and an insinuating condescension, took place of that imperious air and inhuman temper, which had rendered him so odious.

Dionysius, seeing his great preparations now compleat, and the army in a condition to take the field, assembled the *Syracusians*, and acquainted them with his design, which was, he said, to make war upon the most implacable enemy the *Greeks* had; he represented to them, in a pathetic speech, the many calamities, which the *Carthaginians* had brought upon *Sicily*, adding, that the plague, which had lately wasted *Carthage*, offered them a fair opportunity of being revenged on them, for the inhuman cruelties they had practised on their countrymen. The assembly readily concurred in his opinion; the antient hatred they bore the *Carthaginians*, their rage against them for having brought their city under the power of a tyrant, and the hopes they entertained of finding some opportunity of recovering their former liberty, united them in their suffrages, and war was unanimously resolved on. Upon the breaking up of the assembly, *Dionysius* granted leave to the people to seize on all the goods and estates of the *Carthaginians*, who, upon the faith of treaties, had settled at *Syracuse*, and there carried on a considerable trade^y.

Dionysius, finding the *Syracusians* no less desirous of the war than himself, dispatched an herald to *Carthage*, with a letter to the senate and people, notifying to them, that if they did not forthwith withdraw their garisons from all the *Greek* cities in *Sicily*, the people of *Syracuse* would treat them as enemies. This letter, being read first in the senate, and afterwards in the assembly of the people, occasioned a general alarm at *Carthage*, which the plague had reduced to a miserable condition. However, they were not dismayed, but sent officers into all parts with considerable sums to raise troops with the utmost diligence, and appointed *Imilcar* commander in chief of all their forces.

Dionysius on his side lost no time; without waiting for the

^y Idem, ibid. c. 7.

Motya be-
sieged.

answer of the *Carthaginians* he took the field, and his army was daily increased by the arrival of new troops, which, out of hatred to the *Carthaginians*, flocked to him from all parts: It amounted to fourscore thousand foot and three thousand horse. The fleet consisted of two hundred long gallies, and five hundred transports, laden with warlike engines and all sorts of provisions. He opened the campaign with the siege of *Motya*, where the *Carthaginians* kept all their stores and provisions. This city stood near mount *Eryx*, in a small island about a mile from the shore, to which it was joined by a small neck of land; this the besieged immediately cut off to prevent the approaches of the enemy on that side. *Dionysius* after having taken a view of the place with his engineers commanded the canal between the city and the shore to be filled up with rubbish, and his gallies to anchor at the mouth of the harbour. Having given these orders he left his brother *Lep- tines*, commander in chief of the fleet, to carry on the siege, while he with his land-forces went to reduce the cities in alliance with the *Carthaginians*, which, terrified at the approach of so great an army, all submitted, except five, viz: *Ancyra*, *Solas*, *Egesta*, *Panormus*, and *Entella*. The two last he besieged, but not being able to reduce them in so short a time as he expected, he returned with his whole army to *Motya*, not doubting, but all other places would surrender as soon as they saw him master of this ².

In the mean time *Imilcar*, who was busy in raising men and making other preparations for the war in *Sicily*, ordered his admiral to set sail from *Carthage* with ten gallies, and making strait to *Syracuse*, to destroy all the vessels he should find in that harbour. What he proposed by this was to divide the enemy's forces, and oblige *Dionysius* to send part of his fleet to the defence of *Syracuse*. The admiral, pursuant to his orders, entered the harbour in the night, and having sunk most of the ships he found there, sailed back to *Carthage* without the loss of a single man.

Dionysius, on his return to *Motya*, having set more hands at work, speedily filled up the canal with heaps of stone and rubbish, so that he could make his approaches as on the dry land. He then brought forward his engines, battered the place with his rams, advanced to the walls towers six stories high rolled upon wheels, and from thence galled the besieged with continual volleys of arrows and stones discharged from his catapults, an engine at that time of late invention. The place was at-
And taken. tacked and defended with the utmost vigour. After the aggress-

² Idem, ibid.

fors had opened several breaches in the walls, and entered the city sword in hand, the besieged still persisted in defending the narrow streets and passages with incredible valour, so that they were drove from street to street, till, being quite tired out and overpowered with numbers, they were all cut in pieces. The soldiers, enraged at so obstinate a defence, put all to the sword without distinction of sex or age, those only excepted, who took sanctuary in the temples. The city was given up to be plundered, *Dionysius* being glad to have such an opportunity of gaining the affection of the troops by the allurements of gain and booty. He rewarded one *Archylus*, who first mounted the wall, with an hundred minas, and all the rest in proportion to their merit. Such of the *Motyans* as were left alive he sold for slaves, but commanded *Diamenes*, and all the *Greeks* who had joined the *Carthaginians*, to be crucified. Having thus reduced the strongest city in *Sicily* subject to *Carthage*, and placed a numerous garison in it under the command of one *Bito* a *Syracusan*, and ordered *Leptines* with an hundred and twenty gallies to watch the *Carthaginians* at sea, summer now drawing to an end, he returned with his army to *Syracuse*. *And taken.*

IN the mean time the *Carthaginians*, having certain intelligence of the strength of *Dionysius*, resolved to surpass him in numbers both of men and ships; and accordingly, having made an extraordinary effort, they raised an army of three hundred thousand foot and four thousand horse. Their fleet, under the command of *Mago*, consisted of four hundred gallies, and upwards of six hundred ships of burden laden with provisions and engines of war. The troops being embarked, and the fleet ready to set sail, *Imilcar* delivered his orders to the commanders of the fleet sealed up, enjoining them not to open them till they were out at sea, and then to observe them with all strictness. This precaution he took (and it is the first time that we find it used) to prevent spies from informing the enemy of his design. The orders were, that they should make strait to *Panormus*, which was appointed the place of the general rendezvous, and thither they steered their course with a fair wind. But the transports, having outailed the gallies, were attacked off the coast of *Panormus* by *Leptines*, who sunk fifty of them, in which five thousand men and two hundred chariots were lost; the rest tacking about had the good luck to escape. As soon as the gallies appeared *Leptines* retired, and *Imilcar*, having landed his troops, marched directly against the enemy, commanding the fleet to sail along the coast near the army. On his march he took *Eryx* by treachery, and hastening from thence to *Motya*, reduced that a

Great preparations of the Carthaginians against Dionysius.

landing is near Eryx and Motya.

important place, before *Dionysius*, who was then besieging *Egesta*, could send any forces to its relief. The *Syracusians* and their confederates were for venturing a battle, but *Dionysius* thought it more adviseable to retire to *Syracuse*, and abandon all the open country to the mercy of the *Carthaginians*, who, flushed with their success, marched strait to *Messana*. *Imilcar* was desirous to possess himself of that city on account of its situation ; for being once master of it, he could easily intercept all succours sent to the enemy either from *Italy* or *Greece* ; and besides, the haven was capable of receiving his whole fleet, which consisted of five hundred sail and upwards. When the inhabitants heard of the approach of the enemy, they could not agree among themselves about the measures to be taken on that occasion. Some, alarmed at the great strength of the *Carthaginians*, and seeing themselves deserted by their confederates were for submitting to the enemy ; others were resolved to hold out to the last, and cheerfully sacrifice their lives in the defence of their liberties. They were encouraged to this resolution by an antient prophecy, whereby it was foretold, *that the Carthaginians should be one day carriers of water in that city*. This they interpreted as if the *Carthaginians* should be slaves in *Messana*, and therefore, having sent away their wives and children with all their treasures to the neighbouring cities, they began to make the necessary preparations. But in the mean time the *Carthaginian* fleet having, by the favour of a strong gale, entered the harbour, and with a great number of engines battered down the walls on that side the inhabitants hastened in crouds to defend the breaches, leaving the other parts of the wall quite unguarded. *Imilcar* took advantage of this confusion, and attacking the city on the land side entered it without opposition. All those, who were on the ramparts, died valiantly on the spot the others either fled to the neighbouring cities, or threw themselves into the sea, and made their escape to the opposite shore of *Italy*. *Imilcar* entering *Messana* with his whole army, and considering that it was too far distant from the cities held by the *Carthaginians*, ordered his soldiers to raze it to the ground, and his orders were executed with such severity, that there was not one house left standing in the whole city ; nay, our historian tells us, that, after the departure of the *Carthaginians*, it was hard to tell where *Messana* had stood, the very rubbish being carried away and thrown into the sea, which discovered the implacable hatred *Imilcar* bore to the *Circeks*.

Messana
taken by
the Car-
thagini-
ans.

And razed
to the
ground.

THE fame of these successes being spread all over the island, most of the inhabitants, who hated *Dionysius* in their hearts,
and

and had only been reconciled to him in appearance and out of fear, took this opportunity to quit his party and join the *Carthaginians*. He raised new forces, and giving the slaves their liberty, manned with them threescore gallies. His whole army amounted to thirty thousand foot and three thousand horse, and his fleet to an hundred and eighty gallies. With these he took the field, and removed about twenty miles from *Syracuse*. *Imilcar* upon advice of his march advanced to meet him, his land-army being attended by the fleet, which kept near the coast. When the *Carthaginians* arrived at *Naxos*, they could not continue any longer their march by the sea-side, but were obliged to take a long compass round mount *Ætna*, which by a violent eruption had covered all the neighbouring country with burning ashes. *Imilcar* therefore ordered *Mago* to sail to *Catana*, and there wait, till he, marching through the heart of the country, should rejoin him with the land-forces. *Dionysius*, apprised of this, hastened with all speed to *Catana* with a design to attack *Mago*, before *Imilcar*'s army came up; he hoped that his land-forces drawn up on the shore would greatly encourage his own mariners and discourage the enemy's: besides, if his fleet were worsted, both ships and men had a place of safety to retire to.

HAVING therefore drawn up all his land-forces on the shore, he sent out *Leptines* with the whole fleet against the enemy, commanding him to engage in close order, and not to break his line upon any account whatsoever. The *Carthaginians*, seeing the *Greek* troops drawn up on the shore, and the navy advancing in good order against them, were struck with terror, and began to make to the shore with a design to save themselves over land and join *Imilcar*; but recollecting that this was equally, if not more, dangerous, they resolved to try their fortune by sea; and accordingly drawing themselves up in a line, they waited for the enemy, *Leptines* inconsiderately advancing with thirty of his best gallies, contrary to the express command of *Dionysius*, sunk several of the enemy's ships, but was himself surrounded, and, after having fought for some hours hand to hand with the enemy as if in a battle on land, was obliged to fly. The flight of the admiral disheartened the *Syracusians*, and gave the enemy fresh courage; the former fled to the shore where their land-forces were drawn up, but were closely pursued by the *Carthaginians*. Many abandoning their ships threw themselves into the sea, hoping to save their lives by swimming to the shore; but the *Carthaginian* transports, which lay near the shore, having manned their boats, made a dreadful havock of those unhappy men, when they were not in a condition to make any resistance.

A fight at sea between Mago and Leptines.

Leptines defeated.

The land-army saw them perish, without being able to give them the least relief. In this engagement above an hundred of the *Syracusan* gallies were either sunk or taken, and more than twenty thousand of their men killed in the battle or pursuit.

Dionysius
marches
back to
Syracuse.

UPON this misfortune the land-forces, under the command of *Dionysius*, solicited their generals to lead them against *Imilcar*, alledging, that their unexpected arrival would strike terror into the enemy, and give them a fair opportunity of retrieving their late loss, while the enemy's troops were fatigued with their long and hasty march. This proposal pleased *Dionysius* at first; but while he was preparing to march, some of his friends remonstrating to him, that *Mago* in the mean time with his victorious fleet might possess himself of *Syracuse*, he altered his resolution, and hastened with his whole army to the defence of that metropolis. Many of the *Sicilians*, being unwilling to undergo the fatigues and hardships of a siege, deserted, and either joined the enemy, or withdrew to their respective homes^a.

Syracuse
besieged.

Imilcar in two days march arrived at *Catana*, where he halted some time to refresh his troops, and then, animated with the good success that attended his arms, marched strait to *Syracuse* with a design to besiege it; while his fleet, under the command of *Mago*, sailed along the coast, carrying great plenty of provisions for the subsistence of so numerous an army. The arrival of the enemy threw the city into the utmost consternation. Above two hundred gallies, adorned with the spoils of the enemy, entered in a kind of triumph the great haven of *Syracuse*, and were followed by a thousand transports; so that the harbour, capacious as it was, could hardly contain so great a navy. The fleet had scarce cast anchor, when the army appeared on the other side, consisting of three hundred thousand foot and four thousand horse. *Imilcar* took up his quarters in the temple of *Jupiter*, and the rest of the army encamped round it, about twelve furlongs from the city. The next morning the *Carthaginian* general, advancing with his army in battalia to the very walls of the city, offered the inhabitants battle. But as they were not so imprudent as to accept the challenge, he returned to his camp, well satisfied at his having extorted from the *Syracusians* a tacit confession of their own weakness and his superiority. At the same time he ordered an hundred of his best gallies to enter the two other harbours, viz. the *Little Port* and that of *Trogilus*, to strike more terror into the *Syracusians*, and convince them that the *Carthaginians* were likewise masters at sea. As he

^a Idem, ibid.

met with no opposition, he sent out parties for thirty days together to lay waste the country, cutting down groves, and destroying all before him. He took by assault the quarter of the town called *Acradina*, where he plundered the rich temples of *Ceres* and *Proserpine*. He considered the city as a sure prey, which could not possibly escape him; but at the same time foreseeing, that the siege would be long and tedious, he surrounded his camp with a trench, and enclosed it with strong walls, after having demolished for that purpose all the tombs which stood round the city, and amongst others that of *Gelon* and his wife *Demarata*, which was a monument of great magnificence. He built three forts near the sea at equal distances from each other, one at *Plemmyrium*, another about the middle of the port, and the third near the temple of *Jupiter*, laying up in these great stores of provision. He sent likewise transports to *Sardinia* and *Africa* to bring from thence corn and other necessaries.

IN the mean time *Polyxenus*, whom *Dionysius* had dispatched into *Italy* and *Greece* with great sums of money to raise what forces he could, arrived with a fleet of thirty ships under the command of *Pharacidas* the *Lacedemonian*. This reinforcement came very seasonably, and somewhat raised the courage of the dispirited *Syracusians*, who, spying a large vessel laden with provisions for the enemy, ventured out with five galleys and took it. As they were sailing away with their prize, the *Carthaginians* gave them chase with forty sail, against which they advanced with their whole fleet, and engaging them took the admiral galley, and twenty-four more, damaged others, and pursued the rest to the place where their whole fleet rode, offering them battle a second time. The *Carthaginians*, discouraged with this unexpected overthrow, kept within the harbour, though their fleet was three times more numerous than the enemy's who challenged them ^b.

THE *Syracusians*, animated by this success, which could only be ascribed to their own valour, for both *Dionysius* and *Leptines* were then absent, began to encourage each other to shake off the shameful yoke of servitude, and resume their antient liberty. What exploits, said they, have we achieved under the conduct of the tyrant? Have we not been always shamefully overcome by the *Carthaginians*? But now, that we did not fight under the unlucky auspices of *Dionysius*, we have gained a glorious victory, and are returned conquerors. Why then do we not exert the same courage against a domestic tyrant, which we have shewn against a foreign ene-

The Syracusians defeat the Carthaginians by sea.

Designs to depose Dionysius.

^b Idem, ibid.

my ? We have again got swords in our hands ; let us employ them against him who has injured us more than the *Carthaginians* themselves. While these speeches were whispered about the town, *Dionysius*, who had been out at sea with a small squadron to procure provisions, landed at the port, and having summoned an assembly he congratulated the *Syracusians* on their late victory, promising in a short time to put an end to the war, and deliver them from their present calamities. When the assembly was ready to break up, one *Theodorus*, a *Syracusan* of great authority among the nobility, and who had done eminent services to his country, stood up and boldly spoke thus : “ Although *Dionysius* has advanced
 “ many fallhoods in his speech, yet what he said in the close
 “ of it, viz. that he would put a speedy end to the war, he
 “ may truly perform, if he himself, who has always been
 “ overcome, resigns the command, and restores us to our
 “ liberty. For none of us care to venture our lives in the
 “ field against a foreign enemy, while we know, that, not-
 “ withstanding our victory, we are to be treated like slaves
 “ by a domestic tyrant. If the *Carthaginians* prevail, by
 “ paying an annual tribute, we shall be allowed to enjoy our
 “ liberties ; but if *Dionysius* should conquer, he would not
 “ fail to rob our temples, plunder our houses, seize our es-
 “ tates, take away our lives, and deprive us of all that is
 “ most dear to us. Let us therefore get rid of the tyrant
 “ within our walls, before we attempt to drive away a less
 “ dangerous enemy without. Shall we, who have lately
 “ engaged thousands, and put them to flight, be now afraid
 “ of one tyrant ? We have arms in our hands, and against
 “ whom can we better employ them than against one who
 “ has reduced us to such a deplorable condition, that we are
 “ pitied even by our enemies ? If *Dionysius* consents to ab-
 “ dicate the tyranny, and retire, let us open our gates to
 “ him and his followers. But if he refuses to resign his u-
 “ surped authority, let him know by experience how
 “ powerful is the love of liberty in the breasts of brave and
 “ valiant men. ”

WHEN *Theodorus* had ended his speech, the *Syracusians*, much perplexed in their minds, and not knowing what to resolve on, looked earnestly on their allies, especially on the *Spartans* there present ; when *Pharacidas*, who commanded the *Lacedemonian* fleet, rose up. Every one expected that a citizen of *Sparta* would declare in favour of liberty ; but they were disappointed in their hopes, for he told them, that he had been sent by his republic to assist the *Syracusians* and *Dionysius* against the *Carthaginians*, and not to make war
 upon

upon *Dionysius*, or subvert his authority. This unexpected answer put a stop to any further attempts of the *Syracusians*; and the tyrant's mercenaries arriving at the same time, the assembly broke up. However, *Dionysius* was under no small apprehension, and from that time left no stone unturned to ingratiate himself with the people, affecting on all occasions to treat them with great kindness and familiarity^c.

Polyxenus, who had married *Thesta*, *Dionysius*'s sister, declared against him on this occasion, and not thinking himself safe in *Sicily*, privately withdrew into *Italy*. When *Dionysius* was informed of his flight, he sent for his sister, and bitterly reproached her for not giving him notice of her husband's retreat, since she could not be ignorant of it: *Thesta* reply'd, without expressing the least fear or concern, Have I appeared to be so bad a wife to you, and so mean-spirited as to have abandoned my husband in his flight? No, I was quite unacquainted with his design; but if he had imparted it to me, I should not have discovered it to you, but shared with him his dangers and misfortunes, reckoning myself more happy in being called the wife of *Polyxenus* the exile, than the sister of *Dionysius* the tyrant. *Dionysius*, though highly incensed against his sister, yet could not help commending the affection she shewed for her husband; and the *Syracusians* were so charmed with the love she shewed for her country on this and all other occasions, that, after the tyranny was suppressed, the same honours, equipage, and train, which she had before, were continued to her during her life. After her death the whole city attended her funeral, which was performed at the expence of the public, with extraordinary pomp and splendor^d.

BUT to return to the *Carthaginians*; their successes were not lasting. They had committed an irretrievable error in not attacking *Syracuse* upon their arrival, when the sight of a mighty fleet and a formidable army had occasioned an universal consternation in the city; and now a plague, breaking out in their camp, prevented them from making any attempts towards the reduction of the place. This infection was looked upon as a punishment inflicted upon them by the gods for plundering the temples, and demolishing the tombs round the city, but was in fact occasioned by the unwholesome exhalations of the fens and marshes joining their camp; for the *Athenians*, who spared both temples and tombs, had been, not long before, afflicted with the same calamity. The plague began among the *Africans*, and soon spread through

A plague in the Carthaginian army.

^c Idem, *ibid*.

^d PLUTARCH. in *Dion*.

the whole army. Care was taken at first to inter the dead, but their numbers increasing daily, they were left unburied, and this, as it was then the midst of summer, and the heat that year excessive, aggravated the evil beyond measure. This infection was attended with very uncommon symptoms, such as violent dysenteries, raging fevers, acute pains in all the parts of the body, &c. some were even seized with madness and fury, falling upon all those that came in their way, and tearing them to pieces. The plague was so violent, that in a short time it swept away above an hundred thousand men, all remedies proving unsuccessful, by reason of the incredible violence of the distemper, and the quick dispatch it made of such as were seized with it.

Dionysius
forces the
Carthagi-
nian camp,
and burns
their fleet.

Dionysius resolved not to let slip so favourable an opportunity of attacking the enemy. Having therefore manned fourscore gallies, he ordered *Pharacidas* and *Leptines* to fall upon the enemy's fleet at break of day, while he attacked the land-forces in the camp. With this view having commanded his troops to be ready to march by midnight, he set out at the head of ten thousand chosen men at the time appointed, and, without being discovered, arrived at the enemy's camp. He then detached a strong body of cavalry, and a thousand of the mercenary foot, with orders to fall upon that part of the camp which lay at the greatest distance, pretending that the enemy there kept no guard. But his real design was to get rid of that body of mercenaries, they having in the late disturbances seemed to favour the faction which opposed him. Accordingly he gave private instructions to the officers of the horse to retire as soon as the infantry was engaged; his orders were obeyed, and the mercenaries, being surrounded on all sides, were cut off all to a man. Upon the return of the cavalry, *Dionysius* at the same time attacked the camp and the forts, which the enemy had built near the shore. Two of the forts were taken at the first onset, which gave the *Syracusians* an opportunity of entering the great haven with all their fleet, and falling furiously on the enemy's gallies anchored there. The *Carthaginians* in the camp made at first a vigorous resistance, but seeing the two forts, which defended the harbour, possessed by the enemy, and their navy in imminent danger of being utterly destroyed, many of them abandoning the defence of the camp, hastened to the shore to the relief of their companions on board the vessels. This occasioned a great confusion in the army, which *Dionysius* taking advantage of, broke into the camp, and made a dreadful havock, putting all to the sword who opposed him. The surprize, terror, and even haste they

they were in, to put themselves into a posture of defence, threw them into greater confusion and disorder. They knew not on what side to send relief, all being equally in danger. Many of their vessels were sunk, others quite disabled, and a great many burnt and taken. The inhabitants of *Syracuse*, crouded on the walls and eminences, were eye-witnesses of that scene of horror, and, lifting up their hands to heaven, thanked the tutelary gods of the city, for revenging, in so signal a manner, the many sacrileges which the *Carthaginians* had committed since their arrival in *Sicily*. The slaughter in the camp and on board the vessels was great and dreadful, and ended only when night obliged the conquerors to retire.

Dionysius encamped at the temple of *Jupiter*, near the enemy, with a design to renew the fight early next morning.

But *Imilcar*, taking the opportunity of this short respite, sent ambassadors privately to *Dionysius*, offering him three hundred talents, if he would permit the remains of his shattered army to withdraw unmolested. *Dionysius* was unwilling

Dionysius grants the Carthaginians leave to retire.

utterly to destroy the *Carthaginians*, lest the *Syracusians*, when free from the apprehension of so formidable an enemy, should seek to regain their antient liberty; but on the other side he knew, that neither the *Syracusians* nor their confederates would suffer him to grant the enemy such terms. He therefore answered, that it was not in his power to permit them all to retire, but that he would allow *Imilcar*, with all the citizens of *Carthage*, to depart in the night, upon his paying three hundred talents.

This being agreed on, *Dionysius* retired with his forces into the city, whither *Imilcar* privately sent him the promised sum, and then began to make the necessary preparations for his departure. The *Carthaginians* were put on board forty galleys, and ready to set sail, when the *Corinthians*, who served under *Dionysius*, discovering from the noise and motion of the vessels, that *Imilcar* was making off, sent to acquaint the tyrant with their flight, who immediately ordered some galleys to be manned, as if he designed to prevent their retreat. But as his orders were but slowly executed, the *Corinthians*, without his command, pursued them, and sunk several vessels in the rear.

Dionysius then marched out with his troops against those, whom *Imilcar* had left behind to the mercy of the conqueror; but before his arrival the *Sicilians*, in the *Carthaginian* service, had retired to their respective countries; the rest, seeing themselves abandoned by the *Sicilians*, and betrayed by the *Carthaginians*, at the approach of *Dionysius's* army betook themselves to flight; but, being closely pursued, were either cut in pieces, or taken prisoners; only the *Iberians*

kept

kept together in a body, and sent a herald to capitulate with *Dionysius*, who took them into his service. Such was the fate of the *Carthaginians* in *Sicily*, which shews, says our historian, that those, who are too much elated with power and success, may soon be forced to confess their weakness and vanity. Those haughty conquerors, masters of almost all *Sicily*, who looked upon *Syracuse* as their own, and entered at first triumphant into the harbour, insulting the citizens, are now reduced to fly shamefully in the night, dragging away with them the sad ruins and miserable remains of their shattered fleet and army, after having left an hundred and fifty thousand men lying unburied in the enemy's country ^c.

Imilcar
lays violent
hands on
himself.

Imilcar upon his arrival at *Carthage*, which he found overwhelmed with grief and despair, went directly to his own house, and, shutting the doors against the citizens and even his own children, laid violent hands on himself, to shew that he did not survive his countrymen, who perished in *Sicily*, out of a fondness for life, but merely to preserve the troops, which had escaped the plague, from the fury of the enemy, to which his more early death would have exposed them. When it was publicly known in *Africa*, that *Imilcar* had saved only the citizens of *Carthage*, leaving the confederates behind to the mercy of the enemy, the cities and states, which had sent them auxiliaries, were incensed to such a degree, that taking up arms they marched directly to *Carthage*, being two hundred thousand men and upwards. But as they wanted a leader of experience, and had neither warlike engines nor provisions to support so numerous an army, they soon dispersed, and, retiring to their respective countries, freed *Carthage* from a dreadful alarm.

The Rhe-
gians de-
feated by
Dionysius.

THE *Carthaginians* being thus intirely defeated in *Sicily*, all those who had abandoned their country, through dread of so formidable an enemy, returned to their antient habitations. *Dionysius* caused the city of *Messana* to be rebuilt, and peopled it with a thousand *Locrians* and four thousand *Medimneans*. This gave no small jealousy to the inhabitants of *Rhegium* in *Italy*, who, receiving into their protection all those that were driven out by *Dionysius*, or hated his government, formed a considerable army, which they sent under the conduct of *Hectoris* to besiege *Messana*. But *Dionysius* unexpectedly falling upon them, cut most of the *Rhegian* forces in pieces, and obliged the rest to retire to their vessels and abandon the island. He had scarce obtained this victory over the *Rhegians*, but *Mago* the *Carthaginian*, whom *Imilcar* had left to settle

^c Idem, ibid.

the affairs of *Carthage* in *Sicily*, appeared before *Messana* at the head of a numerous army; but was attended with no better success, being in a pitched battle driven out of the field with the loss of above eight hundred men. *Dionysius*, animated by these two victories, resolved to make an attempt upon *Rhegium*, and accordingly having manned an hundred galleys, arrived unperceived before the city, set fire to the gates, and in the confusion, which his arrival occasioned, was very near carrying the city by assault, the inhabitants being more intent upon extinguishing the fire, than repulsing the enemy. But *Helorus*, perceiving the danger the city was in, ordered the inhabitants to give over quenching the flames, and hasten to the walls; by which means the place was saved, for some of *Dionysius's* men had already by the help of their scaling ladders got into the city, but the rest being timely prevented from following them, they were either put to the sword, or made prisoners. *Dionysius* being thus disappointed in his design, laid waste the territory of *Rhegium*, and then retired to *Syracuse*.

And Mago
the Car-
thaginian.

THE *Carthaginians*, however disheartened by their late losses, yet could not forbear making new attempts upon *Sicily*. They sent *Mago* fourscore thousand men, enjoining him to make war upon *Dionysius*, and promising to send him soon new supplies both of men, money, and ships. But *Mago*, being soon reduced to great straits for want of provisions, sent ambassadors to *Dionysius* to treat of a peace, which was concluded before either side had lost one man. By this treaty *Taurominium*, a *Carthaginian* colony, was given up to *Dionysius*, who driving from thence the antient proprietors, placed the choicest of his mercenaries in their room. As for *Mago*, as soon as the treaty was signed, he returned to *Carthage*, leaving his allies in *Sicily* to shift for themselves.

Mago con-
cludes a
peace with
Dionysius.

AND now *Dionysius*, being under no apprehension of the *Carthaginians*, bent all his thoughts on the reduction of *Rhegium*, which was the key of *Italy*, with a design to bring under his power all the *Greek* cities there. He had then under his command an army of twenty thousand foot and a thousand horse, besides an hundred and twenty galleys well manned and equipt. With these he passed over into *Italy*, and having laid waste the country of the *Locrians*, he advanced to *Rhegium*. But in the mean time the *Italians*, being well apprised of his designs, raised forces in all their cities, and having fitted out a fleet of three score galleys, sent them to the relief of *Rhegium*. They were met by a squadron of *Dionysius's* fleet consisting of fifty galleys; whereupon a sharp en-

Dionysius
attacks
Rhegium.

gement ensued, in which *Dionysius* lost seven gallies, and fifteen hundred men. The fleets were parted by a violent storm, which driving many of the *Syracusan* vessels upon the *Rbegian* shore, the mariners were either cut in pieces by the inhabitants, or taken prisoners, *Dionysius* himself having narrowly escaped in a small vessel, and with much ado landed at midnight at the port of *Messana*.

*Stirs up
the Luca-
nians a-
gainst the
Greeks in
Italy.*

THIS disappointment did not make *Dionysius* lay aside his designs upon the *Greek* cities in *Italy*; he reinforced his army with new levies, equipt a greater number of ships, and made vast preparations both by sea and land in order to renew the war. In the mean time he entered into an alliance with the *Lucanians*, engaging them with great promises to fall upon the *Greek* cities in *Italy*, hoping to find them thereby on his return so weakened that he might easily accomplish his design. The *Lucanians*, agreeable to their engagement, entered the country of the *Thurians*, put all to fire and sword, and having joined battle with the confederate *Greeks*, killed above ten thousand of them on the spot. Those who escaped the slaughter fled to a hill near the sea-side, whence they discovered a squadron of ships making to the *Italian* shore, and hoping that they were sent from *Rbegium* to their assistance, out of eagerness to save themselves from the *Lucanians*, who pursued them, leapt into the sea and swam to the ships. But this fleet proved to be a squadron sent by *Dionysius* to the assistance of the *Lucanians*, under the command of his brother *Leptines*. However, that commander not only received them generously into his ships, but prevailed upon the *Lucanians* to accept for each man, they being a thousand in all, a mina, and suffer them to return unmolested into their own country. This sum which was very considerable, *Leptines* himself disbursed, being moved thereunto by his own generosity and natural inclination to pity even an enemy in distress. Such a generous behaviour gained him the affection of all the *Greeks*, but highly displeased *Dionysius*, who immediately discharged him, and appointed *Thearides*, his other brother, admiral in his room ^f.

*Dionysius
passes a-
gain into
Italy.*

AND now *Dionysius*, having made the necessary preparations for his expedition into *Italy*, set sail from *Syracuse* with an army of above twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse, and a fleet of forty long gallies, and three hundred transports, loaded with provisions and all sorts of warlike engines. The fifth day after his departure from *Syracuse* he arrived at *Mes-*

^f DIODOR. SICUL. *ibid.* c. 12.

sana, whence he sent his brother *Thearides* to the *Lipari* islands, upon advice brought him that ten ships of *Rhegium* were anchored there. *Thearides* found the ships, and returned with them and their crews to *Dionysius*, who delivered the prisoners loaded with chains to the care and custody of the magistrates of *Messana*, and then set sail for *Italy*. The first place he attacked was *Caulonia* or *Caulum*, a strong city in *Locris*, which, though battered night and day without intermission, held out, till the *Italians*, having raised an army of twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse, drew near the city in order to relieve it. These were commanded by *Heloris*, a native of *Syracuse*, whence he had been banished by *Dionysius*, and therefore bore him an implacable hatred. *Heloris*, as he drew near the besieged city, advanced with a detachment of five hundred chosen men to observe the ground on which the enemy was encamped. But *Dionysius*, upon advice of his approach breaking up the siege, marched with all speed against him, and arriving by break of day at the place where *Heloris* was encamped with his small detachment, fell upon him with his whole army. *Heloris* kept his ground in spite of the utmost efforts of an army, so much superior in number, till the rest of his forces came up. But as they arrived by parties, every one making what haste he could to relieve their general, they were after a long and obstinate dispute put to flight. *Heloris* and his party still kept their posts, and were all killed on the spot. Those, who escaped, fled to a neighbouring mountain, and there made a stand. But as they wanted water, and were hemmed in on all sides by the enemy, they sent an herald to *Dionysius*, offering to surrender, provided he would allow them to retire unmolested; but he insisting upon their delivering themselves up at discretion, they held out till they were ready to perish with hunger and thirst, and then complied with his proposal. They were above ten thousand, and expected no quarter from so cruel an enemy. But *Dionysius*, contrary to their expectation, treated them with great humanity, discharging them all without ransom, and suffering them to live in their respective countries according to their own laws. This, as our historian observes, was the only commendable action he ever performed in the whole course of his life. The captives on their return to their respective cities greatly extolled his clemency and good nature, and acknowledged his kindness to them by presenting him with crowns of gold.*

Dionysius, having by this generous action acquired the good *Rhegium* opinion of all the inhabitants of the country, and from ene- *besieged*

* *Idem, ibid.*

mies made them his friends and allies, turned his arms again upon the city of *Rhegium*. He was highly incensed against the *Rhegians*, on account of their having refused to give him the daughter of one of their citizens in marriage, and much more for the insolent answer, with which their refusal was attended (Z). The besieged, finding themselves abandoned by their allies, whom *Dionysius* had gained over by his late kindness, and expecting no quarter if the city should be taken by storm, sent ambassadors to treat of a surrender. *Dionysius* offered them peace, upon condition that they paid him three hundred talents, delivered up all their vessels, which were seventy in number, and put an hundred hostages into his hands. These terms the inhabitants agreed to, and the siege was raised. It was not out of kindness or good nature he acted in this manner, but with a view to deprive them of their fleet, knowing that it would be impossible for the *Rhegians* to hold out, if they received no assistance by sea. He therefore put off from day to day his march, waiting for some colourable pretence to break the treaty lately concluded with the *Rhegians*. With this view having drawn all his forces together, as if he intended to leave *Italy*, he desired the *Rhegians* to supply his army with provisions, promising to defray the charges they should be at as soon as he got to *Syracuse*. His design in this was, that if they refused to supply him he might have a pretence to attack their city anew; and if they complied with his demand, after their provisions were all spent, he might easily possess himself of the place. The *Rhegians*, not suspecting his design, supplied him for some days very plentifully. But as he put off his departure from

(Z.) *Dionysius* in the beginning of his reign did all that lay in his power to oblige the two powerful cities of *Rhegium* and *Messana*, lest they should enter into an alliance with the *Syracusians*, among whom his authority was not then well established. The inhabitants of *Messana* he presented with some lands in their neighbourhood, which lay very conveniently for them. To give the people of *Rhegium* an instance of his esteem and regard for them, he sent ambassadors to desire them to give him the daughter of one of their citizens in marriage. Upon the arrival of the ambassadors the people of *Rhegium*, having called a council to take his demand into consideration, took a resolution not to contract any alliance with a tyrant, and for their final answer charged the ambassadors to acquaint the tyrant, that they had only the hangman's daughter to give him. This gross abuse *Dionysius* never put up, but continually studied how to revenge it (13).

(13) *Idem, ibid. c. 12.*

day to day, sometimes pretending sickness, at other times al-
 ledging other frivolous excuses, they at length saw into his
 real design, and forbore sending him any further provisions.
 Hereupon *Dionysius*, pretending to be highly affronted, sent
 them back their hostages, and besieged them again with all
 his forces. Both parties acted with the utmost vigour. The
 desire of revenge on one side, and the fear of inhuman cruel-
 ties on the other, animated the troops. The *Rhegians* were
 under the command of *Phyto*, an officer of long experience
 and extraordinary valour. He made frequent sallies, in one
 of which *Dionysius*, while he was encouraging his troops to
 stand their ground, was so dangerously wounded that his life
 was despaired of. However, he recovered, and renewed the
 siege with more fury than ever, the walls trembling all round
 the city at the repeated shocks of almost innumerable warlike
 engines, no otherwise, as our historian expresses it, than as if
 they had been shaken by a dreadful earthquake. But, not-
 withstanding the utmost efforts of the aggressors, the siege
 went on very slowly, their works being often demolished,
 and their engines burnt by the besieged, who in each sally
 gained very considerable advantages. Thus they held out for
 the space of eleven months against the whole force of *Diony-
 sius*, but were at length for want of provisions reduced to the
 utmost extremity. A bushel of wheat was sold for five mi-
 nas, (that is 15 l. 12 s. 6 d.) and the famine was so great,
 that after they had consumed all their horses and beasts of
 burden, they supported themselves with boiled skins and
 leather; which also failing, they daily went out of the town
 to feed, like beasts, on the grass that grew under the walls.
 But *Dionysius*, to deprive them even of this poor support,
 sent his horses under a strong guard to graze where they used
 to feed. The besieged being thus overcome by famine were
 at length forced to surrender at discretion. *Dionysius* himself
 when he entered the city was struck with terror, finding
 every-where heaps of dead bodies lying in the streets, and
 those who survived rather skeletons than men. However,
 he got together about six thousand prisoners, whom he sent to
Syracuse, where such as were not able to redeem themselves
 with a mina, were sold for slaves. *Dionysius* vented his rage
 and revenge chiefly on the brave *Phyto*, who had made
 so gallant a defence; he caused his son to be thrown headlong
 into the sea and drowned. The next day he ordered *Phyto* to
 be loaded with chains, and fastened to the top of one of his
 highest engines, that he might be exposed to the view of the
 whole army. In that condition he sent one of his guards to
 tell

*Rhegium
 taken.*

tell him that his son had been drowned the day before ; *Then the son*, replied *Phyto*, *is by one day happier than the father*. He afterwards caused him to be whipt through the city, and undergo innumerable other cruelties, whilst a crier walking before him proclaimed, that *the perfidious traitor was treated in that manner, for having stirred up the people of Rhegium to war*. But *Phyto*, with an undaunted courage, cried out, that *he thus suffered, because he would not betray his country to a tyrant*. His heroic behaviour, and the indignities he suffered, raised compassion even in the breasts of the tyrant's soldiers, who began to mutiny, and would have rescued him, had not *Dionysius* immediately ordered him to be thrown into the sea. Thus suffered a man, whose probity, courage, and disinterested zeal for the good of his country, deserved a more glorious end. His death was lamented by all the *Greeks*, and became the subject of many elegant and affecting elegies ^b.

Dionysius
addicted to
poetry.
Year of
the Flood,
2612.
Before
Christ,
387.

Dionysius, after the taking of *Rhegium*, allowed both himself and his troops some respite. In the intervals of leisure he loved to unbend his mind with the study of the liberal arts and sciences, especially of poetry, piquing himself upon the excellence of his genius, and the elegance of his performances. As he excelled all others in power, so, in his own conceit, he surpassed them in wit and humour, and was more pleased to hear his poetical composures commended, than his victories and conquests. The flatterers, who abounded in his as in all other courts, greatly contributed to the high opinion he had of himself, crying his poems up to the skies, and preferring them to the works of all who had wrote before him. He often used to invite the learned men and poets of that age to dine at his table, and on that occasion never failed to entertain them with some new composition of his own, which always met with great approbation ; all was great, noble, majestic, and divine. *Philoxenus* was the only one who attempted to undeceive him in the favourable opinion he had of his own abilities, but narrowly escaped paying dear for his sincerity. As *Philoxenus* was himself an excellent poet, *Dionysius* one day, after having read to him some of his verses, pressed him to give his opinion of them, which he doing with great freedom, *Dionysius*, ascribing the liberty he had taken to envy, commanded his guards to carry the poet forthwith to the quarries or common jail ; however, he was the next day, at the earnest entreaties of all *Dionysius's* friends, set at liberty, and restored to favour. On this

^b Idem, ibid.

occasion *Dionysius*, as it were to ratify the pardon, made a noble entertainment, inviting to it all his own and the poet's friends. When the guests began to be merry, the prince did not fail to recite some verses he had lately made, chusing out some lines which he had taken extraordinary pains in composing, and looked upon as master-strokes, as was apparent from the self-satisfaction he expressed in rehearsing them. As he set a great value on *Philoxenus's* approbation, who was not apt to be lavish of his praises, he desired him again to divest himself of all envy, and speak his real sentiments. What had passed the day before might have served as a lesson for the poet; but he could not dissemble, and therefore, without making any answer to *Dionysius*, he turned to the guards, who always stood round the table, and with a serious, but humourous, air, desired them to carry him back to the quarries. This pleasantry *Dionysius* took in good part, saying that the wit of the poet had atoned for his freedom. *Antiphon*, finding that *Dionysius* was pleased with witty expressions, told him several truths in a very humourous manner, which he took no offence at; but having one day provoked him with too biting a jest, he paid dear for it. The prince, in a conversation, asked which was the best kind of brass, to which question *Antiphon* answered, that the best brass was that of which the statues of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton* were made. These were two famous patriots, who had defended the liberty of their country against the tyranny of *Pisistratus's* sons¹.

Dionysius, notwithstanding all *Philoxenus* had said to undeceive him, still fancied himself the best poet of his age, and sent his brother *Thearides* to the *Olympic* games, to dispute, in his name, the prizes of poetry and the chariot-races. When *Thearides* arrived at *Olympia*, the richness and number of his chariots, the extraordinary magnificence of his pavilion embroidered with gold and silver, and the sumptuous apparel of his numerous attendants, attracted the eyes and admiration of all the spectators. Their ears were no less charmed at first when the poems of *Dionysius* began to be read. He had chosen for that purpose persons of sweet and harmonious voices, who were heard far and distinctly, and knew how to give a just emphasis to the verses they repeated. But when that numerous assembly began to mind to more the poetry, but the sense and composition, they all burst out in a loud laugh, and hissed them off the stage, and even, to express their indignation, tore the rich pavilion in pieces. *Antiphon*,

¹ Idem, ibid. *Plut. Moral.*

the celebrated orator, who was then at *Olympia*, undertook to prove, that it was inconsistent with the honour of *Greece*, and sacredness of the sports, to admit such an impious tyrant to share in those diversions. This speech was stiled *the Olympic oration*. When the races began, *Dionysius's* chariots were either by an headlong impetuosity driven out of the place, or dashed in pieces against one another. Neither did the vessel, which carried *Thearides* and his retinue prosper better, being by a violent storm driven on the coast of *Tarentum*, whence with much ado they got to *Syracuse*. Upon their return they ascribed all the misfortunes they had met with, both by sea and land, to the badness of *Dionysius's* verses. But that did not cure him of his folly, or, as the historian stiles it, of his madness for versification; he entertained the same high opinion of his poetical vein, ascribing such injurious treatment to envy, and saying that they would one day admire what they then despised. He sent his poems a second time to *Olympia*, where they were treated with the same contempt as before; which threw him into a deep melancholy and kind of madness. This grew daily upon him, till at length he fancied, that even his best friends were plotting against his life and reputation, crying out like a Phrenetic, that every one envied him, that both friends and foes conspired to his ruin. In these fits of melancholy and madness he put many of his friends to death, and banished others; among the latter were *Leptines* his brother, and *Philistus*, to whom he was chiefly indebted for his power. They retired to *Thurium* in *Italy*, whence they were soon recalled, and reinstated in their former places of power and authority ^k.

To remove his melancholy for the ill success of his verses, he had again recourse to arms, and formed a design of driving the *Carthaginians* quite out of *Sicily*. But as he wanted money for so expensive an undertaking, he resolved to attack *Epirus*, and make himself master of the immense treasures which had been for many ages amassing in the temple of *Delphos*. With this view he settled powerful colonies in that part of *Italy* which faces *Greece*, and made an alliance with the *Illyrians*, sending them two thousand men, and a great quantity of arms, to be employed against the *Molossians*, with whom they were then at war. But the *Illyrians* afterwards falling out with *Dionysius*, on account of his building the city of *Lyffus* in the island of *Pharos*, he laid aside for the present all thoughts of plundering the temple of *Delphos*, and pursued another project of the same kind, which

^k Idem, ibid.

he easily accomplished. For having fitted out threeſcore gallees, under colour of clearing the ſeas of pyrates, he made a deſcent in *Hetruria*, and plundered a rich temple in the ſuburbs of *Agylla*, carrying away, beſides the rich moveables and furniture, above a thouſand talents in money. Five hundred talents more he raiſed by the ſale of the ſpoils, and with this money ſet on foot a numerous army, and made other preparations, as if he intended to attempt again the reduction of the *Greek* cities in *Italy*. But the *Carthaginians* ſuſpect-
 ing his real deſign, upon the firſt notice they had of theſe extraordinary preparations, ſent *Mago* over into *Sicily* with a powerful army. *Dionyſius* attacked him ſoon after he was landed, killed him with ten thouſand of his men, took five thouſand priſoners, and forced the reſt to ſave themſelves on a neighbouring hill, where he ſurrounded them on all ſides, and brought them to ſuch ſtraits that they were forced to ſue for a peace. *Dionyſius* answered the ambaffadors they ſent him with great haughtineſs, that there was only one way left for them to make peace with him, and that was, forthwith to evacuate *Sicily*, and to defray all the expences of the war. The *Carthaginians* pretended to accept the peace on the terms it was offered, but repreſenting that it was not in their power to deliver up the cities they poſſeſſed in *Sicily*, without the expreſs orders of their republic, they obtained a truce, which was to laſt till the return of an expreſs ſent to *Carthage*. During this interval they buried *Mago* with great pomp and magnificence, and appointed his ſon to command the troops in his room. This new general, who was very young, but had on all occaſions given proofs of an extraordinary valour and prudence, in the time of the truce raiſed and diſciplined new troops, and improved ſo well the ſhort time which was allowed him, that, at the return of the expreſs from *Carthage*, he took the field, gave the enemy battle, and killed above fourteen thouſand *Syracuſians* on the ſpot, and, among the reſt, *Leptines*, *Dionyſius*'s brother, who was greatly regretted even by thoſe who hated the tyrant. He was a brave and experienced officer, and though ever faithful to *Dionyſius*, yet an enemy to all manner of oppreſſion. *Dionyſius*, with the remains of his ſhattered army, fled to *Syracuſe*, where he expected to be ſoon beſieged by the victorious enemy. But the *Carthaginian* general uſed his victory with great moderation, and, inſtead of purſuing the routed enemy, retired to *Panormus*, whence he ſent ambaffadors to *Dionyſius*, offering him terms of peace, which he readily embraced; and a treaty was concluded on the following conditions, *viz.* that both parties ſhould keep what they had at

Dionyſius makes war on the Carthaginians and defeats them.

Dionyſius routed.

Peace concluded

the breaking out of the war, save only that *Dionysius* should deliver up to the *Carthaginians* the city and territory of *Selinus*, and part of the territory of *Agrigentum*, and besides pay a thousand talents to defray the expences of the war¹.

An account of Dionysius's death. A VICTORY of a very different kind made amends, or at least lessened his concern, for the ill success of his arms; he had caused a tragedy wrote by himself to be acted at *Athens*, for the prize of poetry at the celebrated feast of *Bacchus*, and was proclaimed victor. As the *Athenians* were the best judges of this kind of literature, and no ways biassed in favour of *Dionysius*, who had on all occasions assisted the *Lacedemonians*, we cannot help thinking, that the contemptuous sentence passed upon his poems in the *Olympic* games was chiefly owing to the hatred and aversion, which the spectators bore him. But, however that be, *Dionysius* received the news of his victory with such transports of joy as are not to be expressed; he amply rewarded the person that brought him the agreeable tidings, caused costly sacrifices to be offered to the gods, and, believing himself arrived at the highest pitch of glory, set no bounds to his generosity; he entertained the whole city with extraordinary magnificence, and spent an immense treasure in public feasts and banquets, which lasted several days. On this occasion *Dionysius*, drinking to excess and overcharging nature, a fault which he had never before been guilty of, was seized with violent pains, which were attended with uneasy and restless nights. Having therefore asked of his physicians a soporative, they gave him so strong a dose as quite stupified his senses, and laid him in a sleep, out of which he never awaked. He had been formerly forewarned by an oracle, that he should die when he had overcome those who were better than himself. This prediction he applied to the *Carthaginians*, who were more powerful than himself; and therefore would never own that he had gained any victory over them, but used to say, that the advantage, all things well considered, was pretty equal on both sides. However, he could not avoid his destiny, says the historian; for though he was but a bad poet, yet, in the opinion of the *Athenians*, he gained the victory over those who far excelled him in that art^m. He died after he had reigned thirty eight years.

His character.

Dionysius was, without all doubt, a prince of extraordinary abilities, both in his political and military capacity, having raised himself, in spite of the utmost efforts of a powerful people, from a mean condition to so high a station, and

¹ Idem, l. xv. c. 2.

^m Idem, c. 8.

transmitted the sovereignty to a successor of his own issue and election, who, notwithstanding the slenderness of his parts, held it for the space of twelve years. This shews, that *Dionysius* had established his power and authority upon a solid foundation, which could not be effected, in a city so fond of liberty, without great prudence and forecast. But what abilities could atone for the vices, which rendered him the object of the public hatred? His ambition knew no bounds; his avarice spared not the most sacred persons or places; and his cruelty, when awaked by jealousy or suspicion, made no distinction between friend and foe. He despised not only his fellow creatures, but the gods themselves, glorying in his open and professed impiety, whereof the antients relate the following instances. On his return from *Locris*, where he had plundered the temple of *Proserpine*, the wind being favourable, he turned to his friends, and with a contemptuous smile, *See*, said he, *how the immortal gods favour the sacrilegious* ^a. Being in great want of money to carry on the war against the *Carthaginians*, he rifled the temple of *Jupiter*, and amongst other things stript the god of a robe of gold, which *Hiero* had presented him with out of the spoils of the *Carthaginians*, saying, that a robe of gold was too heavy in summer and too cold in winter, and at the same time ordered one of wool to be thrown over the god's shoulders, adding, that such an habit would be far more proper for all seasons. He ordered the golden beard of *Æsculapius* to be taken off, saying it was very inconsistent for the son to have a beard, when the father had none; for *Apollo* is always represented as a beardless young man ^o. Several of the statues of the gods held cups and crowns of gold in their hands, which he made no scruple to carry off, saying, that the gods offered them to him, and that it was very simple to be continually importuning the gods for good things, and then refuse them when they themselves presented them to their votaries. These spoils were by his orders carried to the market-place, and there sold by auction. But the very next day pretending to be sorry for having plundered the temples, he caused a proclamation to be issued, commanding all those who had any thing in their custody belonging to the immortal gods, to restore it to the temples within a limited time; but did not himself return the money to the buyers.

THE amazing precautions, which he made use of to secure his life, shew both his suspicious temper, and the in-

^a PLUT. in DION.

^o CIC. de natur. Deor. l. xv.

quietude

His suspicious temper.

quietude to which he was abandoned. He never harangued the people but from the top of a high tower. Not daring to trust his friends and nearest relations, he committed the guard of his person to slaves and foreigners, and, though surrounded by these, scarce ever ventured out of his palace ^p. A jest, that escaped his barber, who boasted in a merry humour that he often held a razor at the king's throat, being related to *Dionysius*, cost the man his life ; and from that time he employed his daughters, then very young, in that mean office. When they were grown up, he did not care to trust them with razors or scissars, but only allowed them nut-shells, and at last was reduced by his apprehensions to do that office himself. He never went into the apartment of his wives before it was searched with the utmost care, lest any weapons should lie there concealed. His bed was surrounded with a deep and broad trench, and a draw-bridge over it. After having fastened the doors of his apartment with strong bolts, he drew up the bridge, and then took some rest, which was interrupted by the least noise he heard, either in the streets or his palace. Neither his son nor his brother were admitted to his presence, without being searched by the guards and obliged to change their garments ^q. Thus at the height of his grandeur he led a more miserable life than the meanest of his slaves, as he himself ingeniously owned (A).

Dionysius

^p CIC. TUSC. qUÆST. l. v. DION.

^q CIC. off. l. ii. PLUT. in

(A) As one of his courtiers, named *Damocles*, was perpetually repeating that never man was happier than *Dionysius*, and extolling the magnificence of his palaces, the extent of his dominions, the number of his troops, the richness of his treasures, &c. *Dionysius* asked him whether he would for a short time have a taste of his happiness ? *Damocles* accepted the offer with joy, and being invited to dinner by *Dionysius*, was accordingly placed on a bed of gold, covered with carpets of an inestimable value ; the table was spread with dainties of all sorts, and the most beautiful slaves in pompous habits ordered to wait on *Damocles*, and watch the least signal to serve him. The courtier was transported with joy, and said, that if he could always live in that manner he should look upon himself as the happiest of mortals. He had scarce spoke, when, unfortunately casting up his eyes, he beheld over his head a naked sword hanging from the ceiling by a single horse-hair. At this sight he was immediately taken with a cold sweat ; every thing disappeared in an instant, except the sword ; he could think of nothing else ; and the danger he was threatened with, throwing him into

agonies

Dionysius was, without all doubt, an ambitious and inhuman tyrant ; but at the same time had some good qualities, which ought not to be disguised or misrepresented, the impartiality of an historian requiring that justice should be done to the most wicked. The kindness and respect which he ever shewed for his two wives (B) ; the mildness with which he suffered the freedom of young *Dion* (C) ; the commendations

His good qualities.

agonies of death, he desired permission to retire, declaring he would be happy no longer. A lively representation of the unhappy life which a tyrant must lead when hated by his subjects (32).

(B) *Dionysius* married two wives at the same time, viz. *Doris* and *Aristomache* ; *Doris*, was the daughter of one of the most illustrious citizens of *Locris* in *Italy*, whence he caused her to be brought in a quinqueremis, adorned in a most magnificent manner. *Aristomache* was the daughter of *Hipparinus*, the most wealthy and powerful citizen of *Syracuse*, and sister of the celebrated *Dion*. She was brought to the royal palace in a chariot drawn by four white horses, which was at that time a mark of great distinction. The nuptials of both were solemnized the same day, with universal rejoicings throughout the whole city. *Dionysius*, to remove all causes of discord, shewed an equal affection for both. But the *Locrian* had the good fortune to bring him the first son, who succeeded him. *Aristomache* after some years bore him two sons, viz. *Hipparinus* and *Nisæus*, and two daughters, *Sophrosine* and *Arete*. *Sophrosine* married *Dionysius* the eldest son of the *Locrian*, and *Arete* first *Theorides*, the brother of *Dionysius*, and afterwards *Dion*.

(C) *Dion* was in great esteem and favour with *Dionysius*, to whom he was first introduced by his sister *Aristomache*, but afterwards recommended by his own merit. Amongst the other marks *Dionysius* gave him of his confidence, he ordered his treasurers to supply him with whatever money he should demand, provided they informed him the same day they paid it. But *Dion*, notwithstanding the kindness shewn him by the tyrant, used to speak to him with a great deal of freedom. *Dionysius* ridiculing one day the government of *Gelon*, and saying, in allusion to his name, that he had been the laughing stock of *Sicily*, that being the import of the Greek word Γελως, all the courtiers highly applauded the wit of that conceit, or rather pun, flat and insipid as it was. But *Dion* took it in a different manner, and had the freedom to tell *Dionysius*, that he was in the wrong to talk in that manner of a prince, whose wife and equitable conduct had exhibited an excellent form of government, and given the *Syracusians* a favourable opinion of monarchy. You reign, said he, and have been trusted for *Gelon's* sake ; but on your account no man will ever be trusted after you. This *Dionysius* took in good part, without shewing the least resentment (33).

(32) *Cic. Tus. quæst. l. v. Plut. in Dion.*

(33) *Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra, &*

he bestowed on his own sister *Thesta*, for the bold and generous answer she made him on account of her husband's flight, as we have related above ; his obliging and insinuating behaviour towards the *Syracusians* on several occasions ; and the familiarity, with which he condescended to converse with the meanest citizens, and even workmen, convince us, that he had more equity, moderation, and generosity than is commonly ascribed to him. In short he was a tyrant, but not so inhuman, as many, who have reigned since his time.

Dionysius
the young-
er.

His cha-
racter.

Dionysius had three children by his wife *Doris* the *Locrian*, and four by *Aristomache* the sister of *Dion*, whom we shall often have occasion to mention in the following reign. When no hopes were left of *Dionysius's* life, *Dion* took upon him to speak in favour of his children by *Aristomache*, insinuating, that it was just to prefer the issue of a *Syracusan* to that of a stranger. But the physicians, desirous to make their court to young *Dionysius*, the son of *Doris*, who had been brought up for the throne, did not give the father time to alter his resolution, dispatching him in the manner we have related above ; so that *Dionysius*, surnamed the younger, peaceably ascended his father's throne. After he had performed his father's funeral with the utmost magnificence, he assembled the people, and promised to pursue, with regard to his subjects, quite different measures from those which had been practised in the preceding reign. The gentle and humane disposition of the young *Dionysius* made the *Syracusians* believe that they should live happy under his government ; whereas they were well apprised, that if they attempted a change, the sad consequences of a civil war would involve the state in endless calamities. On these considerations, notwithstanding their passion for liberty, they suffered him to take quiet possession of the throne, as of a lawful inheritance. He was of a quite different character from his father, being as peaceable and calm in his temper, as the other was active and enterprizing ; which would have been no disadvantage to his subjects, had that mildness and moderation been the effect of a wise and judicious understanding, and not of a certain natural sloth and indolence. He was naturally inclined to virtue, and averse from all violence and cruelty, had a taste for arts and sciences, and took great delight in conversing with men of learning. Whence it is plain, that he would have proved a good prince, had an early and proper care been taken to cultivate the happy disposition which he brought into the world with him. But his father, to whom all merit, even in his own children, gave umbrage, stifled in him every noble and elevated sentiment

ment by a mean and obscure education. He no sooner ascended the throne, but *Dion*, who was well acquainted with his temper and good disposition, undertook to correct the faults of his low education, and inspire him with thoughts suitable to the high station he was placed in. *Dion* was, as we have hinted already, the son of *Hipparinus*, the most illustrious citizen of *Syracuse*, and brother of *Aristomache* the wife of *Dionysius* the elder. In his early years he contracted an intimate acquaintance and friendship with *Plato* (D), and so improved by his lessons, that that great philosopher in one of his letters gives this glorious testimony of him; that he had never met with a young man, on whom his discourses made so great an impression, or who had embraced his principles with so much ardour. *Diodorus* speaks of him as one of the greatest men *Sicily*, or any other country, ever produced. And indeed it is not easy to find so many excellent qualities in one and the same person, as were centered in *Dion*. But to return to *Dionysius*; in the very beginning of his reign, as he had been kept under great restraint by his father, he abandoned himself to all manner of diversions and shameful pleasures. He was scarce seated on the throne, when he made an entertainment, or rather a debauch, which continued for three months together, during all which time his palace, shut against all persons of any sobriety, was crowded with debauchees, and resounded with nothing but low buffoonery, obscene jests, lewd songs, dances, masquerades, &c. As *Dion* believed, that this was the effect of his bad education and intire ignorance of his duty, he rightly conceived, that the best remedy would be to introduce to him persons of good sense, virtue, and learning, whose agreeable conversation might at once instruct and divert him, for the young prince was endued with good natural parts, and took delight in conversing with philosophers. With this view *Dion* often talked to him of *Plato*, as the most profound of all the philosophers, whose merit he was well acquainted with, and to whom he was indebted for all he knew. He enlarged on the elevation of his

(D) He was first acquainted with *Plato* at the court of *Dionysius* the elder, who invited him into *Sicily*, and for some time professed a great kindness for him. But at length taking offence at his freedom, he ordered him to be carried into the common market-place, and there sold as a slave for five minas. But some philosophers of the same sect redeemed him, and sent him back to *Greece* with this friendly advice; that philosophers should very seldom converse with tyrants, and when they did, they should be of a winning behaviour (34).

(34.) *Diodor. l. xv. c. 2.*

Dionysius
sends for
Plato.

genius, the extent of his knowledge, the amiableness of his character, and the charms of his conversation. He represented him as the man most capable of any to form him in the arts of governing, upon which his own happiness, and that of his subjects depended, &c. These discourses well-timed inflamed the young prince with a desire of seeing that celebrated philosopher, and improving by his conversation. He wrote to him in the most obliging manner, inviting him to his court, and dispatched express after express to hasten his journey. But *Plato*, mindful of the treatment he had met with at his father's court, could not prevail upon himself to comply with his invitation. All the *Pythagorean* philosophers of *Sicily* and *Italy* joined their intreaties with the prince's; and *Dion* with repeated letters never ceased to importune him, till at length he promised to return into *Sicily*, and attend the young prince's education.

THIS resolution highly displeased the rest of the courtiers, who dreading the presence of *Plato*, of which they foresaw the consequences, united against him as their common enemy. They were for the most part young unexperienced debauchees, persons of no merit, and of most abandoned characters. Wherefore they rightly judged, that if all things were to be measured according to the standard of true merit, which was one of *Plato's* maxims, they could lay no claim to any honours, nor expect any favour. They were not able to prevent *Plato's* voyage, but raised a strong battery to render it ineffectual, by persuading *Dionysius* to recal *Philistus* from banishment, who was an experienced officer, and a zealous assertor of tyranny. They hoped to find a counterpoise in him to *Plato* and all his philosophy. For *Philistus* was not only a brave commander, but a man of extraordinary parts and uncommon learning. He wrote the history of *Sicily*, as we have hinted elsewhere, and is honoured by *Tully* with the title of *Thucydides the Second*^r.

Plato ar-
rives at
Syracuse.

Plato on his arrival was received with the highest marks of honour and respect; at his landing he found one of the prince's chariots, with horses richly caparisoned, ready to attend him; and the prince no sooner heard that he was landed, but he commanded a solemn sacrifice to be offered in thanksgiving to the gods, for having sent him a man of so great merit and wisdom. *Plato* found *Dionysius* in the most happy disposition imaginable, and enflamed with an eager desire of profiting by his precepts. The philosopher, by adapting himself with won-

^r DIODOR. SICUL. l. xiv. PLUT. in DION. ATHEN. l. x. CIC. de orat. l. ii.

derful address to the young prince's humour, and gaining his confidence and affection, in a very short time wrought a surprising change in his mind. He had abandoned himself till then to idleness, pleasure, and luxury, and was ignorant of all the duties of his character, the inevitable consequence of a dissolute life. But now awaked, as it were, from a lethargy, he began to have some relish for virtue, and to taste the refined pleasure of a blameless life. The courtiers, who never fail to ape the prince, seemed to fall in with his inclinations, and, laying aside the frivolous amusements of a court, applied themselves to the study of philosophy, as the only means to preferment.

Philistus and his party were greatly alarmed at the sudden change they observed in *Dionysius*, and judging from some expressions he let drop, that *Plato* might at last induce him to resign the tyranny, used all possible means to work him out of favour. They began by turning into ridicule the retired life, which *Dionysius* led with *Plato*. Nor was that all; they attempted to render the zeal of *Plato* and *Dion* suspected, by giving out, that *Dion* made use of *Plato* as a proper tool to draw *Dionysius* into a voluntary resignation of the crown, that he might place it on the head of his nephew, the son of *Aristomache*. The *Athenians*, said they, formerly invaded *Sicily* with a mighty fleet and a formidable army, without being able to subvert the government of *Syracuse*; and shall now an idle caviller from *Athens*, an unintelligible sophist, attain that point, and persuade *Dionysius* to renounce a real and substantial felicity, consisting in empire, riches, pleasures, &c. for a pretended supreme good to be found in the academy? Such repeated discourses raised in the mind of *Dionysius* some suspicion of *Dion*, as if he really designed to establish his nephew in the sovereignty. The fears of *Dionysius* were carefully fomented by the enemies of *Dion*, who were perpetually advising the prince to take proper measures for the security of his life and throne. They even feigned a letter, which they shewed to *Dionysius*, pretending that it had been wrote by *Dion* to the *Carthaginians*. As this letter contained several articles of treason, *Dionysius* flew into a violent passion, and having concerted with *Philistus* what measures he should take, by his advice dissembling his resentment, he led *Dion* alone to the sea-side below the citadel, where he shewed him the letter, and accused him of entering into a league with his enemies the *Carthaginians*. *Dion* might have easily justified himself, but the king refused to hear him, commanding him immediately to go on board a vessel, which

Conspiracy of the courtiers against Dion.

Dion banished

lay there ready with orders to carry him to the coast of *Italy* and leave him there ^c.

SUCH an unjust treatment raised great clamours in *Syracuse*, and the whole city declared against it. *Dionysius*, who apprehended the consequences of the public discontent, in order to appease it in some degree, allowed *Dion*'s relations two vessels to transport to him in *Peloponnesus*, whither he had retired, his riches and numerous retinue, for he lived with as much grandeur as a king^c. As soon as *Dion* was gone, *Dionysius* made *Plato* change his habitation and remove into the citadel, in appearance to do him more honour, but in reality to assure himself of his person, and to prevent him from joining *Dion*. However, he continued to shew him an extraordinary kindness, and, out of a foolish jealousy, offered him all his treasures, provided he would prefer his friendship to that of *Dion*'s. In the mean time a war breaking out, *Dionysius* restored *Plato* to his liberty, and even gave him leave to return home. At his departure, he would have loaded him with presents, which *Plato* refused, only begging that he would recal *Dion*. *Dionysius* promised to restore him the following spring; but did not keep his word, and only sent him the revenues of his estate, desiring *Plato*, in a letter he wrote to him, to excuse his breach of promise, and to impute it to the war. He assured him, that, as soon as he put an end to the war, *Dion* should be recalled, upon condition that he did not meddle with public affairs, nor in the mean time lessen him in the opinion of the *Greeks*. For *Dion* during his banishment visited most of the cities of *Greece*, and was every where received with extraordinary marks of distinction. The *Lacedemonians* made him free of their city, without regard to the resentment of *Dionysius*, who at that very time assisted them with a powerful supply in their war with the *Thebans*. *Athens*, which he chose for the place of his residence, paid him the highest honours, all the inhabitants of that illustrious city striving, as it were, to out-do each other in giving him instances of their esteem and affection. This alarmed the tyrant's jealousy, who put a stop to the remittance of *Dion*'s revenues, ordering them to be paid into his own treasury^u. Such a resolution obliged *Dion*, who had hitherto lived quietly at *Athens*, to take another course, as we shall see anon.

Plato returns to Sicily.

Dionysius having put an end to the war he was engaged in, of which no particulars have been transmitted to us, was again inflamed with a desire of seeing and hearing *Plato*, and

^c PLUT. in DION. ^t PLUT. ibid. PLAT. epist. 7. ^u PLUT. ibid.

accordingly

accordingly prevailed upon *Archytas* and the other *Pythagorean* philosophers to write to him, and assure him, that he might return with safety, and that upon his return the promises which had been made him should be punctually performed. The philosophers deputed *Archidemus* to *Plato*, and *Dionysius* sent at the same time two *Triremes* with several of his friends on board to solicit his compliance. He also wrote letters to him with his own hand, wherein he declared, that if he refused to return into *Sicily*, *Dion* should receive no favours at his hands, but if he complied with his request, the exile should be immediately restored. *Plato* was very unwilling to trust himself anew to the tyrant's mercy and fickle temper, but could not resist the warm solicitations of *Dion's* friends; he therefore set out for *Sicily* the third time, being then in the seventieth year of his age. *Dionysius* received him with inexpressible joy, appointed him the best apartment of his palace, and suffered him to have free access to him at all hours without being searched, a favour not granted to his best friends. The philosopher, seeing that *Dionysius* reposed an entire trust in him, entered upon *Dion's* affair with him, which was the chief motive of his voyage. But the tyrant put it off, and in the mean time endeavoured, by heaping all manner of honours on *Plato*, to lessen his esteem and regard for *Dion*. The philosopher dissembled on his side, and, though extremely offended at so notorious a breach of faith, carefully concealed his dissatisfaction. However, he could not give over soliciting in behalf of his friend, which at length so exasperated the tyrant, that all on a sudden he ordered *Plato* to remove from his apartment in the palace to another without the castle, where his guards were quartered (E). These had long hated *Plato*, because he had advised *Dionysius* to dismiss them, and live without any other guard but the love of his people. But *Dionysius* restrained their fury, forbidding them on pain of death to molest his guest. When *Archytas*, who was then

*Disgraced
by Diony-
sius.*

(E) A few days before *Dionysius* and *Plato* fell out, one *Helicon* of *Cyzicum* a particular friend of *Plato's*, foretold an eclipse of the sun, which happening according to his prediction, *Dionysius* was so much surprized at it, that he made him a present of a talent. *Aristippus*, jesting upon that occasion, said, that he likewise had something very extraordinary to foretel, and being pressed to explain himself, I prophesy, said he, that it will not be long ere *Dionysius* and *Plato*, who at present seem to be great friends, will be enemies (34).

(34) *Plut. in Dion.*

prætor

prætor or chief magistrate of *Tarentum*, heard of the danger *Plato* was in, he immediately dispatched ambassadors to *Dionysius* to remind him, that *Plato* came to *Syracuse* only upon his promise, and on the promise of all the *Pythagorean* philosophers, who had engaged for his safety, wherefore he could not detain him against his will, nor offer him any insult, without a manifest breach of faith. This remonstrance awaked a sense of shame in the tyrant, who at length gave *Plato* leave to return into *Greece*. Upon his departure *Dionysius*, throwing off all restraint, abandoned himself to the most shameful vices, setting no bounds to his avarice, cruelty, rapines, &c. w.

Dion resolves to deliver Sicily.

NOT long after *Plato* had left *Sicily*, *Dionysius* ordered all *Dion's* lands and effects to be sold, and applied the money to his own use : neither did he stop here, but gave his half-sister *Arete*, whom *Dion* had married after the death of *Theorides*, in marriage to *Timocrates*, one of his friends and flatterers. So unworthy a treatment *Dion* could not brook, and therefore from that moment resolved to attack the tyrant with open force, and revenge all the wrongs done him. *Plato*, out of a scrupulous regard to the duties of hospitality, did all that lay in his power to divert him from such a resolution ; but on the other hand *Speusippus*, *Plato's* nephew, with whom *Dion* had contracted a particular friendship during his abode at *Athens*, encouraged him to pursue so noble a design, and restore *Sicily* to its antient freedom. All the rest of *Dion's* friends were of the same opinion, and many of the chief citizens of *Syracuse* continually importuned him to come thither, desiring him not to be in pain for want of ships or forces, but to embark on the first vessel he met with, and only lend his name to the friends of liberty. *Dion* did not delay any longer, but, withdrawing from his retired life, undertook the delivery of his country, which implored his protection. No enterprize was ever formed with more boldness, or conducted with more prudence. He began to raise foreign troops privately by proper agents for the better concealment of his design. Many persons of distinction, who were at the head of affairs, entered into his measures, and gave him notice of whatever was transacted in *Sicily*. But of the exiles, who were above a thousand, dispersed up and down *Sicily* and *Greece*, only twenty-five joined him ; so much were they awed by the dread of the tyrant. The island of *Zacynthus* was the place of the rendezvous, where the troops assembled to the number of about eight hundred, all tried on many occasions,

w PLAT. epist. 7. PLUT. in Dion. & Moral,

well disciplined, and capable of animating with their example the forces, which *Dion* hoped to find in *Sicily*. When they were to set sail, *Dion* acquainted them with his design, which till that time he had concealed from the common soldiers. The boldness of the undertaking occasioned at first no small consternation; but *Dion* soon removed their fears by telling them that he did not lead them in this expedition as soldiers but as officers, to put them at the head of the *Syracusians* and all the people of *Sicily*, who were ready to receive them with open arms. *Dion*, before he set out from *Zacynthus*, offered a solemn sacrifice to *Apollo*, and gave a grand entertainment to his small army, which was now impatient to proceed on their voyage, and begin the great work of delivering *Sicily* from tyranny and oppression. The next day they embarked on board two trading vessels, and put to sea with loud shouts of joy, as if they had already dethroned the tyrant. Who could imagine, says our historian, that a man with two small vessels, should ever dare to attack a prince, who had under his command four hundred gallies, an hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse, with magazines of provisions, and treasures sufficient to pay and maintain them? But no force is able to defend a prince, who is not guarded by the affection of his people, as the event of this undertaking will shew *.

Dion, after having been twelve days at sea, arrived with *Dion ar.* his small body of troops at cape *Pachynum*, where their pilot *river in* advised them to land immediately lest they should be overtaken *Sicily*, by a violent hurricane, which threatened them. But *Dion*, not thinking it safe to land so near the enemy, ordered him to put to sea again and double the cape, which they had no sooner done, than a furious storm attended with rain, thunder, and lightning, drove them on the eastern coast of *Afric*, where they were in great danger of being dashed to pieces against the rocks; but luckily for them the wind changing all on a sudden, they stood out to sea for *Sicily*, and with a favourable wind entered the port of *Minoa*, not far from *Agrigentum*. This city was then in the hands of the *Carthaginians*, and governed by one *Synalus*, or, as *Diodorus* calls him, *Paralus*, *Dion's* particular friend. They were therefore kindly received, and would have staid there some days to refresh themselves after the fatigues of their voyage, had they not received advice, that *Dionysius* had some days before embarked for *Italy* attended with fourscore gallies. *Dion*, to take advantage of his absence, immediately set out for *Syracuse*, and on his march prevailed upon the *Agrigentines*, *Geleans*, *Camarineans*, and other cities

* *Diodor. Sicul. l. xvi. Plut. in Dion.*

And possesses himself of Syracuse.

to join him. He no sooner entered the *Syracusan* territories, but multitudes flocked to him from all parts, every one looking upon him as the deliverer of their country. When he arrived at the *Anapus* he ordered his troops to halt, and there offered a sacrifice to the tutelary gods of *Syracuse*; which being performed, he called an assembly of all the *Syracusians* in his camp, and after having acquainted them with his design, which was to restore them to their liberty and suppress tyranny, he desired them to name a general, who should be entrusted with the whole conduct of the enterprize. The multitude cried out with one voice, that *Dion* and his brother *Megacles* should be generals, and invested them with absolute power and command. The new generals without delay drew up their army in battalia, and marched strait to the city, where they were received at the gates by the most considerable of the inhabitants in white habits. As no body appeared to oppose them, they boldly entered the city, and marched through *Acradina* to the forum, where they encamped, being in all above fifty thousand men. Here *Dion* ordered the trumpets to sound to appease the noise and tumult; and silence being made, an herald proclaimed, that *Dion and Megacles were come to abolish tyranny, and to free the people of Syracuse and their allies from the yoke of the tyrant.* At these words the whole city resounded with joyful shouts and acclamations for so sudden and unexpected an happiness: They had lived fifty years in slavery, and saw themselves, by the valour of one man, restored to their liberty, when they least expected so happy a change. Where-ever *Dion* passed, the citizens having set out on both sides of the streets tables and bowls, and prepared victims, as he came before their houses, threw all sorts of flowers upon him; addressing vows and prayers to him as to a god. *Dion*, seeing himself master of the city, fell upon *Epipolæ* and took it by storm, setting at liberty the citizens, who were prisoners in the fort. He then surrounded the citadel whither all the tyrant's friends and mercenaries had fled, with a strong wall from sea to sea; so that they could receive no succours by land, nor have any communication with the rest of the city &c.

In the mean time *Dionysius*, who was at *Caulonia* in *Italy*, receiving intelligence of what passed in *Syracuse* (F), hastened

ed

† PLUT. & DIONOR. *ibid.*

(F) As soon as *Dion* landed in *Sicily*, *Timocrates*, who had married *Dion's* wife, and to whom *Dionysius* had left the command of the

†

city

ed thither, and entered the citadel by sea seven days after the arrival of *Dion*. He found his affairs in a desperate condition, and therefore to gain time he sent ambassadors to *Dion* and the *Syracusians*, offering to restore the democracy, provided, they would confer certain honours upon him in the republican state; he desired them to send deputies to treat with him, that he might put a speedy end to the war. The *Syracusians* immediately sent some of their citizens to sign an agreement with him upon the articles which he had proposed; but *Dionysius*, putting off the conferences from day to day, and observing that the *Syracusians* in hopes of peace kept negligent guard, suddenly attacked the wall, with which they had inclosed the citadel, and made several breaches in it. So warm and unexpected an assault put the *Syracusians* in great disorder; however, they maintained their ground, and fought with great resolution. *Dion* distinguished himself above all the rest; for, finding that his troops were very backward in engaging the tyrant's mercenaries, and believing example more powerful than words, he threw himself violently into the midst of them, and, after having made a great slaughter of the enemy and broken their ranks, made way for his men to follow him. His shield being pierced through in many places, and the enemy discharging showers of darts on him from all sides, he was wounded in his right arm with a javelin, and, fainting away through the extremity of the pain, was very near falling into the enemy's hands: but the *Syracusians*, highly concerned for the safety of their general, charged the mercenaries in a full body, and rescuing *Dion* who was almost spent, put the enemy to flight. A great number of the tyrant's troops were slain on the spot, the rest escaped with much ado into the citadel. The *Syracusians*, having gained so glorious a victory, set up a trophy in defiance of the tyrant, rewarded their foreign troops with a considerable sum of money, and presented *Dion* with a crown of gold. On the other hand *Dionysius*, having obtained leave to carry off his dead, caused them to be buried in purple robes, and paid them extraordinary

Dionysius's troops defeated

city in his absence, dispatched a courier to him with advice of *Dion*'s arrival. But the courier, being almost at his journey's end, was so fatigued, that he could not help stopping to take some sleep. In the mean time a wolf, smelling some meat he had in his wallet, came to the place, and carried off the bag, in which was the meat with the dispatches. By this misfortune *Dionysius* was prevented from receiving a timely account of *Dion*'s arrival (35).

(35) *Plut. ibid.*

honours ; such as survived he rewarded with great generosity, bestowing upon them great part of his treasures *.

Ingrati-
tude of the
Syracus-
ians tow-
ards Dion.

Dionysius after this defeat sent ambassadors anew to propose terms of peace ; but *Dion* returned no other answer than this ; *Let Dionysius first abdicate the tyranny, and then we shall hear him.* *Dionysius* was highly provoked at this haughty and peremptory answer, as he called it ; but, however, dissembling his resentment, he sent other ambassadors with a letter to *Dion* wrote with great art and address, and wonderfully calculated to render him suspected by the *Syracusians*, as if he intended to seize on the sovereignty himself. The *Syracusians* were taken with this gross bait, for *Dion* read the letter in the public assembly, and began to be jealous of his too great power. The arrival of *Heracledes* did not a little contribute to the shameful steps that ungrateful people took with regard to their deliverer and benefactor. *Heracledes* was one of the *Syracusan* exiles, an excellent officer, and well known among the troops, which he had formerly commanded under *Dionysius* ; but at the same time he was very ambitious, and a secret enemy to *Dion*, with whom he had had some dispute in *Peloponnesus*. He arrived at *Syracuse* with seven triremes and three other vessels, not with a design to join *Dion*, but to act separately against the tyrant in hopes of having himself the glory of driving him out. His first endeavour was to ingratiate himself with the people, and for that he was wonderfully qualified by an open and insinuating behaviour, whilst *Dion's* austere gravity was offensive to the multitude, especially as they were become more haughty and untractable by their late victory (G). *Heracledes*, by courting them and in every thing seconding their capricious humour, so won their affections in a short time, that of their own accord they called an assembly, and appointed him commander in chief of the fleet. *Dion*, having notice of these irregular proceedings, hastened to the assembly, and highly complained of the affront offered him,

* DIODOR. PLUT. *ibid.*

(G) *Dion* had something rigid and austere in his temper, that made him less accessible and sociable than he should have been, and kept even men of merit and his best friends at a kind of distance *Plato* and those who had his glory sincerely at heart, often found fault with this his turn of mind, and advised him to correct it. But he, notwithstanding their remonstrances, seemed to pique himself upon the austere gravity and inflexible severity, with which he treated the people. That rough, and, as he called it, manly behaviour, created him many enemies, especially among the populace.

for

for they had conferred upon him the supreme command both of the fleet and army. His remonstrances were of such weight with the assembly, that they deprived *Heraclides* of the office, which they had just then honoured him with. When the assembly broke up, *Dion* sent for him, and having gently reprimanded him for his strange conduct in so delicate a conjuncture, when the least division among themselves might be attended with the most fatal consequences, he summoned a new assembly, and in the presence of the multitude appointed him admiral, and allowed him such a guard as he had himself. *Dion* imagined, that by this obliging behaviour he should get the better of his rival's ill-will. But *Heraclides* was not so easily to be gained ; he aimed at the supreme command, and nothing less would satisfy his ambition ; he expressed indeed a great many obligations to *Dion*, seemed to court his favour, and in his outward behaviour shewed a great readiness to obey his orders. But in the mean time he influenced the people under-hand against him, opposed his measures, and found fault with his whole conduct, as if he designed either to save the tyrant or protract the war. While *Heraclides* was thus disposing the people to confer the supreme command upon himself, one thing happened, which greatly raised his reputation among the *Syracusians*. *Philistus*, the tyrant's admiral, having put to sea with sixty gallies, *Heraclides* gave him chace with his small squadron, obliged him to engage, and gained a complete victory. *Philistus* behaved with great personal bravery, but at last finding himself surrounded on all sides by the *Syracusians*, who were desirous of taking him alive, he laid violent hands on himself, after having discharged the trust reposed in him in a distinguished manner. The *Syracusians* vented their rage upon his dead body, which they barbarously mangled, dragged through all the streets of the city, and then threw it over the walls to rot without burial in the open fields. He was one of the tyrant's most trusty friends, and had on all occasions given him signal proofs of his fidelity. Wherefore *Dionysius* was so disheartened with the loss of so steady a friend and experienced officer, that he sent ambassadors to *Dion*, offering to surrender the citadel with all the troops there in garison, and money to pay them for five months, upon condition, that he were allowed to retire to *Italy*, and there enjoy during his life the revenue of certain lands, which he mentioned, in the neighbourhood of *Syracuse*. *Dion's* advice was, that the terms should be accepted ; but the *Syracusians*, hoping to take *Dionysius* alive, would hearken to no proposals. Wherefore *Dionysius*, seeing all lost, left the citadel in the hands of his eldest son *Apollocrates*, and, taking the advantage

*Dionysius
flies to
Italy.*

tage of a favourable wind, put to sea in a small vessel, and landed undiscovered in *Italy* with his treasures and most valuable effects ^a.

*Factions in
Syracuse.*

Heraclides was greatly blamed for having suffered him to escape ; and therefore, to regain the favour of the people, he proposed a new division of lands, insinuating, that they could never enjoy perfect liberty so long as there was so great an inequality in wealth and power. This motion was warmly opposed by *Dion*, which gave *Heraclides* an opportunity of rendering him suspected to the people, as if he intended to keep them in subjection, and reduce them to the same state of slavery in which they had been held by their tyrants. By thus pretending to espouse the cause of liberty, he prevailed upon the assembly to reduce the pay of the foreign troops, to appoint new generals, himself among the rest, and to make a new division of lands. At the same time they privately solicited the foreign troops to abandon *Dion* and join them, promising to give them a share in the government, as if they were natives and citizens. But they generously rejected the offer, declaring, that they would stand by *Dion* to the last, and willingly sacrifice their lives in defence of their general. The populace were so enraged at this answer, that they began to assemble in a tumultuous manner, and throw out threats both against *Dion* and his troops. Whereupon those brave men, placing *Dion* in their center, began to march out of the city, protesting, that so long as one of them was alive no body should hurt him. In this manner they withdrew without offering the least violence to any of the citizens, but only reproaching them with ingratitude towards their deliverer and great benefactor. The *Syracusians*, despising their small number, and ascribing their moderation to fear and want of courage, began to attack them, not doubting but they should put them all to the sword before they got out of the city. *Dion* being thus reduced to the necessity of either destroying those he was come to save, or being himself destroyed with so many brave men, begged them in the most tender and affectionate manner to hearken to reason, and not suffer themselves to be imposed upon by ambitious and ill designing men, pointing with his hand at the citadel, which was full of enemies, who with great joy beheld all that passed. But finding them deaf to all his remonstrances, he commanded his men to face about and march in close order, as if they designed to fall upon the multitude ; they obeyed his orders, and raising a great shout

^a PLUT. DIODOR. ibid.

advanced against them, pretending to attack them with the utmost fury ; the noise they made with their arms, according to *Dion's* directions, so terrified the populace, that they betook themselves to a disorderly flight. *Dion* did not offer to pursue them, but hastened his march towards the country of the *Leontines*. The *Syracusians* being, on their return, treated by their countrymen as cowards, for having suffered so small a body of men to make their escape, in order to retrieve their honour, marched out again in pursuit of *Dion*, and coming up with him as he was passing a river, ordered their cavalry to advance to the charge. But when they perceived that he was resolved in earnest to repel force by force, they were again seized with terror, and, flying in a more shameful manner than before made what haste they could to regain the city ^b.

Dion obliged to quit Syracuse.

THE *Leontines* not only received *Dion* with great marks of distinction, but made rich presents to his soldiers, and declared them all free citizens. They likewise sent ambassadors to the *Syracusians*, complaining of the ill treatment *Dion* and his men had met with at their hands, and reminding them of the inestimable favours they had received from so worthy a patriot. The *Syracusians* replied, that *Dion* had driven out one tyrant with a design to establish another, and therefore ought to be treated in the same manner as their first tyrant had been, whom they had obliged to quit not only *Syracuse*, but the island.

IN the mean time the tyrant's troops in the citadel, being reduced by famine to the utmost extremity, resolved at last to surrender both the place and themselves to the *Syracusians*. Accordingly they sent deputies to obtain for them the best terms they could ; but while they were actually conferring with the townsmen, *Nypsius*, a general of experienced valour and greatly attached to *Dionysius*, appeared with a numerous squadron of galleys, and a great many transports laden with corn and all sorts of provisions. *Nypsius* anchored in the port of *Arethusa*, and having landed the men he brought along with him, he called a council of war, wherein he made a speech to the garison suitable to the present occasion, and with hopes of ample rewards engaged them to promise, that they would never submit to the enemy upon any terms whatsoever. The *Syracusians* no sooner heard of this new supply, but they manned as many galleys as they had at hand, and attacking the enemy while they were unloading the corn and other provisions, sunk some of their ships, took others, and

^b PLUT. in *Dion*. p. 972, 975. DIODOR. l. xvi.

Syracuse
taken by
the garison
of the ci-
tadel.

purfued the reft to the ſhore. But this very victory was the occaſion of their ruin. For ſlighting the enemy, whom they looked upon as utterly undone, they gave themſelves up to feaſting, revelling, and all kind of debauchery ; which general infatuation *Nypſius* did not fail to improve to his advantage. That brave commander, deſirous to repair his late loſs by ſome bold attempt, ordered his men to march out of the citadel, and aſſault the wall that incloſed it. They met with no oppoſition, the guards being every where aſleep after their laſt night's debauch ; having therefore in ſilence applied their ſcaling ladders, ſome of the moſt reſolute mounted the wall, killed the centinels, and opened the gates to their companions. Thus all the garison, conſiſting of ten thouſand well diſciplined troops, entered the city, cut all thoſe to pieces who oppoſed them, and made ſuch a dreadful havock as can hardly be expreſſed. Many of the citizens were murdered in their beds, their houſes were plundered, and their wives and children taken out of their beds, and either cruelly butchered before their faces, or carried captives into the citadel, without regard to their tears, cries, and lamentations. The ſlaughter was ſo great, that the ſtreets were every where covered with dead bodies, and the private houſes ſwimming in blood.

Dion re-
called.

THE citizens, ſeeing themſelves in this deſperate condition, knew not what to reſolve on. They were all well apprized, that *Dion* was the only perſon who could adminiſter them any relief ; but no one had courage enough to name him ; ſo much were they aſhamed of their ingratitude towards their protector. As the danger increaſed every moment, and the enemy was preparing to ſet fire to the city, one boldly cried out, *Let us ſend for Dion*. His name was no ſooner heard, but the whole multitude, with ſhouts of joy, approved the motion ; and accordingly deputies were that inſtant diſpatched to *Leontini*, who, arriving late in the evening, threw themſelves at *Dion's* feet, and with many tears acquainted him with the deplorable condition of *Syracuse*. *Dion* no ſooner heard them than he aſſembled a council of war, and having introduced the *Syracuſian* deputies, he deſired them to lay before his officers the ſtate of their city, which they did in a very moving ſpeech, entreating *Dion* to forget the ill treatment he had received, the rather becauſe that unfortunate people had already paid dear for it, and acknowledged the miſeries they ſuffered juſtly inflicted upon them, for their ingratitude towards ſo loving a father of his country. As ſoon as they had done, *Dion* roſe up, but, inſtead of ſpeaking, burſt into tears, and could not for
ſome

some time utter one single word; the foreign soldiers, who were mostly *Peloponnesians*, called out to him to take courage, and expressed a generous compassion in seeing their leader so overwhelmed with grief. At length, having recovered himself, he addressed his troops and the people of *Leontini* in the following terms: “Men of *Peloponnesus*, and
 “you, our allies, I have assembled you here that you may
 “consider what is proper to be done with regard to your-
 “selves; as for me I am already determined, and must not
 “be wavering, when my country is in danger. If I cannot
 “, preserve it, I will perish with it, and be buried in its
 “ruins. But for you, if you will be so generous as to for-
 “get the ill treatment you have received at our hands, and
 “assist us once more, follow my example; but if your just
 “complaints against the *Syracusians* prevail with you to a-
 “bandon them in their present distress, and suffer them to
 “perish; may the gods amply reward you for the affection
 “and fidelity you have hitherto expressed for me. I only
 “beg that you will remember *Dion*, who did not abandon
 “you, when you were basely treated by his country, nor
 “his country when fallen into misfortunes.” He had no
 sooner done speaking, than the foreign troops with one voice
 entreated him to lead them on that moment against the ene-
 my. The deputies, transported with joy, tenderly embraced
 them, praying the gods to second their generous resolution.
 As soon as the tumult was appeased, *Dion* ordered them to
 refresh themselves and return with their arms to the same
 place, being resolved to set out that very night on his march
 to *Syracuse*.

In the mean time the soldiers of *Dionysius*, after committing all sorts of outrages in the city, had retired at night into the citadel. This short respite gave *Dion*’s enemies new courage, who flattering themselves, that the garison would not venture again out of the castle, began to exhort the *Syracusians* to think no more of *Dion*, but to defend themselves with their own valour. They so far prevailed, that new deputies were dispatched from the chief commanders to stop his march; but his friends at the same time sent some worthy citizens to entreat him not to hearken to the embassies of such, as were equally enemies to him and their country. *Dion* therefore pursued his march, but the opposite faction seized the gates, with a design to dispute his entrance. In the mean time *Nysius*, well apprised of the divisions that reigned in the city, made another sally from the citadel, and made such a dreadful havock in all quarters of the city, that from the heaps of dead bodies with which the streets, the squares, and the

The deplorable condition of Syracuse.

the forum, were strewed, one would have believed, that not a single citizen had been left alive. They spared neither age nor sex, but put all without distinction to the sword. Nothing but murder and bloodshed was seen in every corner; and because they were informed that *Dion* was hastening to the relief of the city, they seemed determined to destroy it entirely before his arrival. For after they had murdered all the inhabitants they could light on, with burning torches, straw, and other combustibles, they set fire to the houses, so that many who had escaped the sword were miserably consumed in the flames ^c.

*Dion re-
lieves Sy-
racuse.*

DURING this confusion *Dion* unexpectedly arrived, and having detached his light-armed troops against the enemy to re-animate the citizens, who were still alive, with their presence, he drew up his heavy-armed infantry, and divided them into small parties, that they might be able to attack in several places at once, and appear stronger and more formidable to the enemy. Having made these dispositions and invoked the gods, he marched across the city against the enemy, being every-where welcomed with acclamations, shouts of joy, and songs of victory. There was not one in the city so fond of life as not to be more in pain for *Dion's* safety than his own: They were all under the greatest apprehensions in seeing him march the foremost over blood, fire, and dead bodies, with which the public streets were entirely covered. The enemy, hearing that *Dion* had entered the city, posted themselves in line of battle behind the ruins of the wall they had thrown down, determined at all events to maintain that post, lest their communication with the city should be cut off. It was with the greatest difficulty that *Dion's* men kept their ranks, being often obliged to march through the fire and clouds of smoke, while the roofs and beams of the houses, half consumed with the flames, falling down broke their ranks. At length they arrived at the place where the enemy waited for them, and began the attack. The slaughter was great on both sides, and the fight continued for several hours before *Dion's* men could get over the ruins which covered the enemy; but at length the *Peloponnesians*, animating each other with mutual shouts, made such a vigorous effort, that the enemy, though far superior in number, was bore down and forced to give ground; the greatest part of them fled into the citadel, and the rest were cut in pieces by the victorious *Peloponnesians*. The city being thus delivered, *Dion's* men, instead of refreshing themselves after so great fatigues, spent

^c PLUT. *ibid.*



all that night in extinguishing the fire, which they compassed, not without great danger and difficulty ^d.

THE next day *Heraclides* and his uncle *Theodotus*, two of *Dion's* greatest enemies, put themselves into his hands, confessing their injurious treatment of him, and conjuring him to forget their ungrateful behaviour and restore them to his favour, of which they acknowledged themselves unworthy. *Dion's* friends advised him not to spare them, since they would not fail to raise new disturbances in the city, and defeat in the end so glorious a victory. But *Dion*, believing he could get the better of their stubborn and restless temper by force of kind usage and obligations, generously pardoned them. *Heraclides* seemed to be affected with this kindness, for the same day he proposed in the assembly, that *Dion* should be elected generalissimo, with supreme power by sea and land. But the ungrateful populace, whose darling *Heraclides* was, opposed this motion with all their power, and *Dion*, to avoid new disturbances, gave up that point, suffering *Heraclides* to command in chief at sea ^e.

ALL things being now quiet, the *Syracusians*, under the direction of *Dion*, applied themselves solely to the siege of the citadel, and in a short time reduced the numerous garison to such straits, that *Apollocrates*, the tyrant's son, was obliged to capitulate. *Dion* allowed him to retire unmolested to his father in *Italy* with five gallies and all his friends and relations. It is not easy to conceive the joy of the city upon his departure. The whole city crowded to the shore to gratify their eyes with such an agreeable sight, and to solemnize the happy day, on which, after so many years servitude, the *Syracusians* could first stile themselves again a free people. *The citadel surrenders.*

As soon as *Apollocrates* set sail, *Dion* entered the citadel at the head of his troops, and was met at the gate by his sister *Aristomache*, leading his son, and by his wife *Arete*, whom *Dionysius*, as we have related above, had given in marriage to *Timocrates*. *Dion* embraced his sister first and then his son; whereupon *Arete* drenched in tears was ready to swoon away, when *Aristomache* presenting her to *Dion*; “The tears, “said she, you see her shed, at the time your presence restores us to life and joy, her silence and confusion may well convince you, that you alone have always possessed her heart. Shall she embrace you as her husband, or die at your feet abandoned by you for what she has suffered against her will?” At these words *Dion*, with his face bathed in tears, tenderly embraced her, gave her his son, and

^d PLUT. & DIONOR. *ibid.*

^e PLUT. *ibid.*

sent her home to his house, whither he soon followed her, leaving the *Syracusians* in possession of the citadel, as a pledge of their liberty. After this *Dion* rewarded with a magnificence truly royal all those who had contributed to his success, according to their rank and merit, dismissed his guards, and, though at the height of glory, lived like a private citizen.

As the city was now in a profound tranquility, *Dion* attempted to establish in it a form of government, composed of the *Spartan* and *Cretan*, but wherein the *Aristocratical* was to prevail; the supreme authority, according to his plan, was to be vested in a council, of which the members were to be chosen by the people and nobility. But this design was warmly opposed by *Heraclides*, who, still turbulent and seditious, did not fail to stir up the people on that occasion against *Dion*, as if he intended to abridge their power and subject them to the nobility. Hereupon *Dion*, finding that he opposed all wise counsels, was at last prevailed upon to consent to his death, and he was accordingly by *Dion's* friends dispatched in his own house. *Dion* publicly owned, that he had been put to death by his order, and in an harangue to the people convinced them, that it was impossible for the city to be free from commotions and sedition, while *Heraclides* lived. However, after that murder *Dion* never enjoyed a happy hour, but lived in continual anguish and sorrow, reproaching himself with having imbrued his hands in the blood of his fellow-citizen (H). Not long after his son, for some unknown disappointment, threw himself from the top of a house, and died of the fall. This increased *Dion's* affliction; but neither his grief nor life lasted long, *Calippus* having, by the blackest treachery, deprived *Syracuse* of the greatest hero it ever produced.

*Dion's
death.*

Calippus was an *Athenian* by birth, and had contracted an intimate friendship with *Dion*, who lodged in his house at *Athens*, and ever after ranked him among his particular and intimate friends. Having attended *Dion* into *Sicily*, after the tyrant was driven out, he gave himself up to ambitious views, and began to entertain thoughts of making himself master of *Syracuse*. But as he was well apprised, that he could not accomplish his design so long as *Dion* was alive, he threw off all regard for the sacred ties of friendship and hospitality, and de-

(H) *Plutarch* tells us, that a dreadful spectre, which appeared to him in the night, filled him with terror and melancholy. The phantom seemed a woman of an enormous stature, and by her attire, air, and haggard looks resembled a fury.

terminated

terminated to get rid of him. Notwithstanding the care he used, to conceal his wicked purpose, it came to the ears of *Dion's* friends and relations (I), who all earnestly exhorted him to prevent *Calippus's* crime, by inflicting upon him the punishment his base treachery deserved. But he could not be prevailed upon to take any such resolution, saying he had rather die a thousand deaths, than live under the necessity of continual precautions, not only against his enemies, but the best of his friends. He could not even be induced to take a guard for the security of his person; *Calippus* therefore having one night entered his house with a band of *Zacynthian* soldiers, who were entirely devoted to his interest, murdered him, without meeting with the least opposition, and apprehending his wife and sister, caused them to be carried to the public prison f.

AFTER the death of *Dion*, *Calippus*, with the assistance of the *Zacynthian* troops, made himself master of *Syracuse*, and practised there greater cruelties than any of the tyrants before him. *Plutarch* observes, that the success he met with occasioned great complaints against the gods, for suffering so impious a wretch to raise himself to so exalted a station, by such an execrable piece of treachery. But providence was not long without justifying itself, the traitor having soon undergone the punishment he deserved. Having marched with his forces against *Catana*, *Syracuse* revolted, and shook off so shameful a yoke. He then withdrew to *Messana*; but the inhabitants taking up arms shut their gates against him, and in a sally cut off most of the *Zacynthian* troops who had murdered *Dion*. No city in *Sicily* would admit such an execrable

Calippus or Gylippus makes himself master of Syracuse.

f PLUT. *ibid.*

(I) Amongst others, *Dion's* sister and wife, having had notice of his wicked designs, lost no time, but endeavoured to discover the truth by a very strict enquiry. *Calippus*, finding that they suspected him, went to them with tears in his eyes, and in appearance inconsolable, that any body should suspect him of such a crime, or think him capable of so black a design. They insisted upon his taking the *Great Oath*, as it was called. The person, who swore, was wrapped up in the purple mantle of the goddess *Proserpine*, and holding a lighted torch in his hand, pronounced against himself the most dreadful execrations, wishing them to fall upon himself and his family, if he was guilty of the crime laid to his charge. This oath *Calippus* took, while he was watching every day an opportunity of putting in execution his black design (36).

(36) *Plut. ibid.*

C c 2

murderer ;

monster ; whereupon he left the island and retired to *Rhegium*, where, after having led for some time a miserable life, he was slain by *Leptines* and *Polyperchon*, with the same dagger with which he had murdered *Dion*^s.

As for *Aristomache* and *Arete*, upon the downfall of *Calippus* they were set at liberty, and at first kindly entertained by *Icetas* of *Syracuse*, one of *Dion*'s friends, who received them into his house. But *Icetas*, at last complying with the importunities of *Dion*'s enemies, provided a vessel for them, and having put them on board, under pretence of sending them to *Peloponnesus*, ordered the commander of the ship to put them to death in the passage, and throw them into the sea. His orders were put in execution ; but *Icetas*, as we shall see hereafter, paid dear for such an inhuman treatment.

New troubles in Syracuse.

Year of the Flood, 2649. Before Christ, 350.

The Syracusians recur to the Corinthians.

UPON *Dion*'s death, the city was involved in greater miseries than ever ; *Calippus* usurped the supreme power, but after ten months was driven out by *Hipparinus*, the brother of *Dionysius*, who, arriving unexpectedly with a numerous fleet, possessed himself of the city, and held it for the space of two years. *Syracuse* and all *Sicily* being thus divided into parties and factions, *Dionysius*, taking advantage of these troubles, assembled some foreign troops, and having defeated *Nysæus*, who was then governor of *Syracuse*, reinstated himself in the possession of his dominions, ten years after he had been obliged to quit the throne. His past misfortunes, instead of softening his fierce temper, served only to inflame it, and render him more savage and brutal than ever. The better sort of the citizens, not being able to brook so cruel a servitude, had recourse to *Icetas*, who was by birth a *Syracusan*, but at that time tyrant of *Leontini* ; they created him general of all their forces, abandoning themselves to his conduct, not that they had any great opinion of his virtue, but because they had no other resource. In the mean time the *Carthaginians*, thinking this a very favourable opportunity to seize upon all *Sicily*, sent a mighty fleet thither. In this extremity, the *Syracusians* had recourse to the *Corinthians*, from whom they were descended, and who, of all the *Greek* nations, were the most professed enemies of tyranny, and most generous asserters of liberty. *Icetas*, who had nothing else in view but to make himself master of *Syracuse*, and had already entered into a treaty with the *Carthaginians*, seemed to approve these measures, and even sent his deputies along

^s Idem ibid.

with those of the *Syracusians* ; but in the mean time was contriving, how he could prevent the *Corinthians* from sending any forces into the island, which, according to his late treaty with the *Cartthaginians*, was, after the expulsion of *Dionysius*, to be divided between him and them. The *Syracusan* ambassadors met with a very kind reception at *Corinth*, where in a general assembly it was resolved, that succours should be sent into *Sicily*, and that *Timoleon* should be forth-
 with dispatched to *Syracuse*, and there take upon him the com-
 mand of the *Syracusan* forces against *Dionysius* and the *Car-
 thaginians* ^h. Timoleon
sent into
Sicily.

Timoleon had led a retired life for twenty years, without ever interfering in public affairs, and expected nothing less than to be employed, or even thought of, on such an occasion. He was sprung from one of the most illustrious families of *Corinth*, and had on all occasions signalized himself in the defence of his country, against the unjust pretensions of foreign as well as domestic tyrants. He had an elder brother by name *Timophanes*, whom he tenderly loved, and had saved in a battle by covering him with his own body. But his country was still dearer to him. *Timophanes* was suspected to entertain thoughts of seizing on the sovereignty, which *Timoleon* being informed of, used all possible means to divert him from so wicked an attempt. But finding all his endeavours ineffectual, and that neither kindness, friendship, affection, nor even menaces, could prevail upon an heart abandoned to ambition, he caused his brother to be put to death in his presence by two of his intimate friends. This action was admired and applauded by the principal citizens of *Corinth* ; but highly blamed by others, who reproached him as an abominable parricide, who would not fail of drawing the vengeance of the gods upon himself and his country. His mother in the excess of her grief uttered the most dreadful curses and imprecations against him ; and when he came to comfort her, she caused the doors to be shut against him, not being able to bear the sight of one who had murdered her son. This struck him with such horror, that, considering *Timophanes* no longer as a tyrant, but only as a brother, he resolved to put an end to his unhappy life by abstaining from all nourishment. But his friends having, with the utmost difficulty, dissuaded him from this fatal resolution, he condemned himself to pass the rest of his days in solitude. From that moment he renounced all public affairs, and for several

^h PLUT in Timol.

years never came to the city, but wandered about in the most solitary and desert places, abandoned to excessive grief and melancholy. After he had passed near twenty years in this condition, he returned to *Corinth*; but lived there quite private and retired, without concerning himself with the administration. As he had by the death of his brother given a remarkable instance of his aversion to tyranny and tyrants, the *Corinthians* chose him as the most proper man to be sent into *Sicily*, which at that time abounded with tyrants above all other countries, there being scarce a city in the whole island, which was not held in slavery by some unjust usurper. It was not without great difficulty that *Timoleon* was prevailed upon to accept the command offered him; but at last, his duty getting the better of his inclination, he complied with the request of his friends, and began to raise forces for the intended expedition ¹ (K).

IN the mean time *Icetas*, who intended to possess himself of *Syracuse*, under colour of assisting the inhabitants against *Dionysius*, foreseeing, that *Timoleon* would defeat his measures, dispatched ambassadors to the *Corinthians*, acquainting them, that the *Carthaginians*, apprised of their design, were waiting to intercept their squadron with a great fleet; and that their slowness in sending him succours had obliged him to call in even the *Carthaginians* to his aid, and employ them against the tyrant; wherefore they might forbear making any farther levies, or exhausting their treasures in great but useless expences, since he could, with the assistance of his al-

¹ PLUT. *ibid.*

(K) *Diodorus* varies in the circumstances of this fact from *Plutarch*, whom we have followed. He tells us, that *Timoleon* having killed his brother in the public market-place with his own hand, a great tumult arose among the citizens, some being of opinion, that he should suffer according to law for having imbrued his hands in the blood of a citizen, and others crying him up as the deliverer of his country, and worthy of the greatest rewards. To appease this tumult an assembly was convened, and the case of *Timoleon* taken into consideration. In the height of the debates the *Syracusan* ambassadors arrived, demanding a general to command their forces. Whereupon they unanimously agreed to send *Timoleon* into *Sicily*; but let him first know, that if he discharged with fidelity the trust reposed in him, he should be treated as one who had killed a tyrant; but if he did not answer their expectation, he should, on his return, be condemned as the murderer of his brother (37.)

(37) *Diodor. Sicul. l. xvi. c. 10.*

lies the *Carthaginians*, drive out *Dionysius*, and restore *Syracuse* to its antient liberty. The speech of the ambassadors, and the letters which they delivered from *Iceas*, only served to hasten the departure of *Timoleon*, who was now fully convinced, that *Iceas* acted treacherously and aspired at the sovereignty. He therefore immediately embarked his men, who were in all but a thousand, on board ten galleys, and putting to sea arrived safe on the coast of *Italy* (L); where news was brought him, that *Iceas* had defeated *Dionysius*, and, having made himself master of the greatest part of the city, had obliged the tyrant to shut himself up in the citadel. At the same time *Timoleon* was informed, that *Iceas* had given orders to the *Carthaginians* to prevent his approach, and destroy his squadron as soon as it appeared on the coasts of *Sicily*. This gave him great uneasiness; however, he advanced with his small fleet to *Rhegium*, where he found ambassadors from *Iceas*, who were charged to acquaint him, that he should be kindly received at *Syracuse*, provided he dismissed his troops; but otherwise the *Syracusians*, who were jealous of foreign forces, would not admit him into their city. At the same time twenty *Carthaginian* galleys arrived in the port of *Rhegium*, sent by *Iceas* to prevent the *Corinthians* from approaching *Syracuse*. In this nice conjuncture *Timoleon* demanded a conference with the ambassadors and the chief commanders of the *Carthaginian* squadron, in the presence of the people of *Rhegium*. He pretended to be willing to return home, but said, that he would first hear the *Rhegians*, and do it by their advice, that he might on his return to *Corinth* have wherewithal to justify his conduct. The magistrates of *Rhegium* were of intelligence with him, and desired nothing more than to see the *Corinthians* in possession of *Sicily*. They summoned therefore an assembly, and shut the gates of the city, under pretence of preventing the citizens from going abroad, that they might apply themselves only to the affair in hand.

(L) *Diodorus* tells us, that, during the whole time *Timoleon* was at sea, a light, like a burning torch, went before him in the night, till the fleet arrived safe on the coasts of *Italy*; and adds, that before he set sail, he had been told by the priests of *Ceres* and *Proserpine*, that the goddesses had appeared to them, and promised to sail along with him to the island that was consecrated in a peculiar manner to them. This greatly encouraged *Timoleon*, who consecrated the best galley of his squadron to the goddesses, calling it the sacred ship of *Ceres* and *Proserpine* (38).

(38) *Idem, ibid.*

THE

Timoleon *deludes the Carthaginians and arrives in Sicily.* THE assembly being met, long speeches were made, and debates carried on, in appearance with great warmth, on purpose to gain time. While the *Carthaginians* were busy in the council, nine *Corinthian* gallies, according to the orders they had received from *Timoleon*, set sail, and were suffered to pass, the *Carthaginians* believing their departure had been agreed on between the officers of both parties, who were in the city. When *Timoleon* was privately informed that his gallies were at sea, he slipped out of the assembly, and making to the galley that was left, embarked and rejoined the rest of his squadron. The *Carthaginians* thus deluded, pursued him; but as he had got far before them, the assembly not having broke up till it was dark, he arrived safe at *Taurominium*.

Icetas defeated by Timoleon. UPON the unexpected news of *Timoleon's* arrival in *Sicily*, *Icetas* put the *Carthaginians*, who had a fleet of an hundred and fifty gallies, in possession of the harbour of *Syracuse*, and dispatched an express to *Mago*, the *Carthaginian* general, desiring him to advance with his whole army to the gates of the city. In the mean time *Timoleon*, leaving *Taurominium*, marched to *Adranum*, where he attacked a *Carthaginian* detachment commanded by *Icetas* in person, and put them to flight, though they were above four times his number. As victory naturally begets friends, not only *Adranum*, but several other cities opened their gates to *Timoleon*, and joined him with all their forces. So that he now boldly advanced to the relief of *Syracuse*. On his arrival he found the *Syracusians* in a most deplorable condition, *Icetas* being master of the city, the *Carthaginians* of the port, and *Dionysius* of the citadel. The latter, seeing himself besieged on all sides without any hopes of relief, sent privately ambassadors to *Timoleon*, offering to put the citadel, which he could no longer defend, into his hands, upon condition he would suffer him to retire unmolested. *Timoleon*, taking the advantage of such an offer, willingly agreed to the terms, and detached *Euclid* and *Telemachus*, with four hundred men, to take possession of that important place. *Dionysius* received them within the walls, and delivered up to them not only all his warlike stores and provisions, but even the rich moveables of his palace, with seventy thousand compleat suits of armour, and two thousand regular troops, which *Timoleon* incorporated among his *Corinthians*. After this *Dionysius*, taking with him some of his friends and part of his treasures, embarked on a small vessel, and repaired, unperceived by the troops of *Icetas*, to the camp of *Timoleon*. There he appeared for the first time as a private man and a suppliant, after he had been, near twelve years, lord of one of the most wealthy kingdoms then known

Dionysius surrenders himself to Timoleon.

known. *Timoleon* sent him to *Corinth* with one galley only and without a convoy ; however, he escaped the *Carthaginian* vessels, which lay in wait for him, and arrived safe. He was at first greatly pitied by the *Corinthians*, but his manner of life soon changed their compassion into contempt. He passed whole days in perfumers shops, or with actresses and singers, disputing with them on the rules of music and the harmony of airs. Some believed, that he behaved thus out of policy, not to give umbrage to the *Corinthians*, or betray any thought of recovering his dominions. Some writers tell us, that the extreme poverty, to which he was reduced, obliged him to open a school at *Corinth*, where, says *Tully* *, he exercised that tyranny over children, which he could no longer practice over men. *Dionysius* thus reduced to beggary, and of a powerful king become a contemptible school-master, ought to warn all persons in exalted stations not to rely too much on prosperity, or think the gifts of fortune, as *Valerius Maximus* expresses it, entailed upon any of the human race †. *Philip* king of *Macedon*, meeting one day *Dionysius* in the streets at *Corinth*, asked him how he came to lose so powerful a kingdom as had been left him by his father ; *Dionysius* answered, that his father indeed had left him a rich kingdom, but not the fortune, which had preserved both him and his kingdom ‡.

BUT to return to *Syracuse* ; after the retreat of *Dionysius*, *Icetas* besieged the citadel, which was defended only by four hundred *Corinthians* left there by *Timoleon*, under the command of one *Leon*, an experienced and brave officer. *Timoleon*, who had withdrawn to *Catana*, sent the garison frequent supplies of provisions ; but they were for the most part intercepted by *Icetas*, who kept the place closely blocked up on all sides. When they were reduced to the last extremity, *Timoleon* found means to relieve them by conveying into the place, in spite of all opposition, a great quantity of corn. Whereupon *Icetas* and *Mago*, being well apprised, that they could not become masters of the citadel so long as *Timoleon* was in that neighbourhood, resolved to leave part of the army in *Syracuse*, and with the rest either drive *Timoleon* from *Catana*, or block him up in that city. They were scarce gone, when *Leon*, who commanded in the citadel, observing that those, who were left to continue the siege, were very remiss in their duty, made a sudden sally, killed a great many of them, put the rest to flight, and having possessed himself of

* Cic. Tus. Quæst. l. iii.

† VAL. MAX. l. vi.

‡ DE.

HER. PAUL. DE LOC. III. l. viii.

VOL. VII.

D.D.

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the quarter of the city called *Acradina*, fortified it, and by works of communication joined it to the citadel. This bad news soon brought back *Mago* and *Icetas*, but they could not drive the enemy from *Acradina*. In the mean time a supply of two thousand foot and two hundred horse sent from *Corinth* landed safe in *Sicily*, having deceived the vigilance of the *Carthaginian* squadron posted to intercept them. *Timoleon*, encouraged with this new reinforcement, marched against *Messana*, and having made himself master of that city, advanced to *Syracuse*. As he approached the city, his first care was to send emissaries into the enemy's camp, and artfully spread among the *Syracusians* and other *Greeks*, who served under *Icetas* and *Mago*, that *Timoleon's* only design was to restore them to their antient liberty, that it was shameful for *Greeks* to fight under the standards of a tyrant, and that if they joined *Timoleon*, the war would be soon at an end, and not only peace but liberty restored to the whole island. Such discourses being spread through the whole camp, and even reaching *Mago's* ears, whose army was mostly composed of mercenary *Greeks*, that general began to be very uneasy, and as he wanted only a pretence to retire, he gave out that his forces were going to betray him, and, without hearkening to the entreaties and warm remonstrances of *Icetas*, he weighed anchor and set sail for *Africa*, shamefully abandoning the conquest of *Sicily*. On his arrival at *Carthage* he laid violent hands on himself, to prevent the punishment which his cowardice deserved ⁿ.

Mago returns to Carthage.

Timoleon master of Syracuse.

THE next day *Timoleon* appeared before the city with his army in line of battle, and assaulted it in three different quarters with such vigour, that the troops of *Icetas* were every where driven from the walls, and that part of the city which they held taken by storm. *Timoleon* no sooner saw himself master of *Syracuse*, and all the forts which had been built by the tyrants, but he caused a proclamation to be made by sound of trumpet, inviting all the citizens to come the next day with necessary tools, and demolish with their own hands the citadel and other castles, which he called the *nests of tyrants*. The *Syracusians*, looking upon that day as the first of their true liberty, crowded in multitudes to the citadel, which they soon demolished together with the forts and the tyrants palaces, breaking open at the same time their tombs, and overturning every monument of tyranny. The citadel being quite razed, *Timoleon* caused public edifices to be erected, in the spot where

ⁿ DIODOR. SICUL. l. xvi. c. 11. & 12. PLUT. in Timol.

it stood, for the administration of justice. He found the city in a most miserable condition, for many having perished in the wars and seditions, and others fled to avoid the evils attending tyranny, that once so wealthy and populous place was become almost a desert; insomuch, that the horses grazed on the grass that grew in the very market-place. The other cities of *Sicily* were in the same manner abandoned and desolate. *Timoleon* therefore wrote to *Corinth*, desiring the magistrates to send a new colony to repeople *Syracuse*, which could no otherwise recover its former splendor. The *Corinthians*, pitying the sad condition of a city, which they themselves had founded, sent to all the sacred games of *Greece* and public assemblies, and caused proclamations to be made by heralds, declaring, that the *Corinthians*, having abolished the tyranny of *Syracuse*, and expelled the tyrants, restored *Syracuse* to its former liberty, and invited all those, who had withdrawn from their native country, to repair thither again and take possession anew of their lands and estates. At the same time they dispatched couriers into *Asia* and the neighbouring islands, whither great numbers of fugitives had retired, exhorting them to hasten to *Corinth*, where they should be supplied with vessels, and at the expence of the public conveyed to their own country.

WHEN it was publicly known, that *Syracuse* was delivered from the oppression of tyrants, and that *Corinth* received all the fugitives in order to transport them to their native city, great numbers flocked thither from all parts; but as they were not sufficient to repeople that great city, they intreated the *Corinthians* and other cities of *Greece* to spare them some of their inhabitants, and their request being granted, they embarked for *Syracuse*, being in all above ten thousand. At the same time great multitudes of people from *Italy* and other parts of *Sicily* joined *Timoleon*, who distributed the lands among them gratis, but sold the houses, and with the money arising from the sale established a fund for the support of the poor and needy.

Timoleon, having thus raised *Syracuse* in a manner from the grave, undertook the delivery of all *Sicily*, and the extirpating of tyrants and tyranny from the other cities. He began with *Ietas* tyrant of *Leontini*, whom he compelled to renounce his alliance with the *Carthaginians*, demolish his forts, and resign the sovereignty. *Leptines* tyrant of *Ennea* and *Apollonia*, being closely besieged, surrendered himself to the conqueror, who spared his life, and sent him with several other

Syracuse
repeopled
by the Co-
inthians.

• PLETO. in Timon.

10 d 2

tyrants

tyrants to *Corinth*, where he led a private life. Afterwards he possessed himself of *Entella*, and put to death all those who adhered to the *Carthaginians*. The fame of his victories being now spread all over the island, the *Greek* cities everywhere submitted to him, and were by him restored to the full enjoyment of their rights and privileges. Many cities likewise of the *Sicani* and *Siculi*, subject to the *Carthaginians*, sent ambassadors to him, desiring to be admitted among his confederates.

Timoleon, having thus cleared *Sicily* of the many tyrants who held the people in subjection, and set the whole island at liberty, returned to *Syracuse*, where in conjunction with *Cephalus* and *Dionysius*, two legislators sent from *Corinth*, he instituted such laws as were most proper for the democracy. Among other wise institutions, he appointed a chief magistrate to be chosen yearly, whom the *Syracusians* called the *Amphipolus* of *Jupiter Olympius*; and the first *Amphipolus* was *Calimenes*. Hence arose the custom among the *Syracusians* to compute their years by the respective governments of these magistrates, which custom continued in the time of *Diodorus Siculus*, that is, in the reign of *Augustus*, above three hundred years after the office of *Amphipolus* was first introduced ^P.

Timoleon
makes war
upon the
Carthagi-
nians,

Timoleon, having thus reformed the government of *Syracuse*, and by many wise laws settled the city in peace and tranquility, began to entertain thoughts of driving the *Carthaginians* quite out of the island. With this view he sent a strong detachment, under the command of *Dinarchus* and *Demaratus*, into the neighbouring countries subject to the *Carthaginians*, enjoining them to plunder all those cities, which refused to renounce their alliance with *Carthage* and join them. By this means he got a vast sum of money, which served to pay his soldiers their arrears, and make the necessary preparations for the war he designed. The *Carthaginians*, suspecting his design, sent over into *Sicily* *Asdrubal* and *Hamilcar*, two experienced commanders, with an army of seventy thousand men, two hundred ships of war, and a thousand transports laden with warlike engines, armed chariots, horses, and all sorts of provisions. They no sooner landed at *Lilybæum*, but *Timoleon* advanced against them, though his army consisted only of seven thousand men. On his march one of his mercenaries, by name *Thracius*, cried out, that *Timoleon* was not in his right senses, else with such an handful of men he would never attempt to oppose so numerous

^r PLUT. *ibid.* & DIODOR. SICUL. l. xvi c. 12.

an army, that he was leading them to certain and unavoidable destruction, and that, if he was not distracted, he could propose nothing else than the sacrificing of their lives, perhaps because he was not able to pay them their arrears. By this speech he prevailed upon a thousand of the mercenaries to return to *Syracuse*, and not follow *Timoleon* in so desperate an expedition. This did not dishearten *Timoleon*, who having by fair words and large promises brought back the other mercenaries to their duty, continued his march to the banks of the river *Cremissus*, where the enemy was encamped. His unexpected arrival occasioned no small confusion in the *Carthaginian* army, which he improving to his advantage attacked them with great vigour and resolution. Ten thousand of the enemies forces, who had already passed the river, were defeated and put to flight, before the rest could come up to their assistance. But in the mean time the whole army having gained the opposite bank, the battle was renewed, and the victory a long time doubtful; but while the *Carthaginians* were fighting with great resolution, and endeavouring to hem in and surround on all sides *Timoleon's* small army, there arose on a sudden a violent storm of hail, thunder, and lightning, which, beating on the faces of the *Carthaginians*, put them into such confusion, that they were not able to stand their ground any longer. As soon as they began to retire, the *Greeks*, encouraging one another with shouts of joy, pressed them so vigorously, that the whole army was driven into the river, where great numbers of them were drowned in that throng and confusion. The *sacred cohort* or *brigade*, as the *Carthaginians* called it, which consisted of two thousand five hundred citizens of *Carthage*, all men of experienced courage and valour, fought with great resolution, and stood their ground till they were all cut off to a man. Of the rest ten thousand were slain, and above fifteen thousand taken prisoners; all their baggage and provision, with two hundred chariots, a thousand coats of mail, and ten thousand shields, fell into the enemy's hands, and were either sent to *Corinth* and there dedicated to *Neptune*, or hung up in the temples of *Syracuse*. The spoil, which was exceeding rich, and consisted of gold and silver plate, and other furniture of great value, he divided among the soldiers, retaining nothing for himself but the glory of so famous a victory.

The Carthaginians defeated.

Timoleon after this victory returned to *Syracuse*, where he was received with all possible demonstrations of joy, and attended to his house by the magistrates and chief citizens, the people, as he passed through the streets, throwing flowers upon

on him, and paying him such honours as were due to heroes or demi-gods. Soon after his arrival he banished the thousand mercenaries, who had deserted him, ordering them to leave *Syracuse* before sun-set. This was all the punishment he inflicted upon them⁹.

Peace con-
cluded
with the
Carthagi-
nians.

As soon as the news of this overthrow reached *Carthage*, the people there were seized with such terror, that they immediately dispatched ambassadors into *Sicily*, with orders to strike up a peace upon any terms whatsoever. As several new tyrants had already started up and formed a powerful alliance against *Timoleon*, he thought it advisable to conclude a peace with the *Carthaginians*, and turn his arms against those unjust usurpers. A peace was accordingly settled on the following terms: that all the *Greek* cities should be set free; that the river *Halycus*, or, as *Diodorus* calls it, the *Lycus*, should be the boundary between the territories of both parties; that the natives of the cities subject to the *Carthaginians* should be allowed to withdraw, if they pleased, to *Syracuse*, with their families and effects; and lastly, that *Carthage* should not for the future give any assistance to the tyrants against the *Syracusians*.

Timoleon, having now nothing to fear from the *Carthaginians*, marched against the tyrants, determined to root them quite out of the island. *Ictas* had already taken the field, but was easily routed by *Timoleon*, who, following his victory, made him, his son *Eupolemus*, and the general of his horse prisoners, and put them all to death. His wife and daughter fell likewise into his hands, and were sent to *Syracuse*, where they were sentenced to die, and executed accordingly, the people of *Syracuse* thus revenging the death of *Dion's* wife and sister, whom *Ictas* had caused to be thrown into the sea, as we have related above. *Mamercus* tyrant of *Catana*, *Hippon* tyrant of *Messana*, and all the other tyrants of *Sicily*, met with the like fate, being first overcome by *Timoleon*, and then put to death by those whom they had tyrannically oppressed. Thus *Timoleon*, having intirely purged *Sicily* of the tyrants who had long infested it, given *Syracuse* wise laws, every where re-established peace and tranquillity, repopled the cities, and supplied them with means to recover their antient splendor, resigned his authority to live in retirement. The *Syracusians* had out of gratitude bestowed upon him the best house in the city, and another very magnificent and pleasant one in the country, whither he retired with his wife and children, whom he had sent for from *Corinth*. In this retirement

⁹ P l u t . & D i o d o r . ubi supra.

he passed the remainder of his life, enjoying the satisfaction of seeing so many cities, and such numbers of people, indebted to him for their happiness. He was tried in his old age with a very sensible affliction, which was the loss of his sight. In this condition the *Syracusians* gave him great instances of their gratitude, paying him frequent visits, and carrying all strangers of distinction to visit their benefactor and deliverer. When they had any important affair to be examined in the assembly of the people, they never failed to invite him thither, and religiously to follow his advice. He generally came in a chariot, and was attended from the gates of the city to the place of the assembly by the whole city, and reconducted in the same manner beyond the gates with loud shouts and acclamations. He lived in this retirement eight years, and was after his death honoured as a god. He was buried with great *Timoleon* pomp and magnificence, the people of *Syracuse* having decreed, *dies.* that two hundred minas should be laid out on that occasion; but the tears that were shed, and the blessings uttered, by every body in honour of his memory, were the chief ornament of his funeral. It was also enacted by a special decree, that annually, on the day of his death, public sports should be celebrated with horse-races and gymnastic games; and that whenever the people of *Syracuse* should be engaged in a war with the *Barbarians*, they should send to *Corinth* for a general^r.

THE *Syracusians* enjoyed for the space of twenty years the fruits of *Timoleon's* victories. But it was impossible that a nation, which neither knew how to govern, nor how to obey, should be long free from tumults and sedition. Great disturbances daily arising, the citizens were again involved in the same calamities, from *The pa-* which *Timoleon* had with so much trouble delivered them. A new *rents of* tyrant started up among them, who exceeded all those who *Agatho-* had gone before him in cruelty and all other vices. This was *cles.* *Agathocles*, of whose birth and parentage *Diodorus* gives us the following account. He was the son of one *Carfinus*, who, being banished from *Rhegium* his native city, settled at *Therme* in *Sicily*, at that time subject to the *Carthaginians*. There he married a woman of the place, who being troubled with strange dreams, while she was with child of *Agathocles*, imparted them to some *Carthaginians* who were going to *Delphos*, desiring them to consult the oracle in her name about the child she was big with. The *Carthaginians* complied with her request and the oracle returned this answer, that the child would bring dreadful calamities upon the *Carthaginians* and all *Sicily*. The father, terrified with this prediction, exposed

^r PLUT. & DIODOR. l.ii.

*His educa-
tion.*

the child, as soon as it was born, in the open fields, charging one of his friends to watch it till it died. As the infant continued several days alive, the person placed there to guard it grew weary and retired home ; which the mother having notice of, immediately repaired to the place, and carrying the child to the house of her brother *Heraclides*, entrusted it with him, calling it after her father's name *Agathocles*. When he was seven years old, *Carfinus* was invited by *Heraclides* to a solemn feast and sacrifice, and on that occasion seeing *Agathocles*, he was greatly taken with his beauty, for he is said to have been one of the handsomest men of his age. His wife, laying hold of that opportunity to put him in mind of his son, told him, that the child he had exposed would have proved as fine a child as that he so much admired, had he not been so barbarously murdered. At these words the father burst out in tears, and said that he heartily repented what he had done. Hereupon the mother ventured to discover to him the truth of the whole matter ; whereat he was greatly overjoyed ; but soon after, out of fear of the *Carthaginians*, removed with all his family to *Syracuse*, where, as he was by trade a potter, he brought up his son to the same business. After *Timoleon* had routed the *Carthaginians* on the banks of the *Cremissius*, he promised to make all those who should join him free of *Syracuse* ; and on this occasion it was *Carfinus* and his son *Agathocles* were inrolled among the *Syracusan* citizens. *Carfinus* died soon after ; but *Agathocles* being recommended by his beauty to one *Demas*, a rich, but voluptuous and lewd, nobleman of *Syracuse*, he was plentifully supplied by him with money and whatever else he had occasion for. *Demas* was soon after created general of the *Agrigentines*, when he did not forget his favourite, but advanced him to the dignity of a chiliarch, that is, gave him the command of a thousand men. He had some time before served as a common soldier, and was even then very remarkable for his dexterity in performing the military evolutions, and the great strength of his body, wearing in the military exercises such heavy armour as no other man in the whole army could bear. After he was raised to the post of a chiliarch, he distinguished himself on all occasions above the other commanders, being quite void of fear, and as ready to expose his own life to the greatest dangers, as the lives of those he commanded. In the meantime *Demas* dying, and leaving his whole estate to his wife, *Agathocles* married her, and by that means became at once the most wealthy citizen in *Syracuse*.

His rise.

HE was not suffered long to enjoy his good fortune in *Syracuse*, being driven from thence by *Sosistratus*, who, having usurped the supreme power and made himself absolute master of *Syracuse*, banished all those who gave him any umbrage. *Agathocles* retired to *Italy*, where he had acquired great reputation in the war which the *Crotonians* had waged with the *Brutians*. He settled at *Crotona*, where he was kindly entertained; but forgetting the favours shewn him by the *Crotonians*, he attempted to make himself lord of their city, and was on that account obliged to save himself by flight from the fury of the incensed multitude. From *Crotona* he withdrew to *Tarentum*, but was soon driven from that city too, being there convicted of the like practices. After this no city would receive him; whereupon, having got together a band of exiles and robbers, he plundered the country and lived upon rapine. In the mean time *Sosistratus* having crossed over into *Italy* and laid siege to *Rhegium*, *Agathocles* attacked him unexpectedly, forced his camp, and obliged him to embark his men and drop that enterprize. *Sosistratus* soon after this unsuccessful expedition was forced to abdicate the sovereignty and quit *Syracuse*. With him were driven out above six hundred of the chief citizens, who were suspected by the populace to have formed a design of abolishing the democracy, and introducing in its room oligarchy. *Sosistratus* and the exiles had recourse to the *Carthaginians*, who readily espoused their cause. Hereupon the *Syracusians* recalling *Agathocles*, appointed him commander in chief of their forces, which trust he discharged with more valour than integrity; for having defeated the united forces of *Sosistratus* and the *Carthaginians*, on which occasion he received seven wounds, he began to exercise a sovereign power over his fellow citizens, and take such measures as plainly shewed that he aspired to the monarchy. Wherefore the *Syracusians*, not daring to trust any of their own citizens, had recourse anew to the *Corinthians*, who sent them one *Acestorides* to take upon him the command of their forces. *Acestorides* was no sooner vested with this power, but he formed a design of dispatching *Agathocles*, being sensible that *Syracuse* could never enjoy a perfect tranquillity so long as *Agathocles* was alive. But, as he was afraid his death might occasion some disturbance in the city, he commanded him to retire from *Syracuse* in the close of the evening, and placed on all the roads soldiers with private orders to put him to death in the night and bury his body. But *Agathocles*, suspecting some treachery, chose a young man who resembled him both in stature and features, and, having privately delivered to him his horse, arms, and garment, sent him before, enjoining

enjoining him to keep the public road. He was scarce out of the gates, when the guards, mistaking him for *Agathocles*, killed him, and buried the body; nor were they undeceived till news was brought some time after, that *Agathocles*, who had escaped by private ways, was raising troops in the heart of *Sicily*. The *Syracusians* were not a little alarmed, when they heard, that he was not only alive, but had already got together a considerable army, and was preparing to come against the city. They therefore sent ambassadors to him, and to avoid the evils of a civil war offered to recall him home, provided he disbanded his forces. *Agathocles* agreed to the proposal, and on his return being conducted by the citizens to the temple of *Ceres*, he swore there, according to custom, in the most solemn manner, that he would do nothing to the prejudice of the democracy.

The cruelties of *Agathocles* in *Syracuse*.

NOTWITHSTANDING the solemn oath he had taken, he no sooner saw himself restored to his country and estate, but he began to court the favour of the populace, and espouse their cause against the senate, which consisted of six hundred of the chief citizens, with no other view but to sow divisions and raise new disturbances, by means of which he hoped to have an opportunity of overturning the government, and making himself master of the city. He pretended to protect the people against the oppressions and over-grown power of the senate, and was, on that account, in spite of the senate, created commander in chief of the forces, which were then raising to be sent against the city of *Erbita*, which had revolted from *Syracuse*. *Agathocles*, seeing himself again at the head of an army, resolved to get rid of all those who were in a condition to thwart his designs. Having therefore appointed his troops to meet him early in the morning, at a place near *Syracuse* called *Timoleonium*, he there told them, that before they employed their arms against the inhabitants of *Erbita*, they must clear *Syracuse* of the six hundred tyrants, who were far more dangerous enemies than either the inhabitants of *Erbita*, or the *Carthaginians* themselves; that *Syracuse* could never enjoy a perfect tranquility so long as one of them was left alive; that it was not enough to dispatch the tyrants, unless at the same time all those who sided with them underwent the same fate. This was encouraging his soldiers, who were, for the most part, the scum of the populace, to murder the whole body of the nobility at once. For their further encouragement, he gave them leave to plunder the houses, and seize on all the wealth of those they should put

¹ DIODOR. SICUL. *ibid.* JUSTIN. l. 22. VAL. MAX. l. 7.

to death. When he had ended his speech, the soldiery shewed an eager desire to be led against the tyrants, as they called them, and to deliver *Syracuse* from the oppressions it groaned under. *Agathocles* then entering the city, commanded the trumpets to sound the charge; whereupon the soldiers, falling upon all those they met with, murdered them without distinction of rank, sex, or age, plundered their houses, and committed all sorts of cruelties. In a few hours four thousand and upwards were killed, and the streets covered with dead bodies. But this was not enough for *Agathocles*; his design was not only to dispatch the nobles, but to leave few of the other citizens alive to oppose him. Wherefore, when the slaughter was once begun, he encouraged his men to pursue the bloody massacre, giving them free liberty to plunder, ravish, murder, and commit what enormities they pleased for two whole days and nights. The third day he summoned an assembly of the few who had outlived the general slaughter, and told them, that for the violent distemper, with which the state had been long affected, he had been obliged to administer a no less violent remedy; that he had nothing else in view but to restore the democracy, and rescue the city from the cruel oppressions of a few tyrannical magistrates, and that for the future he would lead a private life free from further cares and toils. This he did to have the crown placed upon his head, as it were by force; for he knew, that he had left none alive fit to govern; and, on the other side, was well assured, that those who had assisted him in spoiling and murdering their fellow-citizens, would never suffer him to resign his authority, having no hopes of impunity but in vesting him with the supreme power, at whose instigation they had committed so many enormities. He therefore had no sooner ended his speech, but they all, with one voice, proclaimed him king, and decreed, that he should thenceforth govern with an absolute and uncontrolled power ^{Agathocles proclaimed king.}.

BEING thus raised to the throne, the first law he enacted was, that all former debts should be made void, and the lands equally divided among the rich and the poor. By this unjust decree he gained the affection of the common people, and so weakened the opposite party, that the very few nobles, who had outlived the general slaughter, were now upon a level with the meanest of the people. *Agathocles*, having thus triumphed over all his enemies, began to change his behaviour, and treat his subjects with a great deal of humanity and moderation, allowing every one to come freely into his

▪ DIONOR. JUSTIN. *ibid.*

*Reduces the
greatest
part of
Sicily.*

presence, and hearing patiently their complaints, which, when it lay in his power, he never failed to redress. He likewise published several wholesome laws, seeking by all means to gain the love of his subjects, that he might be able to turn his arms against the other cities of *Sicily*, having a design to make himself master of the whole island. His subjects seemed disposed to second his ambitious views, which encouraged him to make war first on the neighbouring states, and afterwards to carry his arms into the very heart of the island, which in the space of two years he brought intirely under subjection, except a few cities that were held by the *Carthaginians* ^w.

*Agathocles de-
feated by
the Car-
thagini-
ans.*

*Syracuse
besieged.*

WHEN news was brought to *Carthage* of the progress *Agathocles* made in *Sicily*, *Hamilcar* was immediately dispatched with a numerous fleet and a mighty army to put a stop to his conquests. The fleet was dispersed by a violent storm, in which *Hamilcar* lost sixty ships of war and two hundred transports, with a great number of men. However, being joined on his arrival by such of the *Sicilians* as hated *Agathocles*, his army was in a few days increased to the number of forty thousand foot and five thousand horse. With these he took the field, and encamped near the city of *Himera*, where *Agathocles* attacked him, and with incredible bravery forced his trenches, and cut most of his forces in pieces. But while the *Syracusians* were busy in plundering the camp, a powerful supply arrived unexpectedly from *Carthage*, which revived the courage of those who had fled to such a degree, that they returned to the charge, and, finding the *Syracusians* in disorder, attacked them in front, while the new supplies fell on their rear. Thus was the fortune of the day changed, and *Agathocles*, who thought himself sure of the victory, obliged to save himself first in *Gela*, and afterwards within the walls of his metropolis. Thither the *Carthaginians* pursued him, and laid close siege to that important place, which, if they could have taken it, would have put them in possession of the whole island.

Agathocles, being reduced to such straits, and abandoned by all his allies in *Sicily*, from their abhorrence of his enormous cruelties, formed a design of so bold, and, in appearance, so impracticable a nature, that nothing but the success with which it was attended, could justify the undertaking of it. This design was to transfer the war into *Africa*, and besiege *Carthage*, at a time when he himself was besieged in his metropolis, which was the only city left him in *Sicily*. He communicated his design to no person whatsoever, but only

^w Idem, ibid.

told the *Syracusians* in general terms, that he had found out an infallible way of freeing them from the impending calamities, and repairing all the losses they had sustained to that day. He then chose the most daring and intrepid among the soldiers and citizens of *Syracuse*, ordering the foot to be ready with their arms at the first call, and the horsemen to carry each along with him, besides his arms, a saddle and a bridle. He set at liberty all the slaves, who were able to bear arms, and incorporated them among his troops. Having embarked all his forces, he appointed his brother *Antandrus* governor of *Syracuse*, with forces and provisions sufficient to hold out a long siege, and taking with him his two sons *Archagathus* and *Heraclides*; he went last on board himself. His fleet consisted of sixty galleys, but the *Carthaginian* squadron, far more numerous than his, blocked up the mouth of the harbour, so that he was obliged to wait for some favourable opportunity to set sail. After he had attended a long time, and was ready to drop his design, a large fleet of transports appeared laden with corn and other provisions for *Syracuse*. To intercept these the *Carthaginians* put to sea, and *Agathocles* no sooner saw the mouth of the harbour open, but he likewise hoisted sail. The *Carthaginians* at first imagined, that the enemy's fleet was sent to defend the transports, and therefore tacking about prepared to engage. But *Agathocles* continued his course towards *Africa*, being closely pursued by the *Carthaginians*, till, night coming on, they lost sight of him. In the mean time the transports, unexpectedly escaping the danger, plentifully supplied the city with corn, and all other provisions. The *Carthaginian* admiral, finding that, by pursuing two fleets at once, he had missed them both, and that *Agathocles* did not return, resolved to pursue him close, and to prevent him from kindling the war in some other place. Having therefore sailed six days and six nights, steering his course towards *Africa*, he at last came up with the *Syracusan* fleet, and engaged them. But as his men were quite tired out with rowing, the *Syracusians* gained the victory, and, having dispersed the enemy's fleet, landed safe on the coast of *Africa*, at a place called *the Quarries*.*

Agathocles, having thus landed his men in the heart of the enemies country, assembled his troops, and acquainted them in a few words with his design, and the motives which had prompted him to it; he told them, that the only way to divert the enemy from the siege of *Syracuse*, and drive them quite out of *Sicily*, was, to carry the war into their own country;

Agathocles lands in Africa.
Year of the Flood 2680.
Year before Christ, 319.

* DIODOR. l. xx. c. 1. JUSTIN. l. xxii. c. 6.

that he led men inured to the hardships of war against an enemy softened and enervated by ease and luxury; that the natives of the country, who hated the *Carthaginians*, by whom they were treated rather like slaves than allies, would join them on the first news of their arrival; that the boldness of the attempt would strike the *Carthaginians* with terror, who were altogether unprepared to engage an enemy at the very gates of their metropolis; finally, that from no other enterprize they could reap more advantage and glory than from this, which would put them in possession of the whole wealth of *Carthage*, and transmit their names and fame to the latest posterity. The soldiers fancied themselves already masters of *Africa*, and applauded this speech with loud shouts of joy and acclamations. *Agathocles*, finding his soldiers so well disposed, resolved to set fire to his fleet, and burn all his ships except one or two for the carrying of dispatches. Many reasons determined him to so bold, or, as our historian calls it, so desperate, an action. He had not one good harbour in *Africa* where his ships could lie with safety; wherefore as the *Carthaginians* were masters at sea, they would not fail to possess themselves of his whole fleet, which was no ways in a condition to cope with theirs. As he had but a small army, if he divided it, leaving troops sufficient to defend the ships, he would not be strong enough to encounter the enemy, and thereby be deprived of all the advantages of this unexpected diversion. But what chiefly inspired him with this resolution was, that, the fleet being once destroyed, his men would be under a necessity of conquering, having no other hopes of safety remaining, save only in victory. Having therefore gained over before-hand such of the officers as were entirely at his devotion, he assembled the soldiery, and appeared among them in his royal robes with a crown on his head, as if he were going to perform some religious ceremony. Then addressing himself to the assembly, he told them, that when they left *Syracuse*, and were warmly pursued by the enemy, in that fatal danger he applied himself to *Ceres* and *Proserpine*, the tutelar goddesses of *Sicily*, and promised to burn all the vessels of the fleet in their honour, if they delivered them from the enemy, and helped them to land safe in *Africa*. Aid me therefore, O fellow-soldiers, said he, to discharge this vow, for the goddesses can easily make us amends for this sacrifice. Having uttered these words, he took a torch in his hand and led the way, flying on board his own ship, and setting it on fire. All the officers did the like, and were chearfully followed by the soldiers. The trumpets sounded from every quarter, and the whole shore echoed with joyful shouts and loud acclamations.

*Burns his
ships.*

mations. The soldiers had not been allowed time to reflect on what they were doing, being hurried on by a blind and impetuous ardor ; but when they had leisure to weigh every particular, and were apprised of the danger they were in, being separated from their own country, by the vast ocean, and in the midst of the enemy's, without the least hopes or means of escaping, a sad and melancholy silence succeeded that transport of joy and those acclamations, which, but a moment before, had been so general in the army ¹.

HERE again *Agathocles* left no time for reflection, but to raise again the drooping spirits of his soldiers, he led them against an important place called the *Great City*, which was subject to *Carthage*. The country through which they marched offered the most agreeable prospect imaginable. On either side was spacious meadows, covered with flocks of all kinds of cattle, country-houses, built with extraordinary magnificence, delightful avenues, planted with all sorts of fruit-trees, delicious gardens, of a prodigious extent, and kept with all possible care and elegance, &c. This prospect reanimated the soldiers, who were again willing to run any danger in hopes of obtaining so pleasant and wealthy a country as a reward of their toils and labour. They marched full of courage to the *Great City*, took it by storm, and enriched themselves with the plunder, which was entirely abandoned to them. Thence they advanced to *Tunis*, which they likewise took sword in hand and plundered. The soldiers were for garrisoning these two cities, that they might have some place to retire to in case of any misfortune ; but *Agathocles*, that they might have no hopes of safety but in victory, caused them both to be levelled with the ground, and encamped in the open fields ².

IN the mean time the news of this unexpected descent, reaching *Carthage*, threw the whole city into the utmost terror and confusion. They all concluded, that their army before *Syracuse* was entirely cut off and their fleet lost. The people hastened with trembling hearts to the market-place, while the senate assembled in a tumultuous manner to deliberate how they might save the city, which the victorious enemy was with long marches advancing to besiege. They had no army in readiness to make head against the enemy, and their present danger did not allow them to wait till forces were levied among their allies. It was therefore resolved after long debates, that the citizens should be armed ; and accordingly

¹ DIODOR. SICUL. *ibid.* JUSTIN. l. 22. ² Idem, *ibid.*
 OROS. l. 4. c. 6. POLYB. l. 22. ATHEN. l. 3. c. 2.

in a few days they had on foot an army of forty thousand foot and a thousand horse, with 200 armed chariots. They appointed *Hanno* and *Bomilcar* to command the forces, notwithstanding the antient grudges that still subsisted between their families, hoping, that they would strive to outvie one another in the defence of their common country, and by that means turn their private quarrels to the public advantage. The generals immediately took the field, and, possessing themselves of an eminence not far from the enemy, drew up their troops in battle array. *Agathocles* had only fourteen thousand men, and was therefore not a little surprized when he saw so numerous an army ready to engage him. However, he dissembled his fear, and in order to encourage his men, who were quite dispirited and under great apprehensions of the enemies horse and chariots; he let out several owls, which he had before prepared for that purpose. These, flying about the camp and lighting on the soldiers shields, so raised their spirits, that of their own accord they began to advance against the enemy, not doubting but by the assistance of *Minerva*, to whom that bird was sacred, and therefore looked upon by all the *Greeks* as a good omen, they should gain a complete victory. *Agathocles* willingly seconded their ardor, and putting himself at their head charged the *Carthaginians* with incredible vigour. *Hanno* with the sacred cohort, which consisted of the flower of the troops, sustained a long time the fury of the *Greeks*, and even put them in disorder, but being overwhelmed with showers of darts, and covered with wounds, he fell fighting bravely to the last. *Bomilcar*, understanding that his rival was slain, looked upon this as a favourable opportunity of possessing himself of the sovereignty, to which he had long aspired. But, as he was sensible that he could not accomplish his design, if the army of *Agathocles* were destroyed, but might easily put it in execution if the enemy conquered, he resolved to retire with the forces under his command, not doubting but he should be able to get the better of *Agathocles* whenever he pleased. Accordingly acquainting his men with *Hanno's* death, he ordered them to keep their ranks, and retire in good order to a neighbouring hill, as the only means to escape the fury of the victorious enemy. But as their retreat looked like a flight, the *Greeks* pursued them so close, that they put them in disorder, and gained a complete victory. The sacred cohort fought with great bravery, even after the death of *Hanno*, and courageously advanced over the dead bodies of their fellow soldiers, till they saw themselves abandoned by the whole army, and in danger of being surrounded by the enemy. They then retired in good order, and gained

The Carthaginians defeated by the treachery of Bomilcar.

an eminence, where they halted, and anew made head against those who pursued them ; but, not being supported by *Bomilcar* they were either cut off, or forced to save themselves by flight, after having distinguished themselves in a very eminent manner. Two hundred *Greeks* were slain in this battle, and a thousand, or according to some six thousand, *Carthaginians* ; so that the slaughter on neither side was considerable. *Agathocles*, after having pursued the enemy some time, returned and allowed his soldiers to plunder the *Carthaginian* camp, where they found twenty thousand pair of fetters and manacles, which the enemy had provided, not doubting but they should take many prisoners ^a.

THE *Carthaginians*, now giving all up for lost, dispatched messenger after messenger to *Hamilcar* in *Sicily*, with the news of what happened in *Africa*, and express orders to hasten over to the relief of his country. When the messengers arrived, *Hamilcar* commanded them not once to mention the victory of *Agathocles* ; but on the contrary to noise it abroad in the camp, that he had been entirely defeated, his forces all cut off, and his fleet taken by the *Carthaginians*. The senate of *Carthage* had sent to *Hamilcar* by the messengers all the beaks of the *Syracusan* ships, that this report might more easily gain credit, for it was by their orders that he had caused it to be spread abroad. *Hamilcar* therefore immediately dispatched ambassadors to *Syracuse* with the beaks of the ships, summoning the governor and citizens to deliver up the city, since their army and fleet in *Africa* were utterly destroyed. This sad news was commonly believed, and the whole city thrown into the utmost confusion. But the leading men, to prevent the mischiefs that might attend so general a consternation, not only dismissed the messengers without any answer, but drove out eight thousand of their citizens, who seemed inclined to capitulate with the enemy. *Hamilcar* entertained the exiles with great kindness, and understanding from them the miserable condition the city was in, he resolved to assault it on all quarters at once, but first sent new deputies, promising to spare *Antandrus* and all those who sided with him, if he delivered the city up into his hands. Hereupon a council of war was summoned, when *Antandrus*, who was very unlike his brother, was for capitulating : But *Eurymnon* the *Ætolian*, whom *Agathocles* had left to assist his brother with his advice, prevailed upon him and the rest to hold out, till they had certain intelligence of the truth. The assembly was scarce dismissed, when a galley with thirty oars arrived

^a DIODOR. & JUSTIN. *ibid.*

The Carthaginians defeated in Sicily, and Hamilcar killed.

from *Africa*, and brought the agreeable news of *Agathocles's* victory, which immediately flew through the city, and restored life and resolution to the inhabitants. *Hamilcar* made a last effort to storm the city, but being repulsed with loss, he raised the siege, and sent five thousand men to the relief of his distressed country. All his forces he thought it needless to send, and still entertained hopes of obliging *Agathocles* to quit *Africa*, and return to the defence of his own kingdom. He spent some time in reducing such cities as sided with the *Syracusians*, and, after having brought all their allies under subjection, he returned again to *Syracuse*, hoping to surprize the city by attacking it in the night. But the *Syracusians*, having timely notice of his design, made a sally unexpectedly, routed his army, which was an hundred and twenty thousand men strong, and took *Hamilcar* himself prisoner. We are told, that *Hamilcar* dreamt the night before that he should sup the next day in *Syracuse*: his dream proved true, but the entertainment he met with was not much to his satisfaction; for those, whose parents and relations he had barbarously murdered, led him in chains about all the streets of the city, and after having vented their rage on their miserable captive by all sorts of torments, struck off his head and sent it into *Africa*, a welcome present to *Agathocles*, who, advancing to the enemy's camp, and shewing them the head of their general, struck them with such terror, that their commanders, with the utmost difficulty, kept them from abandoning the camp and returning to *Carthage* ^b.

Agathocles had already reduced all the cities subject to the *Carthaginians*, and was preparing to besiege *Carthage* itself. But, before he ventured upon so difficult and hazardous an enterprize, he sent ambassadors to all the princes of *Africa*, inviting them to join in the common cause, and lend him their assistance in overturning that imperious republic, which, with so much haughtiness, lorded it over them. His chief design was to gain over *Ophellas* prince of the *Cyreneans*, who had been one of *Alexander's* captains, and at that time had on foot an army of ten thousand regular troops, and was contriving how he might enlarge his dominions. The ambassadors sent to him were charged to flatter his ambition, by promising him, in their master's name, the sovereignty of all *Africa*, which *Agathocles* had invaded with no other view but to oblige the *Carthaginians* to quit *Sicily*. *Ophellas* allured by this promise set out at the head of twenty thousand men, and after two months march, mostly through sandy deserts, joined

^b Idem, *ibid*.

^at last *Agathocles*. As that prince did not scruple to commit the most enormous crimes to promote his interest, *Ophellas* had no sooner put himself and his army in his power, than by the blackest perfidy he caused him to be murdered, and by fair words and large promises prevailed upon his army, now destitute of a leader, to serve under him, and be entirely at his devotion. Such of the *Cyreneans* as he found unfit to bear arms, for many of them had brought along with them their wives and children, he put on board some transports and sent them to *Syracuse*, where few of them arrived, most of the ships being cast away near the *Pithecusian* islands. *Agathocles* seeing himself now at the head of a numerous army assumed the title of king of *Africa*, and as *Carthage* was the only city which still held out, he invested it on all sides, with a design to reduce it by famine &c.

WHILE he was lying before *Carthage*, news was brought him, that, after the defeat of the *Carthaginians* in *Sicily* and death of *Hamilcar*, most of the cities, whether subject to the *Carthaginians* or *Syracusians*, had taken up arms, and entered into an association in defence of their liberties. As his affairs in *Africa* were in a very flourishing condition, he thought he might safely return for a while into *Sicily*. Having therefore built some open vessels with fifty oars apiece, and put two thousand men on board, he set sail for *Sicily*, leaving his son *Archagathus* commander in chief of his *African* army. The fame of his victories flew before him, and the news of his arrival struck the confederates with such terror, that many cities submitted of their own accord; others were reduced by dint of arms, and in a short time the whole island, except some few cities subject to the *Carthaginians*, acknowledged the sovereignty of *Agathocles*. Having thus settled affairs in *Sicily*, he returned to *Africa*, where he found the face of things quite changed by his absence. His son *Archagathus* had lost a battle, and his army was ready to revolt for want of provisions; the *Carthaginians* had recovered their courage, and were encamped in an advantageous post, whence it was no easy matter to dislodge them; all the avenues to the enemy's camp were guarded by strong detachments, and no pass was left open for the conveying of provisions to *Agathocles's* army, which was already in the utmost distress. In this critical juncture *Agathocles* attacked the enemy's camp, but was repulsed with the loss of three thousand men. After this unsuccessful attempt, all the *Africans* in his army deserted

Agathocles returns to Sicily.

Sets sail again for Africa.

Is defeated.

^c DIODOR. l. 20. c. 3. JUSTIN. l. 22.

*Deserts his
army in
Africa.*

him. Whereupon, not having a sufficient force to contend with the *Carthaginians*, he resolved to leave *Africa*. But as he could not possibly transport his army, both for want of ships and because the *Carthaginians* were masters at sea, he determined to slip away privately, taking along with him only a few of his friends and his younger son *Heraclides*; for as *Archagathus* was a daring young man, he had always entertained some jealousy of him. But *Archagathus*, being apprised of his design, discovered it to the officers and commanders of the army, and these to the soldiery, who, immediately running to their arms, seized on *Agathocles* and committed him to custody. The army being now without a head, there was nothing in the camp but tumult and confusion. The ensuing night a report being spread, that the enemy was advancing to attack them, they were all seized with a panic fear, and having none to command them, every one was preparing to save himself by flight, though they knew not whither to fly. In this confusion *Agathocles* with a small attendance stole away, and embarking on board a small vessel put to sea, leaving his children to the wild fury of the disappointed soldiers, who immediately putting his two sons to death, chose leaders from among themselves, and concluded a peace with the *Carthaginians*, upon the following terms: That the *Greeks* should deliver up all the places they held in *Africa*, receiving for them three hundred talents; that such of them as were willing to serve under the *Carthaginians* should be kindly treated and receive the usual pay; that the rest should be transported to *Sicily*, and have the city of *Selinus* for their habitation. These articles were agreed to and punctually observed by the *Carthaginians*. Our historian observes, that *Agathocles* lost both his army and his children the same month, and the same day of the month, on which he treacherously murdered *Ophellas* and brought over to himself his army^d.

*Cruelties in
Sicily.*

Agathocles was no sooner landed in *Sicily*, but sending for part of his forces he marched against the *Egestines*, who had revolted in his absence, and having taken the town by storm, he put all the inhabitants to death, without distinction of sex or age. The nobles he caused to be first tortured with the most exquisite torments rage or malice could invent. When news was brought him of the death of his children in *Africa*, he ordered his brother *Antandrus*, governor of *Syracuse*, to put all those to death who were any ways related to such of the *Syracusians* as had attended him in the *Carthaginian* ex-

^d DIODOR. l. 20. c. 3.

pedition. His orders were put in execution with such cruelty, that the sea was dyed a great way with blood. Such an inhuman butchery had never before been heard of even in *Sicily*, all those who were related to any of the *African* army, from the great grand-father to the sucking child, being barbarously murdered by the tyrant's orders^c.

THIS inhuman cruelty raised him many enemies, who joining *Dinocrates*, whom the tyrant had banished, reduced him to such straits, that he was fain to court the friendship of the *Carthaginians*, and purchase a peace with them at a very dear rate, for he restored to them all the cities which they had formerly possessed in *Sicily*. He even sent ambassadors to *Dinocrates*, offering to resign the sovereignty, provided two strong holds, which he named, were left in his hands for the greater security of his person. These proposals were rejected by *Dinocrates*, who aspired himself to the supreme power, and had then under his command above twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse, which he must have disbanded, and submitted to the democracy, if *Agathocles* had abdicated the tyranny. *Agathocles*, finding he could not upon any terms obtain a peace, resolved to put all to the issue of a battle, and attacking *Dinocrates* in his camp put him to flight, and gained a complete victory with five thousand foot only, and eight hundred horse. The remains of the shattered army retired to a neighbouring eminence, whence they sent deputies to capitulate with the conqueror, who promised to spare their lives, provided they delivered up their arms. But they were no sooner disarmed, than the tyrant caused them to be hemmed in, and all to a man put to the sword. As for *Dinocrates*, who was a man of the same stamp with himself, he received him into his friendship, and ever after entrusted him with his most weighty affairs. After this victory, *Agathocles* in two years time brought the whole island under subjection, save those cities only, which by the late treaty he had restored to the *Carthaginians*^f.

Agathocles, having nothing more to do in *Sicily*, passed over into *Italy*, where he subdued the *Brutii*, rather by the terror of his name, than by force of arms. From *Italy* he passed over to the *Lipari* islands, and obliged the inhabitants, who lived in perfect peace and security, to pay him an hundred talents of gold. After he had received this sum, which was all they had, he plundered the sacred treasure, stripp'd the temples, and then set sail for *Syracuse*, with eleven ships

^c Idem, ibid.^f Idem, ibid. JUSTIN. l. 22. OROSIVS.

l. 7. c. 6. ÆLIAN. var-Hist. l. 2.

laden with the gold and spoils of the temples. But, a violent storm arising, all the vessels were cast away, except one galley, on which he himself escaped to suffer a more miserable end. He was poisoned by one *Mænon*, whom he had unnaturally abused, at the instigation of his grandson *Archagathus*. It was the tyrant's custom always after his meals to pick his teeth with a quill, which *Mænon* having dipp'd in poison, his teeth and gums putrified, and his whole body was tortured with most racking pains, in the height of which he was hurried away to the funeral pile and burnt, while he was still alive, in the twenty-eighth year of his reign and ninety-fifth of his age. He was a man of great boldness and resolution, but of a most cruel and savage temper; for he is said to have put more persons to death in the three last years of his life, than all the tyrants before him during the whole time of their respective reigns. He never forgot his mean extraction, but rather gloried in the contemptible calling of a potter, which he had followed in his youth, saying, that it set off with more lustre the high station to which his own valour had advanced him; nay, even in public entertainments, while his guests were served in gold and silver plate, he used to eat in earthen ware, saying, that though he wore a diadem, yet he was still a potter (M). From the meanness of his condition *Polybius* endeavours to prove his capacity and talents, in opposition to *Timæus*, who tells us, that his rise was entirely owing to fortune, and not to any parts of his own. *Scipio Africanus* agrees with *Polybius*; for that illustrious Roman being asked, who, in his opinion, were the most prudent in the conduct of their affairs, and most judiciously bold in the execution of their designs, answered, *Agathocles* and *Dionysius* the elder^s. The descent of *Agathocles* into *Africa* prompted *Scipio* to make the same attempt, wherefore in his answer to *Fabius*, who did not approve of his design, he did not

^s POLYB. l. 15.

(M) This is elegantly expressed by *Ausonius* in the following verses.

*Fama est sceleribus cœnasse Agathoclea regem
 Atque abacum Samio sæpe onerasse luto.
 Ferula gemmatæ cum poneret horrida vasis,
 Et misceret opes pauperumque simul,
 Quærenti causam respondit, Rex ego qui sum
 Sicaniæ, sculo sum genitore satus.
 Fortunam reverenter babe, quicumque repente
 Dives ab exili progrediare loco.*

forget

forget to mention *Agathocles* as an instance in favour of his enterprize, and to shew, that frequently there is no other way to get rid of an enemy, but by carrying the war into his country. But how great soever *Agathocles's* parts may have been, they were far exceeded by his cruelties, which have rendered his memory execrable, and obscured the glory of his greatest conquests.

IT was after the death of *Agathocles*, that the *Mamertini* *Messana* treacherously seized on *Messana*, and by degrees possessed seized by themselves of a considerable part of the island. According the *Mamertini*. to the *Latin* writers the *Mamertini* were originally *Campani*, and assumed the name of *Mamertini*, that is, *invincible warriors*, from the word *Mamers* or *Mavors*, signifying *Mars the god of war*. As they were a bold and resolute nation, they were invited into *Sicily* by *Agathocles* to assist him in his conquests. But being disbanded after his death they retired to *Messana*, with a design to return into their own country. The inhabitants of *Messana* admitted them into the city, and entertained them with great kindness, which was ill requited by them; for being charmed with an habitation, which greatly resembled their native country, they resolved to settle there, seize on the city, and form themselves into a republic. Accordingly they fell unexpectedly upon the antient inhabitants, put all the men to the sword, and married their wives and daughters. Being masters of the city, they not only maintained themselves in their usurpation, but reduced most of the neighbouring states, and extended their dominions to the middle of the island. *Sicily* was at that time a prey to numberless tyrants, and the *Mamertini* were powerfully assisted by the inhabitants of *Rhegium*, where a *Roman* legion had settled, by following their example in murdering the citizens who had called them to their assistance.

BUT to return to *Syracuse*; that unfortunate city un- *The dis-* derwent many revolutions after the death of *Agathocles*. *tracted* *Mænon*, who had poisoned him, usurped the supreme autho- *state of* rity, but being driven out by *Hycetas* he had recourse to the *Syracuse*. *Carthaginians*, which gave rise to a new war, wherein *Hycetas* having gained several victories over the joint forces of *Mænon* and the *Carthaginians*, he at last seized on that authority of which he had deprived his rival, and governed *Syracuse* with an absolute sway, though he declined the title of king, contenting himself with that of prætor. In the ninth year of his command, the *Agrigentines* having revolted, he left *Syracuse* and marched out against *Phintias*, who was at the head of the rebels and *Syracusan* exiles. In his absence one *Tæmion* possessed himself of the sovereign power, but being

Pyrrhus
invited in-
to Sicily.

being opposed by *Sosistrates*, who had the same aim, a civil war broke out within the very walls of the city; *Tænion* held the island, and his rival the other quarters of the city. In the mean time the *Carthaginians*, taking advantage of these divisions, reduced most of the cities subject to *Syracuse*, and invested that capital itself with a mighty fleet, and an army of fifty thousand men. A regard therefore to common good united the two competitors *Tænion* and *Sosistrates*. They were tired of a war, which could only end in their common ruin, and therefore joined together in inviting *Pyrrhus* king of *Epirus* to put an end to the troubles, which threatened the state with utter destruction. Many reasons prompted them to have recourse to *Pyrrhus*, rather than to any other of the many sovereigns, who reigned at that time in *Europe* and *Asia*. *Pyrrhus* had married *Lanessa* the daughter of *Agathocles*, and had by her a son, whom the *Syracusians* thought it reasonable to place on the throne of his grandfather, since they could not by any other means rid themselves of their domestic tyrants. Besides, he had already given signal proofs of his courage, and therefore seemed the best qualified of any to make head against the *Carthaginians*, and stop the great progress they were making towards the reduction of the whole island. The *Leontines* and *Agrigentines* joined with *Tænion* and *Sosistrates* in pressing the king of *Epirus* to come and take upon him the defence of their respective states, offering to deliver up the cities into his hands. *Pyrrhus*, who wanted but an honourable pretence to withdraw from *Italy*, where he was engaged in a war with the *Romans*, willingly complied with the request of the *Sicilians*, and, leaving a strong garrison in *Tarentum*, embarked for *Sicily*, where he landed among the acclamations of a numberless multitude, which on the news of his approach had flocked to see him. *Tænion* and *Sosistrates* immediately put him in possession of the city, the fleet, and public treasure. All the cities on that coast followed the example of *Syracuse*, the name of *Pyrrhus* resounding every where, as if victory had landed with him. His insinuating and affable behaviour at first arrival gained him the hearts of all the *Sicilians*; and as he had an army of thirty thousand foot and five thousand horse, with a fleet of two hundred sail, he drove the *Carthaginians* from place to place, till he divested them of all their acquisitions in the island, except the two important places of *Eryx* and *Lilybæum*. The former he took by assault, and was himself the first man who mounted the wall, after having killed a great many of the *Africans* with his own hand. The *Mamertini* likewise felt the effects of his courage, being defeated by him in a

His con-
quests.

†

pitched

pitched battle, driven from all the places they possessed, and shut up within the walls of *Messana*. The *Carthaginians*, alarmed at the rapidity of his conquests, sent ambassadors to treat of a peace with him upon very advantageous terms; but he, puffed up with his great success, answered them, that the only means to obtain what they desired was, to abandon *Sicily*, and let the *Libyan* sea be the boundary between *Carthage* and *Greece*. He depended so much on the reduction of the whole island, that he stiled his son by the daughter of *Agathocles* king of *Sicily*, and caused him to be acknowledged as such by the *Syracusians* and their confederates. Having thus put his son in possession of the kingdom of *Sicily*, he began to entertain thoughts of sailing over into *Africa*, and making war on the *Carthaginians* in their own territories, though they were still masters of *Lilybæum*, which was a key to the whole island. This design was no-ways agreeable to the *Sicilians*, who were sensible, that they could not enjoy a perfect tranquillity, so long as the *Carthaginians* had any footing in the island. Besides, *Messana* was still in the hands of the *Mamertini*, who, as they were a warlike people, would not fail to take advantage of the king's absence and raise new disturbances. They therefore did all that lay in their power to dissuade him from his *African* expedition. But, notwithstanding their remonstrances, he persisted in his new resolution, and began to make the necessary preparations for the conquest of *Africa*, which he hoped to subdue with as little trouble as he had done *Sicily* ^h.

Pyrrhus had ships enough of his own for this expedition, *He did* but, as he wanted seamen, he obliged the maritime cities in *bliges the* his interest to furnish him with sailors and mariners, and even *Sicilians* forced into the service persons of rank, who had any experience in maritime affairs. The cities complained of this violence, but he had no regard to their complaints. However, the *Sicilians* bore these outrages with patience, as they carried some appearance of zeal for the public welfare. But the king, who could bear no contradiction, taking offence at their opposing his new scheme, began to treat them more like an arbitrary tyrant, than a prince who was come to deliver them from the oppressions they groaned under; which soon drew upon him the hatred of the whole nation. In defiance of the customs of the country, he conferred the first dignities and the governments of the cities on foreigners, and continued them in their employments as long as he thought proper,

^h PLUT. in *Pyrrh.* PAUSAN. l. i. JUSTIN. l. xviii. DION. HALIC. in excerpt.

without any regard to the time prescribed by law. As to judicial proceedings with respect to private property and other affairs of that-nature, he either decided them by his own arbitrary sentence, or left them to the determination of his courtiers, whose sole views were to enrich themselves. A conduct so different from that, by which he had at first succeeded so well in all his enterprizes, could not but estrange the minds of the people from him; and when he plainly saw that he was universally hated, and that the *Sicilians*, not able to brook his arbitrary government, were contriving how to shake off the yoke, he placed in most of the cities such garisons as he knew to be entirely at his devotion, under pretence, that the *Carthaginians* were preparing to renew the war. He likewise seized the most powerful and illustrious citizens of each city, and, charging them with treasonable practices, either put them to death, or banished them the island. Full of jealousy, as all tyrants are, he would have forced *Sosistrates* to attend him into *Africa*, not thinking it safe to leave him in *Syracuse*, during his absence. But *Sosistrates*, to avoid complying with his commands, revolted from him and retired from his native city. As for *Tænion*, he was more complaisant and continued with the king; but, while he believed himself one of his chief favourites, he was by his order cruelly assassinated. *Tænion* had crowned him king of *Syracuse* on his first landing, and contributed more than any other person to the reduction of *Sicily*; but all the important services he had rendered the king were not sufficient to exempt him from the cruel effects of his jealousy. Such tyrannical proceedings put an end to the success of *Pyrrhus* in *Sicily*. The aversion, which the cities conceived against him, was so great, that some of them entered into a league with the *Carthaginians*, and others with the *Mamertines* his avowed enemies. His troops were soon reduced to his *Epirot Phalanx*, the *Sicilians* daily deserting in crowds and encreasing the enemies forces. When *Carthage* heard of this change, new troops were raised all over *Africa*, and a numerous army sent into *Sicily* to recover the antient conquests of the *African* republic; whilst a mighty fleet cruised round the island to prevent *Pyrrhus* from making his escape¹.

He abandons Sicily and returns to Italy.

THIS was the situation of *Pyrrhus*'s affairs, when deputies came to him from the *Samnites*, *Tarentines*, *Brutians*, and *Lucanians*, whom he had abandoned to pursue new conquests in *Sicily*. They represented to him the dangers they had been in, and the losses they had sustained since

¹ PLUT. in Pyrrh. DION. HAL. apud. Vales.

his departure, and remonstrated, that without his assistance their cities and liberties must fall a sacrifice to the *Romans*, who had already dispossessed them of all their lands, and shut them up within their walls. This embassy furnished him with an honourable pretence for his departure; he was glad to have an opportunity of making the world believe, that he had abandoned *Sicily*, not out of fear of the enemy, but to comply with the requests of his allies. He therefore seemed at first to deliberate what part to chuse, being, as it were, divided between *Sicily*, *Africa*, and *Italy*. But *Italy* prevailed, and he began to prepare for his voyage, from which his new subjects in *Sicily* did not offer to divert him. When he was on the point of setting sail, he cried out, at the sight of that wealthy country which he was abandoning, *What a fine field of battle do we leave to the Carthaginians and Romans!* A prediction, which was soon fulfilled. He embarked on the ships which he had brought with him from *Italy*, but was met at sea by the *Carthaginians*, who attacking him sunk seventy of his gallies, and dispersed or took the rest, so that he saved himself in the ports of *Italy* with only twelve vessels, the poor remains of a fleet of two hundred sail. Nor was this all: The *Mamertines* no sooner heard of his departure, but they detached a body of eighteen thousand men to harass him after his landing. These, having passed the streights before him, posted themselves in the road, which *Pyrrhus* must take in marching by land to *Tarentum*, and, lying concealed among the woods and rocks, attacked him unexpectedly with great resolution. But *Pyrrhus* behaved himself on this occasion with his usual bravery. The attack being made on his rear, he hastened thither, and at the head of his men made a dreadful slaughter of the enemy, till a wound he received on the head obliged him to retire. But he soon returned to the charge with fresh fury. As he was supposed to be disabled by his wound, a proud *Mamertine*, of an extraordinary size, and shining in bright armour, advanced out of the ranks, and with a loud voice challenged the King of *Epirus*, if he was yet alive, to a single combat. *Pyrrhus* immediately turned about, and making a dreadful appearance by reason of the blood which ran down his face, flew upon this new champion, and discharged such a blow on his head, that he cleaved him in two, one part of his body falling to the right, and the other to the left. This feat, which has been since ascribed to other warriors, perhaps with as much truth as to *Pyrrhus*, filled the *Mamertines* with terror,

Hiero appointed general of the Syracusians.

His birth and education.

who suffered the *Epirots* to continue their march to *Tarentum* *.
 UPON the departure of *Pyrrhus*, *Hiero* was appointed to command the *Syracusan* forces, and make head against the *Carthaginians*, who had regained most of the places which they possessed before the arrival of the *Epirots*. *Hiero* was the son of *Hierocles*, one of the descendants of *Gelon* the first king of *Syracuse*, of whose glorious reign and exploits we have already given a full account. His descent was not so honourable by the mother's side ; for she was a slave and of a very mean extraction. Wherefore *Hierocles*, or as *Justin* calls him *Hieroclytus*, thinking it beneath him to take care of the education of a son, who was the fruit of an unlawful intercourse, caused him, according to the barbarous custom of those days, to be exposed soon after his birth in a forest, where a swarm of bees is said to have nourished him some days with their honey. Upon the report of this prodigy, *Hierocles* consulted the soothsayers, who told him, that this son of his would one day mount the throne of his ancestors, and restore its family to its antient splendor. The father being pleased with this answer, owned him, and caused him to be brought up in a manner suitable to his birth. When he came to man's estate, he distinguished himself by his courage, prudence, and address in all military exercises. He made his first campaigns under *Pyrrhus*, who had a great value for him, and honoured him with such rewards as generals used to bestow on those who excelled the rest in valour. In his first campaign an eagle is said to have perched upon his helmet, and an owl upon his lance ; and these two birds, the former being the symbol of valour, the latter of wisdom, seemed to confirm the first prediction. And indeed young *Hiero* did not belie those prognostics, he so improved in the art of war under the direction of so great a master as the king of *Epirus*, that he was looked upon as the best commander in the army, when he was but twenty five years of age. But his great moderation, affability, and engaging behaviour gained him more honour than his military exploits. He seemed to have been born for virtue, and to be governed by no other passion but the love of glory. *Justin* draws the following picture of this brave youth. He was exceeding handsome, of a robust constitution, and an extraordinary strength. His affability in conversation, equity in the management of affairs, and moderation in the government of the people were such, that he wanted nothing but a crown to be a great king. And this his great merit soon procured him, as we shall see anon.

WHEN *Pyrrhus* left *Sicily*, the city of *Syracuse*, being

* PLUT. *ibid.*

destitute

destitute of a governor, fell into the greatest disorders. To put a stop to this confusion, the troops chose *Hiero* and *Artemidorus* for their commanders; and the two generals had nothing more at heart than to re-establish good order in the capital. With this view they entered the city at the head of the army, and *Hiero* on this occasion first discovered an uncommon talent and genius for governing. By the arts of insinuation and address, without shedding of blood or hurting one single citizen, he calmed the minds of the people, reconciled the factions, and so gained the hearts of all, that the *Syracusians*, though highly dissatisfied with the soldiery for assuming the right of chusing their own generals, yet unanimously confirmed him in the command, investing him with all civil and military power during the interregnum¹.

Hiero, being now at the head of the army, began to take such measures as should prevent any further disturbances in the city. He observed, that the generals and troops no sooner left the city to take the field, but *Syracuse* was involved in new troubles by seditious spirits and lovers of novelty. He thought it therefore necessary to have some person of merit and rank, upon whom he might rely for retaining the city in its duty, during his absence and that of the army. *Leptines* seemed very fit for this purpose, being a man of great interest and authority among the people. In order therefore to attach him to his interest, he married his daughter, and always left his father-in-law governor of the city when he took the field; by which means he secured both himself and the public tranquillity. Another thing that gave *Hiero* great uneasiness and raised frequent disturbances was, the ungovernable temper of the mercenaries in the service of the republic. They had no respect for their commanders, nor affection for a state of which they were no part, and therefore always ready to revolt, and even join the enemy, when their unjust demands were not complied with, and their hopes of gain not answered. They were so united among themselves, that *Hiero* could not by any means get the better of them; if he undertook to punish the most criminal among them, the whole corps took his part; so that the general was rather governed by them than they by him. He therefore concluded, that the only means to put an end to the troubles they occasioned, was utterly to extirpate that seditious body, whose licentiousness and rebellious disposition could only corrupt others, and incline them to the same pernicious practices. Accordingly he came at last to this resolution, which was contrary to his natural inclination,

¹ JUSTIN, l. xiii. c. 4.

but judged by him necessary for the tranquillity of his country, and safety of his own person. He took the field under pretence of marching against the *Mamertines*; but when he came within sight of the enemy, he divided his army into two bodies, the one composed of *Syracusians*, the other of mercenaries; he ordered the latter to begin the charge, putting himself at the head of the former as if he designed to support them. The mercenaries fell upon the enemy with the utmost fury, but, being abandoned by the *Syracusians*, were all cut in pieces. The *Syracusan* troops he brought back safe to the city, having taken care to post them so as to have a river between them and the enemy ^m.

Hiero, having thus purged his army of those mutineers, revived the military discipline among the *Syracusians*, took other mercenaries more tractable into his service, and by degrees rendered his army formidable both to the *Carthaginians* and *Mamertines*. He first made trial of their valour against the latter, who, elated with the advantage they had gained over the mercenaries, marched into the territories of *Syracuse*, destroying all before them with fire and sword. Hereupon *Hiero* took the field, engaged them in the plains of *Mylæ* (N), utterly defeated them, and took their general by name *Cios* prisoner. *Cios*, being carried to the *Syracusan* camp, saw there the horse which his son had rode in the battle, and taking it for granted that he was killed, resolved to live no longer; and accordingly loosening the ligatures of his wounds, he soon after expired. By his death the *Mamertines* being destitute of a head, *Hiero* invaded their territories, and possessed himself of the cities of *Mylæ*, *Amasela*, *Alæsa*, and *Abacænum* (O),
and

^m JUSTIN. l. xxiii. POLYB. l. i. c. 16.

(N) *Mylæ*, now *Milazzo*, was formerly a colony of the *Tyndariti*, who settled in that part of *Sicily*. It was situated in a peninsula in the north point of the island, and had a very convenient harbour. *Pliny* speaks of a fountain near *Mylæ*, which dried up in winter, and was full of water during the hottest part of the summer (39). *Faxellus* tells us, that he observed the same thing. The situation of the city of *Amasela* is altogether unknown.

(O) *Abacænum* stood in the north part of *Sicily*. *Cluverius* places it near the little city of *Tripio*. As for the city of *Tyndaris*, it was not far distant from *Abacænum*, and the name of it is still preserved in the place called at present *Santa Maria di Tyndaro*. It was originally a colony of the *Lacedæmonians*, who are supposed to have given it the name of *Tyndaris*, from *Tyndarus* the father of

(39) *Plin. l. xxxi. c. 4.*

Leda.

and then returned loaded with glory and booty to *Syracuse*, where he was declared king by the unanimous consent of the citizens, and soon after acknowledged as such by all the allies. This happened seven years after he had been invested with the command of the army ⁿ.

SOME time after his accession to the throne he again worsted the *Mamertines*, and reduced them to such straits, that they began to entertain thoughts of surrendering their city to him. Accordingly they sent ambassadors inviting him to a parley, wherein it was agreed, that the city of *Messana* should be put into his hands, and that he should maintain the inhabitants in the possession of their antient rights and privileges, and protect them against any foreign invasion. But as *Hiero* was advancing to take possession of the place, he was deceitfully prevented by *Hannibal*, who at that time commanded the *Carthaginian* forces in *Sicily*. The cunning *African* came, as it were, to congratulate *Hiero* on his late victory, and amused him, till some troops, which he had kept concealed in the *Lipari* islands, drew near *Messana*. The officer, who commanded that detachment, assured the *Mamertines* that he came as a friend, and that his only design was to assist them against the *Syracusians*, and prevent them from delivering their city into the enemies hands. The *Mamertines*, seeing themselves supported with a new reinforcement, summoned an assembly to deliberate on what measures they should take in so critical a juncture. The members of the assembly were divided in their opinions; some were for accepting the protection *Carthage* offered them, others for surrendering to *Hiero*, with whose mild government and strict honour they were well acquainted; but the greatest part were for calling the *Romans* to the assistance of a city, whose inhabitants were originally *Italians* ^o.

THE *Mamertines*, before they fought the last battle with *Hiero*, had sent deputies to *Rome*, imploring the assistance of the *Roman* senate and people against the invasions of their neighbours; and the people, at the instigation of their con-

The Ma
mertines
reduced to
great
straits by
Hiero.

The Ma-
mertines
call in the
Romans.

ⁿ JUSTIN. & POLYB. *ibid.*
viii. c. 8.

^o POLYB. l. i. ZONAR. l.

Leda. In this city was antiently a temple dedicated to *Mercury*, and a statue of that god, which was looked upon as a master-piece of art. *Pliny* tells us, that a great part of *Tyndaris* was swallowed up by the sea (40).

suls, had promised to comply with their request. But the senate, having more regard to honour and equity than the people, were not yet come to any resolution. They considered, that the *Sicilians* were only endeavouring to recover a city which the *Mamertines* had taken by the blackest treachery, and thought it altogether unworthy of the *Roman* virtue to undertake openly the defence of traitors, who were guilty of the same perfidy, which they had lately punished in the *Rhegians* with the utmost severity. The senate therefore could not be prevailed upon to come into the measures of the people, so long as the *Mamertines* had no enemies to contend with except the *Syracusians*. But when news was brought to *Rome*, that the *Carthaginians* had entered *Messana*, and offered to defend it, the conscript fathers changed their mind. They were sensible, that *Carthage* undertook the defence of that important place only with a design to seize it for herself, and therefore, as they did not care to be so near neighbours to that powerful republic, they forgot the strict regard they had hitherto had to probity, came readily into the people's measures, and agreed to send the consul *Appius Claudius* to attempt the deliverance of *Messana*, and stop the progress of the *Carthaginians* ^P.

Appius Claudius did not go at first in person to *Messana*, but sent thither one of his military tribunes, who was also named *Claudius*, in his stead. The tribune was a man of extraordinary boldness, and at the same time of great prudence and address, fit for the carrying on of any great enterprise, and incapable of being terrified at the greatest dangers. He immediately set out for *Rhegium*, and his first care there was, to get together what vessels he could in order to cross over into *Sicily*. But before he ventured to sea with the few *triremes* he had under his command, he thought it adviseable to discover first the disposition of the *Mamertines*; and accordingly going on board a fisher-boat, he passed undiscovered through the midst of the enemy's fleet, and arrived safe at *Messana*, which he found possessed by the *Carthaginians*, who had entered it with the consent of some of the inhabitants, and contrary to the inclinations of others. The tribune convened the *Mamertines* in the place where they usually met, in order to acquaint them with the motives of his coming among them. But at first the clamours of the *Carthaginians*, who assisted at the assembly with the inhabitants, prevented him from being heard. However, he obtained at last a moment's silence, and then he addressed the assembly

^P POLYB. *ibid.*

†

thus

thus: “ *Mamertines*, I come hither, as a deputy from the
 “ *Romans*, to offer you the assistance you have desired. The
 “ senate and people concur in granting it, and have nothing
 “ more at heart than to defend *Messana* from the oppression
 “ which threatens her. We engage our words, that we
 “ will withdraw our forces as soon as your city and fortunes
 “ are safe.” These few words made a deep impression on
 their minds; but, as they had already introduced the *Car-*
thaginians into their city, they were no longer their own
 masters, and therefore returned such an answer as would
 have discouraged any one less bold than *Claudius*: It is a
 “ great pleasure to *Messana*, they replied, to be able to spare
 “ the *Romans* the trouble of assisting her. *Carthage* is before-
 “ hand with them, and her protection is sufficient. Where-
 “ fore, if you have no other proposal to make, you may
 “ withdraw. Every free city has a right to call in to her
 “ assistance whom she pleases.” “ A free city! (replied
Claudius) “ Are you not in the power of the *Carthaginians*?
 “ Are you not, even in this place, besieged by a foreign
 “ force? Does not *Carthage* already lord it over you, and
 “ make you feel the weight of that yoke, which you must,
 “ if not relieved by us, bear for ever? Answer me, if you
 “ dare.” Upon these words the *Mamertines* held their
 peace for fear of the *Carthaginians*; and the *Carthaginians*
 were struck dumb with the truth of the tribune’s speech,
 who, taking advantage of this general silence: You, *Cartha-*
ginians, said he, know not what to answer, because you
 “ are conscious of your own injustice; and you, *Mamertines*,
 “ are dumb, because you dare not speak; if fear had not
 “ shut your mouths, I am confident, you would not reject
 “ my offers, and therefore I interpret your silence as a tacit
 “ consent to my proposal.” Upon these words a murmur
 arose in the assembly, and *Claudius*, crying aloud, “ *Ma-*
mertines, I understand your meaning, you implore the as-
 “ sistance of the *Romans*, we will comply with your re-
 “ quest,” left the assembly and the city without further de-
 lay, and returned to *Rhegium* ⁹.

UPON his report the senate judged, that the *Mamertines* were disposed to receive succours from *Rome*, and ordered the same tribune to set sail with his fleet to *Messana*. His fleet was no-ways in a condition to cope with that of *Carthage*, the *Romans* having at that time only a few *triremes*, and their men being quite ignorant of sea affairs; whereas the *Carthaginians* were masters at sea, had numerous fleets

The Ro-
mans un-
dertake the
defence of
Messana

⁹ POLYB. l. i. ZONAR. l. viii. c. 8. Auctor vit. illustr. vir.

cruising off the coasts of *Italy* and *Sicily*, and were furnished with expert mariners. However, the tribune, despising all danger, had the boldness to weigh anchor, and steer his course to *Messana*; but being met by *Hanno* the *Carthaginian* admiral in the streights between *Rhegium* and *Messana*, some of his ships were taken by the enemy, others by a violent storm dashed in pieces against the rocks on the coast of *Italy*; inso-much that he was obliged to return to *Rhegium*, after having lost the best part of his fleet. *Claudius*, not at all discouraged by his bad success, began to refit his fleet, in order to put to sea again, saying, that he did not expect to learn the art of navigation without paying dear for it. Before he set sail the *Carthaginians* sent him back the ships which they had taken in the late engagement, hoping by means of this artful present, either to pique the *Romans* in point of honour, and so divert them from sending succours to *Messana*, or at least to lay the whole blame of a rupture upon them. When *Hanno's* deputies restored the ships, they reproached the *Romans* with having infringed the treaties agreed on by both republics, and pretended that the streights belonged to *Carthage*. This so incensed *Claudius*, that he rejected the present with indignation, and pursued his former resolution with more vigour than ever. *Hanno's* deputies, before they left *Rhegium*, told *Claudius* in an imperious stile, that *Carthage* would not suffer a *Roman* even to wash his hands in the streights. But this served only to make *Claudius*, who was undaunted in the greatest dangers, more eager to force out of the neighbourhood of *Italy* so proud and encroaching an enemy. Soon after the departure of the deputies he set sail again, and timed his enterprize so well, that he eluded the vigilance of the *Carthaginian* admiral, and arrived safe in the port of *Messana*. *Hanno*, who had exchanged the command of the fleet for that of the land-forces in *Messana*, upon the arrival of the *Romans* retired into the citadel, abandoning the city to *Claudius*, who immediately desired the *Mamertines* to call an assembly, and invite *Hanno* to it. It was not without the utmost difficulty that *Hanno* was prevailed upon to leave his citadel, and trust himself among the *Romans* and *Messanians*. However, he came at last, but hard words arising between him and *Claudius*, the bold *Roman*, who no longer appeared as an envoy, but was backed by his legionaries, was so provoked, that he ordered his soldiers to seize him, and kept him under confinement, till he prevailed upon him, by menaces and fair promises, to deliver the citadel up to the *Romans*, and evacuate the city. This piece of cowardice

ardice cost him dear ; for he was tried by his countrymen, found guilty, and condemned to be crucified^r.

Hiero, king of *Syracuse*, had already made the necessary preparations to besiege *Messana*, which city he looked upon as a sure conquest, after the victory he had gained over the *Mamertines*. But when he heard that it was defended by the *Romans*, thinking himself too weak to enter the lists against two such warlike nations, as the *Romans* and *Mamertines*, he sent ambassadors to the *Carthaginians*, offering to join them, provided they would assist him in the siege of *Messana*, and help him in driving out the *Romans*. Such an embassy was, as we may well imagine, very acceptable to the *Carthaginians*, who were determined to venture all, rather than suffer the *Romans* to get any footing in *Sicily*. A treaty therefore was immediately concluded between *Carthage* and *Syracuse*, whereby they were to assist each other in driving the *Romans* quite out of the island ; *Messana* was to be delivered up to *Hiero*, and some places subject to *Syracuse* were to be put into the hands of the *Carthaginians*. Great preparations were carried on both at *Syracuse* and *Carthage*, new forces were raised, and a mighty fleet sent from *Africa* under the command of another *Hanno*, the son of *Hannibal*, who was charged with the whole management of the war. This fleet put in at *Lilybæum*, whence the land-forces marched to *Selinus*, and encamped there, while their general went to *Agri- gentum*, and caused the fortifications of that place to be repaired. The *Carthaginians* and *Syracusians* being now ready to enter upon action, *Hanno*, before he began hostilities, sent an herald to the *Romans*, summoning them to leave *Sicily*, and surrender up *Messana* to him, or to the king of *Syracuse*, if they desired to live in amity with their respective republics. *Claudius* answered, that he was determined to defend the place and the allies of the people of *Rome* to the last drop of his blood. Hereupon the *Carthaginian* and *Syracusan* armies joined, and invested *Messana*. The *Carthaginians* posted themselves near cape *Pilorus*, and lined the coast, whilst *Hiero* with his troops blocked up the city on the land side, and encamped round mount *Chalcis* ; so that *Messana* was surrounded on all sides, and no succours or provisions could be conveyed into it either by sea or land^s.

As soon as the tribune *Claudius* had refused to quit the place, *Hanno* the *Carthaginian* general, ordered all the *Italians*, who served in his army, to be massacred. When the

^r POLYB. l. i. c. 11. VAL. MAX. l. ii. c. 7.
^s l. 8. c. 9. DIODOR. SICUL. iii. Eclog.

murder of these unfortunate men was heard at *Rome*, the consul *Appius*, who had not appeared yet in this dispute, set out with all speed and went to *Rhegium*, with a design to cross over into *Sicily*. Upon his arrival at *Rhegium*, he sent deputies to king *Hiero*, conjuring him by his antient friendship to the *Romans* not to persist in the siege of *Messana*, which alone could create a quarrel, the consequences of which might prove fatal to him. *L. Genucius* was the first of the *Romans* who began a correspondence with *Hiero*. *Genucius* was consul, and charged with the siege of *Rhegium*, which was held by the rebellious *Campanian* legion. While the consul carried on the siege, his provisions falling short, he applied to *Hiero*, who not only supplied him with what he wanted, but moreover sent him some *Sicilian* forces ; and this was the first time the *Romans* had any troops in their service from beyond-sea. *Claudius*, mindful of his former kindness to the *Romans*, proceeded at first with him in a friendly manner. But *Hiero*, taking it very much amiss, that the *Romans* should undertake the defence of a city, which must have otherwise fallen into his hands, broke out into invectives against the ingratitude of a republic, which he had assisted in her distress. As he was himself a man of strict equity, he thought it surprizing, that the *Romans*, who had lately punished with the utmost severity one of their legions for treacherously seizing on *Rhegium*, should now protect those, who in the very same manner had made themselves masters of *Messana*. He therefore answered the deputies sent to him by the consul *Claudius*, that the events of war were indeed uncertain, but should he in his attempt against the rebellious city prove unsuccessful, all men would agree, that though the ambition and power of the *Romans* prospered, yet *Hiero* fell in a just and honourable cause. The *Romans* themselves were very sensible, that his integrity was the only motive which prompted him to take up arms against the *Mamertines*. But, as he had joined the *Carthaginians*, the consul was little affected with his answer, and only said, that good king *Hiero* was not aware of the intention of his new allies, since their design in seizing *Messana* was only thereby to pave themselves a way to the conquest first of *Sicily*, and then of *Italy*†.

The consul Claudius passes over into Sicily. *Claudius*, finding the king of *Syracuse* determined to carry on the siege of *Messana*, resolved to sail thither in person, but, as the *Carthaginian* fleet watched all his motions, he dissembled his design, and gave out, that it was not in his

† Idem ibid.

power to make war upon *Hiero*, without fresh orders from the senate, and that he must therefore return to *Rome*, and lay the matter before the senate and people. This report soon reached *Messana*, and the *Carthaginians*, hearing it, left off cruising in the streights. Whereupon *Claudius*, having first ordered his troops to repair to several ports of *Italy*, and be there in a readiness to sail, went on board a galley built unskilfully and in a great haste, pretending only to coast along the shore in order to return to *Rome*. But as soon as he was out of sight he tacked about, and, being favoured by a dark night, reached the nearest shore in the island, and landed the few troops he carried with him, without being observed by the enemy. The *Romans*, who were then unexperienced in sea affairs, thought this so glorious an action, that they gave the consul the surname of *Caudex*, a *Latin* word signifying a boat unskilfully built ^u.

THE consul, having landed his forces, resolved to advance against *Hiero*, who blocked up *Messana* on the side of mount *Chalcis*, in hopes of surprizing him. When the king saw the enemy marching up to attack his camp, he very imprudently left his trenches and went out to meet them, not doubting, but he should get the better of them in the open field, which he thought far more glorious than to fight behind a rampart. The *Syracusians* charged with such fury and resolution, that the *Roman* cavalry was put in disorder at the first onset. But the legions fought with so much bravery, that the *Syracusians* could not with their utmost efforts break through them; nay, they were themselves, after a long and obstinate dispute, forced to give way, and leave the *Romans* an open passage into the city. The consul, overjoyed at his gaining the first victory which *Rome* had ever obtained out of her continent, entered *Massana* in triumph, and was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy imaginable by the inhabitants, who now began to entertain hopes of being soon delivered from a siege, which had already reduced them to great straits. Neither were they disappointed in their expectation; *Hiero* could not continue any longer before the place after his overthrow, being distressed for want of provisions; and besides, he thought himself betrayed by the *Carthaginians*; for if they had guarded the streights, the *Romans* could never have attacked him so unexpectedly, nor even ventured out of the ports of *Italy*. He could not help thinking, that the *Carthaginians* had suffered the *Romans* to enter the island on purpose to de-

And de-
feats
Hiero.

^u ZONAR. *ibid.* FRONT. in *stratag.* l. i. c. 4.

stroy him, and full of his distrusts he decamped hastily in the night and retired to *Syracuse* ^w.

The progress of the Roman arms in Sicily.

Appius, having now but one enemy to contend with, sallied out of the city and attacked the *Carthaginian* camp, but as it was in a very advantageous post, and strongly fortified, he was obliged to withdraw his legions and retire into *Messana* after having sustained a considerable loss. His retreat looked like a flight, and this encouraged the *Carthaginians* to quit their trenches and pursue him. But the legions unexpectedly facing about fell upon the pursuers, put them in disorder, and made a dreadful havock of the broken troops. Thus the advantages of the day were equal; but *Claudius*, not thinking it adviseable to attempt the enemies camp a second time, laid waste all the neighbouring country, and made excursions to the very gates of *Syracuse* itself. *Hiero*, finding that the *Carthaginians* were not in a condition to protect his dominions, began to entertain some thoughts of abandoning them and siding with the *Romans*. But the sudden departure of the consul *Claudius* for *Rome* prevented him, for the present, from entering into any treaty with that republic.

NEXT year early in the spring, both the *Roman* consuls, *Manius Valerius Flaccus* and *Manius Otacilius Crassus*, were ordered to transport their legions into *Sicily*, and carry on the war against *Hiero* and the *Carthaginians*. They both landed without meeting with the least opposition from the *Carthaginian* fleet, and then parted, *Valerius* undertaking to dislodge the *Carthaginians* from their advantageous post, where they kept *Messana* blocked up, and *Otacilius* advancing into the heart of the country to spread the terror of the *Roman* arms. What success attended the former, we find no where mentioned; but the surname of *Messana* which was given him on this occasion, and afterwards by corruption changed into that of *Messala*, as some writers inform us*, is a convincing proof that he signalized himself by some gallant action. As for *Otacilius*, he advanced to the foot of mount *Ætna*, and possessed himself of all the cities in that fruitful country: *Adranum* and *Centuripe* were taken by assault, but many other cities, and among the rest *Alæsa*, submitted of their own accord to the conqueror. Afterwards the two consular armies sometimes joined to fight the united forces of the *Syracusians* and *Carthaginians*, and

^w ZONAR. l. viii. c. 9. EUTROP. l. ii. POLYB. l. i. ^{*} SENEC. de brev. vitæ. MACROB. Saturn. l. i.

sometimes

sometimes separated to extend their conquests the wider; the enemies were every-where vanquished, and as they took the cities subject both to the *Syracusians* and *Carthaginians*, without distinction, they reduced in a few months time no fewer than sixty seven places; of which number were *Taurominium* and *Catana*, two cities of great importance. As they drew great reinforcements from these cities, their armies were soon so increased, that they thought themselves in a condition to undertake the siege of *Syracuse*, the capital of the whole island, and at that time one of the greatest and strongest cities in the world. *Hiero*, being intimidated at the danger he was in, and now more sensible than ever, that an alliance with *Rome* would be less disadvantageous to him than one with *Carthage*, lost no time in endeavouring to save his stately metropolis from impending ruin. As soon as the two consular armies appeared before it, he sent out deputies to treat with the *Romans* of a peace, who on their part were no-ways averse to it, knowing that, by keeping up a friendly correspondence with *Hiero*, the *Carthaginians* would be reduced to their own forces only, and the *Roman* armies plentifully supplied with all manner of provisions, for want of which they had been greatly distressed the year before. A treaty *Hiero* concludes an alliance with the *Romans*. therefore was soon concluded on the following terms: that the *Romans* should receive *Hiero* into the number of the friends and allies of their republic, and protect his capital and dominions, particularly the cities of *Acra*, *Leontini*, *Megara*, *Elorum*, *Netum*, and *Taurominium*, from all hostilities whatsoever; and on the other hand, that *Hiero* should deliver up the prisoners he had taken without ransom, pay the republic an hundred talents of silver, and cultivate her friendship by a faithful observance of the treaty. This agreement was drawn up by the king and consuls, and afterwards ratified at *Rome* first by the senate, and then by the people, at the motion of *Cn. Attilius Calatinus*, then a tribune of the people. It was at first only a truce for fifteen years, but the conditions were so faithfully performed on both sides, that it lasted as long as *Hiero* lived ^y.

FROM thenceforth *Hiero* saw no war in his dominions, nor had any other share in it but that of sending from time to time supplies of provisions to his allies the *Romans*, who gratefully acknowledged his generosity, and with great care protected his dominions from the insults of their common enemy. During the space of above fifty years he lived after his accession to the throne, while the country around him was in

^y POLYB. l. i. JUSTIN. l. xxiii. ZONAR. l. viii. c. 6.

flumes,

flames, occasioned by the cruel wars which the two most powerful republics in the world made upon each other, he was only a spectator, and heard the noise of the arms, which shook all the neighbouring regions, himself and his people enjoying the sweets of a profound peace and tranquillity. The *Romans* perceived on several occasions, during the first *Punic* war, and especially at the siege of *Agrigentum* with which it was begun, how necessary it was for them to cultivate the friendship of *Hiero*; for that prince abundantly supplied them with provisions, when without his aid they had been obliged by famine to quit the island, their convoys from *Italy* being often intercepted by the enemy's fleet which guarded the straits².

THE interval between the end of the first *Punic* war and the beginning of the second, which was about five and twenty years, was to *Hiero* a time of tranquillity, in which his actions are not mentioned by the historians. *Polybius* only informs us, that the *Carthaginians* in the war, which they were obliged to support against the mercenary troops that had served under them in *Sicily*, had recourse to king *Hiero*, who kindly assisted them, fearing perhaps lest the mercenaries, getting the better of the *Carthaginians*, should carry their victorious arms into *Sicily*, which island they were perfectly well acquainted with. *Hiero's* sole application during this long interval was to make his subjects happy, and to redress the many evils, which the tyrannical government of *Agathocles*, and the intestine divisions arising upon his death, had occasioned. Before his reign the state had been divided by two factions, the one of the citizens, the other of the soldiers; and their differences, supported on both sides with great animosity, kept up the spirit of division in the republic, and gave birth to numberless disorders. But *Hiero*, with his prudent and impartial conduct, so rooted out all seeds of discord and misunderstanding, that during a reign of fifty years no revolt or sedition ever arose, or the least commotion either in the army or the city. Both soldiers and citizens looked upon him rather as their common father and protector, than as their lord and sovereign, and were fully convinced that he was infinitely averse from doing any thing that could in the least prejudice their fortunes or liberty. His particular care was to encourage agriculture, which he looked upon as the certain means to diffuse abundance throughout his kingdom; he did not think it unworthy of the sovereignty to study that art, and even compose a book on that subject, of which we

² POLYB. l. xviii.

ought much to regret the loss. As the chief riches of the country, and the most certain fund of the prince's revenue, consisted in corn, the tenth part of which was paid to him, *Hiero* made such wise and equitable regulations on this head, that they became in a manner, the fundamental laws of the country, and were always observed as sacred and inviolable, not only in his reign, but in all succeeding times. When the *Romans* had reduced the city and dominions of *Syracuse* under their obedience, they imposed no new tributes, but only decreed, that all things should be regulated according to the laws of *Hiero* *.

In the second *Punic* war, *Hiero* gave signal proofs of his attachment to the *Romans*. As soon as he received advice of *Hannibal's* arrival in *Italy*, he went with his fleet well equipped to meet *Tiberius Sempronius* at *Messana*, and assured him, that, advanced in age as he was, he would shew the same zeal for the *Roman* people as he had done in his youth, if they thought it necessary that he should put himself at the head of his troops and cross over into *Italy*. He supplied the consul's legions with corn and cloaths at his own expence, and was preparing to attend him into *Italy*, when *Sempronius*, receiving news of the advantage gained by the *Romans* over the *Carthaginian* fleet, thanked the king for his advantageous offers, but made no use of them at that time ^a.

Hiero's
sincere at-
tachment
to the Ro-
mans.

Hiero's sincere affection for *Rome* appeared still more conspicuous, after the victory gained by *Hannibal* at the lake *Thrasymenus*. The *Romans* had already lost three battles, and were abandoned by many of their allies. In this mournful conjuncture *Hiero* sent a fleet laden with provisions to the port of *Ostia*: The ambassador, who came with the present, being introduced to the senate, told the conscript fathers, “ That *Hiero*, their master, had been as sensibly
“ affected with their misfortunes, as if he had suffered them
“ himself; that though he knew the grandeur of the *Ro-*
“ *man* people displayed itself more in times of adversity,
“ than after the most signal successes, yet he had taken the
“ liberty to send them, as a faithful ally, a victory of massy
“ gold weighing three hundred pounds, which the king
“ hoped they would vouchsafe to receive as a favourable
“ augury, and a pledge of his vows for their prosperity;
“ that they had also brought three hundred thousand
“ of wheat, two hundred thousand of barley, and were

* POLYB. l. i. CIC. Orat. in Ver. de Fam. a 17. l. xvi.

“ charged by their master to acquaint them, that if they
 “ wanted more, he could cause what quantity they pleased
 “ to be transported to such places as they should appoint ;
 “ that he knew the *Romans* employed no strangers in their
 “ armies, except light-armed troops, and therefore he had
 “ only sent a thousand archers and slingers, whom they might
 “ oppose to the slingers of the *Balearic* islands, and the *Nu-*
 “ *midians* in the *Carthaginian* army.” To his presents
Hiero added a wholesome piece of advice, which was, that
 the prætor, who should be sent to command in *Sicily*, might
 cross from thence over into *Africa*, and by that means divert
 the *Carthaginians* from sending any succours to *Hannibal* in
Italy. *Rome* was touched with the affection good king *Hiero*
 shewed her, thanked him for his presents and advice, and
 sent him this obliging letter : *You have ever been a constant*
and generous friend. No change of times has altered your af-
fection and generosity towards us. We received with pleasure
the victory from your hands. It is a pledge of your friendship,
which we will carefully preserve ; and in order to keep her a-
mong us, and prevent her ever leaving us, we will shut her up in
the strongest place of Rome. We will place her upon the capi-
tol our citadel, and even in the temple of Jupiter. The gods
grant, that she may be as faithful and friendly to us as you.
 All the corn and barley on board the ships with the archers
 and slingers were sent to the consuls. They likewise sent,
 pursuant to *Hiero*’s advice, from the ports of *Italy* a rein-
 forcement of twenty five quinqueremes to *T. Otacilius*, who
 commanded the armies in *Sicily*, empowering him to carry the
 war into *Africa*, if he thought proper ^b.

Valerius Maximus observes here the noble and polite libera-
 lity of *Hiero*, who did not offer the *Romans* three hundred
 pounds weight of gold in specie, as being well acquainted with
 their delicacy in that point ; but under the form of a victory,
 which they dared not refuse, on account of the good omen it
 seemed to bring along with it. It is uncommon to see a prince,
 whose dominions were so exposed to the insults of the enemy,
 continue unalterably faithful to his former allies, even when
 they were on the brink of ruin. But nothing could shake
Hiero’s attachment to *Rome*. But it was also his interest to
 act as he did. For had the *Carthaginians* entirely ruined, or
 even weakened the *Romans* too much, *Syracuse* must have fal-
 len a prey to the conquerors. That city was situated over
 against *Carthage*, and lay mighty convenient for securing its
 commerce, and gaining the empire of the sea. Wherefore as

^b Liv. l. xxi.

Syracuse must have necessarily fallen after *Rome*, it was absolutely requisite for the king of *Syracuse* to hazard every thing, and either save *Rome* or fall with her.

NEITHER did king *Hiero*'s generosity extend to the *Romans* alone ; *Polybius* informs us, that he sent an hundred talents to the *Rhodians*, with other rich presents, after the great earthquake, which laid waste their island, and threw down the famous colossus. He moreover caused two statues to be erected in the market-place at *Rhodes*, representing the people of *Syracuse* placing a crown on the head of the *Rhodians*, as if, says our historian, *Hiero*, after having made the people magnificent presents, believed himself indebted to them. So great was the modesty with which his presents were always attended c.

HOWEVER, there is a pastoral in *Theocritus* d bearing the name of *Hiero*, wherein that poet seems to reproach the king, as if he had not acknowledged in a handsome manner the verses made in his commendation. But the mean manner, in which he claims, as it were, a reward for his poetry, leaves room to conclude, that the imputation of avarice falls with more justice on the poet than the prince, whose generosity is extolled by all the historians who mention him.

THO' *Hiero* seemed entirely employed in maintaining the peace and tranquillity of his kingdom, yet he did not neglect matters relating to war, knowing, that the surest means to preserve the public quiet, was to hold himself always ready to make war upon such as should attempt to disturb it. To him *Syracuse* was indebted for those amazing machines of war, which the *Syracusians* made use of when besieged by the *Romans*, as we shall see anon. The public buildings, such as palaces, temples, arsenals, &c. which were erected in *Syracuse* by his order, and under the direction of *Archimedes*, were the greatest ornaments of that stately metropolis. He caused also an infinite number of ships to be built for the exportation of corn, in which the whole riches of the island consisted. We are told of a galley built by his order, which was looked upon as one of the wonders of that age. *Archimedes*, who was the overseer of the work, spent a whole year in finishing it ; *Hiero* daily animating the workmen with his presence. This ship had twenty benches of oars, three spacious apartments, and all the conveniencies of a large palace. The floors of the middle apartment were all inlaid, and represented in various colours the stories of *Homer*'s *Iliad*. The ceilings, windows, and all other parts were finished with

c POLYB I v.

d Theocrit. Idyll. 14.

l i 2

voud. 11

wonderful art, and embellished with all kinds of ornaments. In the uppermost apartment there was a spacious gymnasium, or place of exercise, and walks with gardens and plants of all kinds disposed in wonderful order. Pipes, some of hardened clay, and others of lead, conveyed water all around to refresh them. But the finest of the apartments was that of *Venus*, the floors being inlaid with agates and other precious stones, the inside lined with *Cyprus* wood, the windows adorned with ivory, paintings, and small statues. In this apartment there was a library, and a bath with three great coppers, and a bathing vessel made of one single stone of various colours, and containing two hundred and fifty quarts. It was supplied with water from a great reservoir at the head of the ship, which held an hundred thousand quarts. The vessel was adorned on all sides with fine paintings, and had eight towers of equal dimensions, two at the head, two at the stern, and four in the middle. Round these towers were parapets, whence stones might be discharged against the enemy's vessels when they approached. Each tower was constantly guarded by four young men compleatly armed, and two archers. To the side of the vessel was fastened an engine made by *Archimedes*, which threw a stone of three hundred weight, and an arrow of eighteen feet, the distance of a stadium, or an hundred and twenty five paces. Though the hold of this vessel was exceeding deep, a single man could soon clear it of water with a machine invented for that purpose by *Archimedes*. An *Athenian* poet having composed some verses on this magnificent vessel, *Hiero*, who understood the value of verse, rewarded him with a thousand medimni, that is, six thousand bushels of wheat, which he caused to be carried to the *Pyræus* or port of *Athens*. *Hiero* made afterwards a present of this great vessel to *Ptolemy*, probably *Philadelphus*, king of *Egypt*, and sent it to *Alexandria*. As there was at that time a great famine in *Egypt*, good king *Hiero* sent along with it several other ships of less burden, with three hundred thousand quarters of corn, ten thousand great earthen jars of salt fish, twenty thousand quintals of salt meat, and an immense quantity of other provisions^c.

Hiero's fidelity to the *Romans* was put to a severe trial after the battle of *Cannæ*, which was followed by an universal defection of their allies. The *Carthaginians*, having landed a great many troops in *Sicily*, made a dreadful havock in the territories of *Syracuse*. But nothing could shake the king's constancy. He was only concerned to see some, even of his own family, favour the *Carthaginians*. He had a son named

^c ATHENÆUS. l. v.

Gelon, who married *Nercis* the daughter of *Pyrrhus*, and had by her several children, and amongst others *Hieronimus*, of whom we shall soon have occasion to speak. *Gelon*, despising his father's wholesome advice, and looking upon the *Romans* as already subdued by *Hannibal*, openly declared for the *Carthaginians*. He had already armed the multitude, and stirred up the allies of *Syracuse* to join him; but his measures were broken by a sudden and unexpected death, which happened so seasonably, that his father was suspected to have been privy to it. *Hiero* did not survive his son long. After he had continued faithful to the *Romans* for fifty years together, he died in the ninetieth year of his age, and fifty-fourth of his reign, infinitely regretted by his subjects, and no less by the *Romans*, who lost in him the most constant friend they had ever had. Hiero dies.

THERE was none to whom *Hiero* could leave his crown, except *Hieronimus* the son of *Gelon*, on whom he could not depend as to his conduct, the young prince being but fifteen years old at his grandfather's death. The good old king therefore, who had more at heart the happiness of his people, than the aggrandizing of his family, had formed a design of abolishing monarchy, and restoring the *Syracusians* to their antient liberty. He had two daughters, both married to the greatest lords of the kingdom, *Demarata* the elder to *Andranodorus*, and *Heraclea* to *Zoippus*, a man of a quiet disposition, and who had served *Hiero* with great fidelity, but was in his heart a zealous republican. Wherefore his wife *Heraclea*, whom he suffered to go but very seldom to court, never attempted to divert her father from reinstating the *Syracusians* in their antient rights. But her sister, at the instigation of her ambitious husband, used her utmost endeavours to engage *Hiero* not to deprive his grandson of a crown which was due to him by right of inheritance. The private views of *Demarata* and her husband were to govern the kingdom, during the minority of *Hieronimus*, and to wait for a favourable opportunity of placing the crown upon their own heads. It was not easy for an old man of ninety to hold out against the caresses, tears, and intreaties of a daughter, who besieged him day and night. So that he at last gave way to the repeated instances of an ambitious woman, made a will, and bequeathed the crown to his grandson. To prevent as far as possible the evils he apprehended, he appointed him fifteen guardians, who were to form his council, earnestly desiring them at his

Year of
the Flood,
2754.
Before
Christ,
215.



death never to depart from the alliance with the *Romans*; to which he had inviolably adhered for fifty years, to teach the young prince to abstain from pomp and ostentation, and to instil into his mind the same principles by which he had acted during his whole reign.

Hieronymus.

Hiero's eyes were no-sooner closed, but the guardians, summoning the people, read the king's will in the assembly. As the tastes of the *Syracusians* and their views were different, so were their opinions with relation to the things established by the king. Some did not like the monarchical government; others took umbrage at the crown's being settled in one family; the greatest part were dissatisfied at the perpetual alliance to be made with *Rome* already half subdued by *Hannibal*. In short, the will was liked only by a very few, who were gained over by the court, and artfully placed in several parts of the assembly to shew their approbation of it by shouts and acclamations. However, none had courage enough to protest against it; and therefore the assembly broke up, without either openly contradicting or accepting the will. The king's obsequies were celebrated with great pomp by the citizens, to whom his memory was dearer than to his relations. A few days after, *Andranodorus*, thinking the young prince securely seated on the throne, because he saw no open opposition, began to take such measures as plainly discovered his intentions, and encreased the number of the enemies of the monarch and monarchy. *Hiero's* chief aim in appointing fifteen guardians was, to engage so many of the greatest lords in his dominions to be defenders of his crown and family. But *Andranodorus*, out of a selfish view, deprived *Hieronymus* of his chief support by removing all the other guardians, under pretence, that the king was of age to take the reins of government into his own hands. By this means that wicked minister, who had gained a great ascendant over the young prince, united in his own person all the power which had been divided among them. The best of princes, succeeding a king so greatly beloved by his subjects, would have found it very difficult to maintain himself in the throne. Whereas *Hieronymus*, under the direction of *Andranodorus*, became quite the reverse of his grandfather. He seemed to take pleasure in increasing the sorrow of the people for the loss of *Hiero*, and they, by comparing the vices of the successor with the virtues of his predecessor, began to conceive a great aversion to the new king. They no longer saw the throne filled with a prince, who was affected with all the misfortunes of his subjects, and gave the meanest of them a free access to him, being distinguished from the rest of the people, only by the

His vices and cruelty.

the

the great respect and veneration they all paid him. *Hieronymus* assumed the purple and diadem, and never appeared in public, but in a chariot drawn by white horses, and surrounded by a troop of guards. His whole conduct was suitable to this equipage. He was difficult of access, never gave audience but with an air of contempt, and often added severe jests to his denials. Even his guardians were with great difficulty suffered to approach him. He had no confidants, but the ministers of his pleasures, giving himself up to all manner of debauchery. His cruelty was no-ways inferior even to that of *Agathocles*, and seemed to have extinguished all sense of humanity in him. This raised an universal alarm both among the people and nobles, insomuch, that some of his guardians laid violent hands on themselves, to avoid seeing the vices of their ward, and others voluntarily withdrew from their country^s.

ONLY three men of distinction continued at court, *Andranodorus*, *Zoippus*, both *Hiero's* sons-in-law, and *Thraso*, surnamed *Charcarus*. The latter was a true courtier, that is a slavish flatterer, and a mere tool; but at the same time a cunning statesman, and one who indeed readily complied with all the inclinations of the prince, but understood better than any other his master's true interest. The king often took pleasure in engaging him in disputes with *Andranodorus* and *Zoippus* about state-affairs. *Thraso* was a zealous advocate for the *Romans*; but the two others, believing the *Romans* could never recover, after the dreadful overthrows they had received, openly declared for *Carthage*; and their speeches had most weight with the young prince. However, the reasons alledged by *Thraso* kept him in suspense, till a melancholy accident determined him to chuse the worst part. One, named *Solis*, a man of a mean condition, and who had served the king from his infancy in the lowest offices, discovered a conspiracy against the king, but could name none of the conspirators, except *Theodotus*, who was delivered up to *Andranodorus*, and tortured in order to make him discover the whole plot and the names of the conspirators. Being in the utmost agony he confessed the crime as to himself, but, instead of naming his accomplices, he accused all the king's best friends, though innocent, and amongst others *Thraso*, as the ringleader of the whole enterprize, adding, that they should never have engaged in it, if they had not been countenanced by one in favour with the king, and who had free access into the palace. His deposition was believed, and all

^s Liv. *ibid.*

the interest *Thraso* had at court could not save his life. As for *Theodotus*, he persisted to the last breath in accusing the innocent in order to save the guilty. And his accomplices depended so much on his secrecy, that none of them left the city, or absconded during the whole time he was kept in prison and racked ^h.

UPON the death of *Thraso*, who was the sole support of the *Roman* alliance, *Andranodorus* and *Zoippus* easily brought the king into their measures, who immediately dispatched ambassadors to the *Carthaginian* camp in *Italy*. *Hannibal* received them with great demonstrations of kindness, and sent an embassy to the young king of *Syracuse*, at the head of which he put a young officer of great distinction at *Carthage*, named also *Hannibal*, hoping that the conformity of age and inclinations would make him agreeable to *Hieronimus*. With him he sent two persons advanced in years, who were both great statesmen and experienced commanders; one was called *Hippocrates*, and the other *Epycides*; they were born at *Carthage*, but originally *Syracusians*, their grandfathers having been banished *Sicily*, in the time of the tyranny of *Agathocles*. *Claudius Pulcher*, the *Roman* prætor in *Sicily*, took umbrage at the arrival of these ambassadors, and immediately sent deputies to the court of *Syracuse* to renew the alliance made with king *Hiero*. But the *Carthaginians* having already had audience of *Hieronimus*, had given him such high notions of *Hannibal's* victories and reputation, that he had sent away young *Hannibal* to *Carthage* to prepare that senate for the receiving his ambassadors, when they should come to conclude a treaty of alliance with themⁱ.

Here receives
the Ro-
man am-
bassadors
with con-
tempt.

IN this situation of affairs, the envoys of the *Roman* prætor were not received at *Syracuse* with the respect due to their character. They began their speech with explaining the motives of their deputation. We are come, said they, to renew that alliance and good understanding, which the wise king *Hiero* maintained for so many years with *Rome*. But *Hieronimus*, who was naturally given to rallery, replied, I will ask you but one question: Who were conquerors at *Cannæ*, you or the *Carthaginians*? I am told such surprising things of that battle, that I should be glad to know all the particulars of it. This severe reproach put the *Romans* out of humour; however, they only made him this reply, that when he would please to be serious they would desire another audience. They accordingly had one some days after, and spoke to the king with as much haughtiness as if they

ⁱ Liv. l. 24. c. 5.

Liv. l. 24.

had been conquerors, advising him not to determine upon the choice of his allies from doubtful accounts, nor change sides too rashly, lest he should soon have occasion to repent of the measures he had taken. To this the king replied with an insulting air: Yes, indeed, I suppose it was out of pure friendship, that the *Romans*, upon a false report of my grandfather's death, brought their fleet in sight of *Syracuse*. Did they design to make themselves masters of my dominions, or to protect them? This reproach was wholly founded on an ill turn, which the enemies of *Rome* had given to a step of the *Romans*. A report being spread of king *Hiero's* death, the *Roman* fleet had advanced as far as cape *Pachynum* to assist the grandson of their faithful ally. But as soon as they understood that *Hiero* was still alive, the fleet returned to *Lilybæum*. Hence the friends of *Carthage* took occasion to persuade the king, that the design of the *Romans* was to seize on his dominions, and keep them for themselves. The ambassadors endeavoured to undeceive him, but he with an air of rally only replied; Since then you could tack about, give me leave in my turn to take advantage of the wind, from what point soever it blows: it is now set for *Carthage*, and I shall sail thither. Upon this the deputies withdrew without returning any answer, and informed the prætor, who had sent them, of all that had passed^k.

FROM this time *Rome* looked upon the king of *Syracuse* as her enemy. And truly that prince soon after the departure of the ambassadors sent three deputies to *Carthage*, to ratify the alliance he had made with *Hannibal*. The conditions of this treaty were; first, that the *Carthaginians* should send a fleet and a land-army to assist *Hieronimus*: Secondly, that after they had with their joint forces driven the *Romans* quite out of the island, they should divide it into two equal parts, the river *Himera* (Q) being the boundary of the *Syracusians* on one side, and of the *Carthaginians* on the other. Such a treaty could not meet with any difficulty from the senate of

Enters into an alliance with Carthage.

^k Liv. *ibid*.

(Q) There were two rivers in *Sicily* known by the name of *Himera*. The smaller fell into the *Tyrrhenian* sea, near the present city of *Termini*. The larger, after having watered the middle of the island, discharges itself into the *Libyan* sea. Both these rivers rise on mount *Nebroda*, now *Madonia*. *Solinus*, *Mela*, and some other geographers, make these two but one river, which afterwards divides itself into two branches (42).

(42) *Solin* c. 13 *Pompon. Mela*, l. 2. c. 3.

Carthage, since the whole end of it was first to draw off *Hieronymus* from his alliance with the *Romans*, and then to sacrifice him to their ambition. *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes* were sensible of this, and therefore, as they had more at heart the interest of *Syracuse* than that of *Carthage*, they opened the young prince's eyes, and gave him to understand how prejudicial the second article might prove to him. Your right to all *Sicily*, said they, is indisputable. You are the son of *Nercis*, the daughter of *Pyrrhus*; and who does not know that *Pyrrhus* was, by the unanimous consent of all the *Sicilians*, declared king of the whole island? Though this discourse was no-ways conclusive, yet the young prince's eyes being easily dazzled with discoveries that favoured his ambition, he immediately dispatched a new embassy to *Carthage*. The former proposals he had made were just upon the point of being signed, and the *Carthaginians* were not a little surprised to see the king change his mind. The ambassadors after a long preamble, wherein they endeavoured to prove their master's right to all *Sicily*, and to shew that he could not divide it without wronging himself, confined the alliance with *Carthage* to mutual assistance. The king of *Syracuse*, said they, will assist *Hannibal* in *Italy*, and *Carthage* shall assist him in *Sicily*. As it was of the utmost importance for *Carthage* to separate *Syracuse* from the *Romans*, and to recover a footing in *Sicily*, the senate consented to the new proposals of *Hieronymus*, and began to raise an army and equip a fleet to be sent into that island. Half *Sicily* was at that time in the hands of the *Romans*, and had been a *Roman* province ever since the treaty, which put an end to the first *Punic* war; for by that treaty the island was divided into two parts; the one was possessed by the *Romans*, and the other by *Hiero*; so that at this time the *Romans* were in a condition to give *Hieronymus* great trouble. However, they could make no impression on the king, who returned them only this unpolite and provoking answer, Let the *Romans* restore all the gold, presents and corn that they drew from my grandfather, and consent, that the river *Iimera* be the common boundary between us, and I will renew the antient treaties with them¹.

THE *Roman* prætor, being exasperated at these proceedings, took the field, and began hostilities in the territory of *Syracuse*, before the arrival of the *Carthaginians* in *Sicily*. On the other hand, *Hieronymus*, leading his troops to *Leontini* on the confines of his dominions, fixed his residence there. His

¹ LIV. l. 24. c. 6.

army amounted in all to about fifteen thousand men, of which he detached two thousand under the command of *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes* to dislodge some *Roman* garisons from the posts they possessed.

IN the mean time the conspirators, whose names *Theodo-* Hierony-
tus had concealed even in the midst of torments, after hav- mus mur-
 ing long watched an opportunity of putting their design in dered.
 execution, at last appointed a day for the dispatching of a tyrant, whose cruelties and other vices they could no longer bear. They posted themselves in a narrow street, through which the king, during his residence at *Leontini*, used to ride every day on his return from the forum to the palace. His guards always attended him, but one of them, by name *Dinomanes*, was in the number of the conspirators, and agreed with the rest to make the guards halt, and by that means give them an opportunity of falling upon the king, while he was at some distance from his attendants. Accordingly *Dinomanes*, who was at the head of the guards, stopped as it were to tie the strings of his buskins; upon this signal the conspirators, rushing out of their ambush, stabbed the king in several places before he could receive any assistance. For *Dinomanes*, facing about upon his fellow-soldiers, stood their onset, and, though dangerously wounded, did not retire till the king was dead. When the guards saw the prince wallowing in his blood, and the conspirators advancing to attack them, they betook themselves to flight. When the king's death was known in the army, which was encamped under the walls of *Leontini*, the soldiers cried out, that the conspirators ought to be all sacrificed to the manes of *Hieronymus*. But the sweet name of liberty, with which the conspirators filled the city and camp, soon appeased their resentment. Hopes were also given them, that the king's treasures should be divided among them, and that they should soon be headed by more able generals, than the late unexperienced young prince. They were also put in mind of the public crimes and private vices of the late king, which, being artfully represented and in the worst light, filled them with such horror that they left the dead body to rot in the public street. A remarkable instance of the little dependence that is to be had on the zeal of an inconstant multitude^m.

THE king was no sooner dead, but *Sosis* and *Theodotus*, two of the conspirators, hastened to *Syracuse* to prevent the attempts of *Andranodorus*, and the others of the king's faction. But notwithstanding their diligence, *Andranodorus* had

^m Liv. *ibid*.

notice of what had happened before their arrival, and taken his precautions accordingly. He had already seized on the citadel and the island of *Ortygia*, and filled them with troops and officers in whom he could confide. Some writers are of opinion, that the *Roman* prætor *Claudius* was not entirely unconcerned in a plot, which was so useful to his republic. But, however that be, he did not fail to give the senate immediate advice of all that had passed, and to take the necessary steps for the preserving of that part of *Sicily*, which belonged to the *Romans* ^a.

Disturbances in Syracuse.

WHILE *Andranodorus*, supported by the king's faction, was fortifying himself in *Ortygia*, *Sosis* and *Theodotus* entered that quarter of *Syracuse* called *Tyche*. The sun was set before they reached the city, but still there was light enough to see the king's diadem and bloody robes, which the conspirators carried in their hands, and shewed to the people. This sight drew crowds of the inhabitants round them, whom they invited into *Acradina*, which was as it were the heart of the city, to take there proper measures for the recovery of their liberty. Hereupon all the city sided with the conspirators; lights were seen in all parts; some took to their arms, and those who had none in their houses, ran to the temple of *Jupiter Olympius*, where the arms of the *Gauls* and *Illyrians* were hung up, which the *Romans* had presented to their good ally king *Hiero*. Such citizens as were armed posted themselves in all the avenues leading to the citadel, and there kept guard all night. *Andranodorus* attempted to possess himself of the public granaries, but the soldiers, whom he employed on this occasion, revolted from him, and delivered them up to the magistrates of the city. In this manner the first night was spent after the murder of *Hieronimus* ^b.

THE next morning, as soon as it was light, all the inhabitants of *Syracuse*, some armed and some unarmed, crowded into *Acradina*, where the senate was assembled, which had not been convened, nor consulted upon any affair since *Hiero*'s death. *Polyærnus*, an illustrious citizen, spoke to the people with great freedom and moderation: “ *Syracusians*,
 “ said he, I am not at all surprisèd to see you up in arms, in
 “ order to recover your antient liberty. The sense you have
 “ of your past slavery, and the calamities you have suffered
 “ under a tyrannical government, have inspired you with
 “ this generous resolution. But, after all, you have heard
 “ from your fathers, that civil discord is likewise attended
 “ with great evils, and that *Syracuse* has suffered more from

^a LIV. *ibid.* c. 23.

^b LIV. *ibid.* c. 24.

“ domestic

“ domestic than foreign wars. I commend your readiness in
 “ taking arms, but should think you still more worthy of
 “ commendation, if you only used them in the last extremi-
 “ ty. It is my opinion, that you send deputies to *Andranodorus*,
 “ and that you first try by gentle methods, whether
 “ you can prevail upon him to open the gates of the citadel,
 “ to put the island into the hands of the magistrates, and to
 “ withdraw his garisons. If he submits, violence is useless;
 “ but if he persists in maintaining himself upon a throne, to
 “ which he has no right, his crime is greater than that of
 “ *Hieronimus*, and deserves a more severe punishment.”

This discourse had the desired effect; deputies were sent to *Andranodorus*, who entered into a conference with them. He was sensible, that it would be very difficult for him to maintain himself in his usurpation against the unanimous consent of the people. *Ortygia* was already partly possessed by the citizens, and the public granaries, on which he had depended, were in the power of the magistrates. These considerations gave him just apprehensions; but his wife *Demarata*, *Hiero*'s daughter, a haughty and ambitious woman, taking him aside, put him in mind of the famous saying of *Dionysius* the tyrant, that no man ought to quit a throne till he is dragged from it by the heels; she advised him to demand time to consider, and, in the interim, to bring the troops from *Leontini*, and endeavour to gain them, by promising them half the king's treasures^p.

Andranadorus did not entirely reject this counsel, nor think proper to give into it without reserve. He chose a mean between both, and resolved to submit to the senate, in expectation of a more favourable opportunity to bring his designs to bear. He therefore answered the deputies, that he would open the gates of *Ortygia* the next day, come into *Acradina*, and give the assembly an account of his conduct. Accordingly he threw open the gates the next morning, and repairing to the market-place of *Acradina*, where the people were assembled, he mounted the tribunal of harangues, and, after excusing his delay, from the apprehensions he had been under of being involved in the tyrant's punishment, he declared, that he was come to put his life and fortune into the hands of the senate. Then, turning to *Sosis* and *Theodotus*, As for you, said he, illustrious avengers of the public wrongs, do not imagine that the glorious work of establishing your liberty is yet accomplished. What you have done hitherto is but a sketch of what ought to follow. An unrestrained populace

^p Liv. *ibid.*

Andranodorus submits to the senate. is as dangerous in a republic as a persecuting tyrant. *Andranodorus*, having spoke these words, laid down the keys of *Ortygia*, and of the king's treasures, at the feet of the two chiefs of the conspiracy. The whole city was highly rejoiced on this occasion, and the rest of the day spent in feasting, and returning thanks to the gods for so happy a change.

THE next day the people assembled to elect the chief magistrates to govern the state, when *Andranodorus* was one of the first chosen, and with him the chief conspirators, among the rest *Sospater* and *Dinomanes*, though then at *Leontini*. They had there seized on the money, which *Hieronymus* had with him to pay the troops, and had caused it to be removed to *Syracuse*, where treasurers were chosen to take care of all the effects of the late king. And, lastly, as a sign of their having entirely recovered their liberty, they caused the wall to be beat down between *Acradina* and the island *Ortygia*, which was the retreat of the kings.

IN the mean time *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, *Hannibal's* two agents, whom *Hieronymus* had placed at the head of his troops, endeavoured to conceal the king's death from them, and caused those to be assassinated who first spread the report of it in the camp. But all was to no purpose; they were abandoned by the greater part of the troops, and obliged to quit the field and repair to *Syracuse*, in order to carry on there the same negotiations with the republic, which they had begun with the king. But finding that the change of government had changed the dispositions of the *Syracusians*, when they were introduced into the senate, they spoke thus: We came into *Sicily* being sent by *Hannibal* as ambassadors to *Hieronymus* his friend and ally. We have only obeyed the commands of our general, and if our abode in the island gives you any umbrage, allow us at least a free passage to our army. *Locri* is the place where we desire to be set ashore in *Italy*; both sea and land are infested by the *Romans*, we beg therefore you would give us a guard to escort us to that port. The *Syracusians* were not sorry to part with those two strangers, who were of a turbulent and factious disposition, and well experienced in military affairs. But as the senate was too dilatory in appointing the time for their departure and the guards to escort them, they found means to form a party against the senate of *Syracuse* and against *Rome*. They had commanded the king's forces, and therefore being well known to the soldiers, they assembled as many of them as they could in their lodgings, and by seditious speeches stirred them up to rebellion, telling them, that the senate designed to deliver up the state to the *Romans*, and sacrifice the public good to their private ambition.

A plot formed by Hippocrates and Epicides.

bition. *Andranodorus* was not a stranger to these plots, but favoured them underhand, in hopes of turning them to his own advantage. The seditious *Demarata* was continually spiring him up to re-establish monarchy and place himself on the throne. The time is come, said she, for placing *Hiero's* daughter on the throne of her father. All is quiet in *Syracuse*, but the republic not yet well settled, the soldiers, who are used to receive the king's pay, are not yet dispersed, nor have they imbibed the republican spirit; two great generals, disciples of *Hannibal* in the art of war, are ready to lend us their assistance; they are acquainted with the troops, and esteemed by them: Let us then seize this happy moment, and not delay, till *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes* are forced from *Syracuse*, and we deprived of their concurrence⁹.

THIS discourse of *Demarata* made no small impression on *Andranodorus*; however, he did not think fit to embark in so dangerous an enterprize, till he had communicated his design to *Themistus*. This nobleman had married *Harmania* the late king's sister, and therefore shewed a great readiness to enter into the plot, being well apprized, that, if the republican state were restored, he should be reduced to a private station. Thus the design for usurping the throne was formed, and measures taken for the putting it in execution; but an indiscreet confidence disconcerted the whole. *Themistus* was very intimate with one *Aristo*, a man of no mean birth, but by profession an actor, which was not deemed dishonourable among the *Greeks*, men of distinction appearing sometimes on the stage, and acting parts in tragedies. As soon as *Aristo* was informed by his friend, that the conspirators had resolved to put the magistrates to death, and re-establish the monarchy he thought it his duty to prefer the interest of his country to the laws of friendship; and accordingly discovered the conspiracy to the chief magistrates or prætors, by whom, after he had been examined, sentence of death was privately passed upon *Andranodorus* and *Themistus* upon his deposition alone; for *Aristo* was known to be a man of great honour and probity. The sentence was to be executed at the door of the senate-house, when these two chief conspirators should come to the senate, and guards were placed at the entrance with private orders, to kill them as soon as they appeared. The guards, pursuant to their orders, fell upon them as they were entering the senate, and the two conspirators fell down dead on the spot covered with many wounds. Their death struck the rest of the senators with terror, for they were quite stran-

⁹ LIV. l. xxiv. c. 23.

gers to the motives of that execution ; but the prætors, when the tumult was quelled, introduced *Aristo*, who unriddled the whole secret to them, lamented the unhappy fate of his friend *Themistus*, and discovered the designs of the conspirators. He told them, that the *Iberian* and *African* mercenaries, whom *Hieronymus* had kept in his pay, were to have been the instruments of this new revolution, and to have been employed in cutting off the chief citizens of *Syracuse* ; that their estates were to have been the rewards of the assassins, and that the due preparations were made for the seizing of *Ortygia* again in the name of *Andranodorus*. He then entered into a detail of all the circumstances of the conspiracy, and named the persons, who were to have executed each particular part of that black design. As his evidence carried with it all the appearance of truth and sincerity, the senate passed a decree, declaring that the death of *Andranodorus* was as just as that of *Hieronymus*.

IN the mean time, the populace, not knowing for what reason two citizens of distinction had been so unexpectedly put to death, threatened to revenge the violence offered them. But the sight of the dead bodies of the two conspirators, which were dragged out into the porch, appeased the tumult, and then *Sopater*, appointed by the senate to harangue the people, informed them of their pernicious designs, ascribing all the misfortunes of *Sicily* to them, and not to *Hieronymus*, who, being only a youth, had been led astray, by their wicked counsels. He insinuated, that the king's guardians and tutors had reigned in his name ; that they ought to have been exterminated with the tyrant ; that impunity had encouraged them to commit new crimes, and even to aspire to the tyranny ; that not being able to succeed in their design by force, they had made use of dissimulation and perfidy ; that neither favours nor honours could get the better of the wicked disposition of *Andranodorus*, whom they had raised to the highest dignities with the deliverers of their country ; that as to *Themistus*, he had been inspired, as well as his accomplice, with the ambition of reigning by his wife. These furies are the occasion of all our misfortunes, said *Sopater* ; these

Sentence of death passed on all the royal family, and cruelly put in execution.

the first authors of the present conspiracy. At these words, the whole assembly cried out, that none of them ought to be suffered to live, and that it was necessary to root out entirely the race of the tyrants, without any reserve or exception[†]. This cruel sentence was no sooner passed by the people, but the prætors, who ought to have checked the fury of the mul-

[†] Liv. *ibid.* c. 24, 25.

titude, ordered it to be put in execution. *Demarata Hiero's* daughter, and *Harmonia Gelon's* daughter, the former married to *Andranodorus*, and the latter to *Themistus*, were killed first. The executioners went afterwards to the house of *Heraclea*, the wife of *Zoippus*. That virtuous princess was the only person of the royal family, who was not concerned in the conspiracy. Her husband, having been sent on an embassy to *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*, he remained at *Alexandria* to avoid seeing the vices and ill conduct of *Hieronimus*. During his abode there, *Heraclea*, whom he had inspired with noble sentiments, spent her days in retirement, wholly employed in the education of the two young princesses her daughters. When she heard that the executioners, after having murdered her sister and niece, were come to her, she took refuge with her two daughters in the most remote part of her house, where she worshipped her gods. But the murderers found her out, and *Heraclea*, seeing those who were to embroil their hands in her blood, went to meet them, and with her hair dishevelled, her face bathed in tears, and, in a condition most proper to move compassion, conjured them in the name of *Hiero* her father, not to involve an innocent woman in the guilt of *Hieronimus*; she represented to them, that the king, whom they had so much reason to hate, had done nothing for her but increase her affliction, by separating her husband from her; that not having any share in the designs of her sister and niece, she ought to have none in their punishment; that her husband had always declared for a republican state, and would return with joy to *Syracuse*, if he knew of the death of *Hieronimus*, and the present revolution. But alas! said she, how will his hopes be disappointed? he will find his zeal for his country rewarded with the murder of his wife and children. Tell me, at least, what my crime is. What have you to fear from me in the forlorn condition to which I am reduced, or from my daughters, unhappy orphans, without credit or support? We are indeed of the blood-royal, and if that gives you umbrage, banish us. At *Alexandria* I shall find a kind husband, and my daughters a tender father^c.

HER speech made no impression on the minds of the executioners; they drew their swords to sacrifice those innocent victims, and then *Heraclea*, forgetting her own danger, interceded only for her daughters; but her intreaties and tears were to no purpose; they first stabbed her in the sight of her daughters, and then with innumerable wounds dispatched them already stained and covered with the blood of their mo-

^c LIV. *ibid.* c. 26.

Epicydes
and Hippocrates
elected
prætors.

ther. They were scarce dead when an order came from the people to suspend the execution ; but when they understood that the innocent princesses were already executed, they exclaimed with the utmost rage and fury against the magistrates, who had been so ready to put that cruel sentence in execution, without allowing them time to reflect on the injustice of it. The death of *Andranodorus* and *Themistus* had occasioned two vacancies in the college of prætors, and the people took hold of this pretence to come to a new election. The day was fixed for the assembly, and all the *Syracusians* met in the public market-place to give their suffrages. Compassion for the unfortunate *Heraclea* had greatly abated the hatred of the people to the king's party ; insomuch, that *Hannibal's* ambassadors, who had always been zealous for the late king, did not despair of being elected. They were originally *Syracusians*, highly esteemed by the soldiery, and besides had gained over to their interest such among the people, as were most touched with compassion for the death of *Heraclea* and her daughters. They had also the address to place some among the crowd, whom they had hired to act and speak in their favour ; and these, when the people came to vote, cried out, some *Epicydes*, and others *Hippocrates*, whose names being repeated in several places, the assembly took these scattered votes for the unanimous consent of the multitude. The prætors indeed were for bringing the cause before the senate, but were prevented by the clamours of the people ; so that *Epicydes* and *Hippocrates* were declared duly elected.

Hannibal was at the bottom of all these disturbances, and had good grounds to hope that they would both secure his conquests in *Italy*, and give *Carthage* an opportunity of recovering her antient dominions in *Sicily*, where *Rome* would find it more difficult to maintain a war, than in her own neighbourhood. The *Romans*, who had been put in possession of the greatest part of this island at the end of the first *Punic* war, had divided their dominions there into two provinces, under the government of two prætors. *Appius Claudius* ruled in that which bordered on the territories of *Syracuse* ; and *Cornelius Lentulus*, at the head of two legions, commanded in the province which was nearest to *Lilybæum*. Besides, *Otacilius* was cruising on the coast with a fleet of an hundred sail, and ready to act according to the resolutions that should be taken at *Syracuse*. However, the forces of the two prætors were not thought sufficient by the senate of *Rome* to make head against the *Syracusians*, when supported by the numberless troops which in all likelihood would be sent into
the

the island from all parts of *Africa*. It was therefore resolved, that *Marcellus* should transport the army he commanded at *Nola* into *Sicily*, and assist *Claudius* and *Lentulus*. As *Hannibal* was no longer so formidable as he had been, *Marcellus*, though just recovered from a fit of sickness, set out for *Sicily* on the first orders, leaving *Fabius* to keep the *Carthaginians* in awe on the continent. The greatest part of the *Syracusan* prætors were still inclined to keep up a good understanding with *Rome*, and had sent deputies to *Claudius* to renew the ancient treaties, which had been violated by *Hieronimus*. But *Claudius*, who knew that the consul *Marcellus* would soon arrive in *Sicily*, came to no conclusion with them, referring the whole matter to the consul; who, upon his arrival having heard their proposals, and finding them advantageous to his republic, dispatched an embassy to *Syracuse* to confirm the treaty. But the ambassadors found the state of affairs much altered. A report had been industriously spread by the emissaries of *Hannibal*, that a *Carthaginian* fleet appeared off cape *Pachynum*, and this report gave new confidence to the enemies of *Rome*. Besides, *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes* left no stone unturned to inspire the populace with an aversion to the *Romans*. By means of the mercenaries and *Roman* deserters they spread a report, that *Syracuse* was to be delivered up to the *Romans*, and that this design was carrying on by the prætors, who had sold themselves to *Rome*. These suspicions were confirmed by the approach of some ships of *Otacilius*, which *Appius* had ordered to draw near to *Syracuse*, to encourage the party in the *Roman* interest. Nay, the populace, at the instigation of *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes*, had already taken up arms, to oppose the pretended descent of the *Romans*.*

Apollonides exhorts the Syracusians to join the Romans.

IN this confusion the wisest among the prætors thought proper to summon an assembly of the people. Hot debates arose, and there being reason to fear some sedition, *Apollonides*, one of the principal senators, made a discourse very suitable to the occasion. He represented, that never city was nearer its destruction or preservation than *Syracuse* was at that time; that if they unanimously joined either the *Carthaginians* or *Romans*, they might escape the dangers that threatened them; but if they were divided, the war would not be more cruel and bloody between the *Carthaginians* and *Romans*, than between *Syracusians* and *Syracusians*, as having different troops and commanders within the narrow compass of their own walls; that it was therefore absolutely necessary in the first place to agree among themselves, and then to consider

* LIV. *ibid.* c. 27.

L. 1 2

which

which of the two alliances was to be preferred, since they could not possibly stand neuter, while the two rivals were making war under the very walls of *Syracuse*. As for me, said *Apollonides*, if I may be allowed to declare my private opinion, the love I bear my country inclines me to the *Romans*, who have shewed us a steady friendship, and protected us for fifty years together. *Hiero* sided with the *Romans*, and how happy were we during the whole time of his long reign? *Hieronymus* entered into an alliance with *Hannibal*, and hence his untimely end, and our present disturbances. In what then have the *Carthaginians* deserved the preference? He added to this one very material consideration, which was, that if they declared against the *Romans*, they would have the war immediately upon their hands; whereas on the side of *Carthage* the danger was more remote. This discourse made no small impression on the minds of the people, who ordered, that a certain number of military officers should be joined in commission with the prætors and the chief men in the senate to deliberate on the matter. Accordingly the council was held, and after long and warm debates, it appeared, that *Syracuse* had no just cause to break with *Rome*. So that it was declared, that the treaty of peace concluded with the *Romans* should be continued, and an embassy sent to *Marcellus* to renew it. But the consul would not accept of the alliance, unless *Leontini* and the other cities, which had been subject to the kings, were included in the treaty. *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes* were overjoyed to hear that the signing of the treaty was put off, being resolved to imbroider matters, and create a misunderstanding between *Rome* and *Syracuse* on the first opportunity; and one offered in a few days. The *Leontines*, being harassed by their neighbours, sent to demand aid of the *Syracusians*, who willingly granted them their request, thinking this a favourable opportunity to discharge their city of a turbulent unruly multitude, and to remove their no less dangerous leaders. *Hippocrates* was therefore charged to march at the head of the mercenaries and *Roman* deserters, to the number of four thousand men, into the territory of *Leontini*, and cover their borders against the incursions of their troublesome neighbours. *Hippocrates* was not at all displeased with this new commission; he immediately left *Syracuse*, and, not content to defend the *Leontines*, and ravage the territories of their enemies, made incursions into the *Roman* province, and laid waste the lands belonging to *Rome*, which bordered on the country of the *Leontines*. In this he acted contrary to the orders he had received; but his only view was to provoke the *Romans*, and oblige them to

Hostilities
committed
against the
Romans
by Hippo-
crates.

COULDI

commit hostilities in the territories of *Syracuse*, where he succeeded; for *Appius Claudius*, who was then the *Roman* prætor in that part of *Sicily*, not being able to bear the insults of *Hippocrates*, marched his troops to the frontiers of his province, and there posted them in different places, with orders to oppose the *Syracusan* prætor, and repel force by force. This was what *Hippocrates* wanted, and accordingly, pretending that the *Romans* were come to attack him, he fell upon one of *Appius's* detachments, and cut the whole body in pieces. *Marcellus*, upon advice of these proceedings, sent deputies to *Syracuse*, enjoining them to declare before the senate and people, that no alliance was to be expected with *Rome*, so long as these two enemies to the *Roman* name continued in *Sicily*, and therefore to insist upon their being banished the island. The *Syracusians* shewed a great readiness to comply with the consul's request, and orders were given for the apprehending of *Epicydes*, *Hippocrates* being at that time in the territory of the *Leontines* at the head of an army. But *Epicydes*, having timely notice of the design of the *Syracusians*, made his escape, and took sanctuary in *Leontini*, where he hoped to create new troubles. He was there received by his colleague, and both together used their utmost endeavours to imbroid the *Leontines* with the *Syracusians*, by stirring them up to resume their antient liberty. The city of *Leontini* had been always subject to *Hiero* and *Hieronimus*; but in more antient times an independent state, and was now inclined to throw off the yoke, and recover its antient rights and privileges. This disposition of the people *Epicydes* made use of to attach them to his interest, openly declaring, that neither he, nor his colleague *Hippocrates*, would ever abandon them, till they were as free as *Syracuse* herself. What, said he, shall *Leontini* be in a worse condition than *Syracuse*? Shall that imperious city shake off the yoke of her kings, and at the same time keep you in slavery? That liberty, which *Syracuse* is so proud of, took birth within your walls. The blood of *Hieronimus* was shed here; the cry of liberty was first heard among you. What then prevents you from procuring that freedom for yourselves, which *Syracuse* found in your city? *Hippocrates* and I will assist you to the utmost of our power, and promise you, in the name of our republic, and in that of the great *Hannibal*, that you shall be soon in a condition to act as independently of *Syracuse*, as that city has done of you. The name of liberty was so agreeable to the *Leontines*, that with one consent they declared *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes* their generals, protesting, that whatever measures *Syracuse* might take, they

Hippocrates and Epicydes elected generals of the Leontines.

would enter into none, but such as were approved of by their new commanders. Hence, when the *Syracusians* sent to complain of the hostilities committed against the *Romans*, and to demand, that *Epicydes* and *Hippocrates* should be expelled *Sicily*, neither their complaints nor demands were heard. They received only this proud answer, that the republic of *Leontini* had not empowered that of *Syracuse* to comprehend her in their alliance with the *Romans*^u.

Leontini
taken by
Marcellus.

THE *Syracusan* deputies informed the consul of the revolt of the *Leontines*, and not only left him at liberty to declare war against them without any infraction of the treaty made with their republic, but even offered to assist him in so just a war, on condition, that the *Leontines*, when subdued, should again be subject to the *Syracusians* their antient masters. *Marcellus* immediately took upon him the command of the troops which served under *Appius* the prætor, whom he appointed his lieutenant, and marched against the city of *Leontini*. The legionaries were so enraged at the remembrance of the unexpected massacre of their companions by *Hippocrates*, that they took the place at the first assault. *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes* had time to save themselves in the citadel, whence they withdrew the night following, and retired to *Erbessus* or *Herbessus* on the river *Anapus*, near the frontiers of the *Syracusan* territories. In their retreat they were informed, that a body of eight thousand men was marching from *Syracuse* under the command of *Sosis* and *Dinomenes* to join *Marcellus*. Whereupon the two cunning partizans of *Hannibal* hired men of their faction to meet those two commanders on the road, and to pretend, that they had escaped from the general slaughter at *Leontini*, where the *Romans* had put all the inhabitants to death, and burnt the city to the ground. *Marcellus* indeed had caused all the *Roman* deserters found in the place, to the number of two thousand, to be beheaded; but had treated both the inhabitants and the mercenary troops with his usual clemency; nay, he was busy at that very time in restoring the inhabitants their goods; and scarce any thing had been taken out of their houses but what the soldiers had seized in their first fury. However, this false report made such an impression on the soldiers, that their officers could not prevail upon them to march any farther, but were forced to lead them to *Megara*, a city in that neighbourhood. There they had a more certain account of what had passed at *Leontini*, and having discovered the cheat *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes* had put upon them, they resolved

^u LIV. l. xxiv. c. 30. PLUT. in Marcell.

to be revenged, and pursued them to *Erbessus*. The two chiefs of the *Carthaginian* party, hearing that the *Syracusians* were on full march to *Erbessus*, and dreading the resentment of the two commanders, whom they had exasperated with the false reports which had caused a tumult in the army, took this desperate step. Remembering that they had formerly acquired great reputation among the *Syracusan* troops, that had served under them in the time of *Hieronimus*, and consisted chiefly of foreigners and mercenaries, they resolved to leave their asylum, meet the army, and throw themselves upon the mercy of the soldiers. It happened luckily for them, that a body of *Cretans*, who were greatly addicted to the *Carthaginians*, were marching at the head of the *Syracusan* army. These *Cretans* had formerly served the *Romans* as auxiliaries ; but being taken prisoners at the battle of *Thrasymenus*, had been kindly treated by *Hannibal*, and sent home without ransom. To them therefore *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes* addressed themselves as suppliants, and presenting them with olive-branches, which were the symbols of peace, *Cretans*, said they, we now expect you will shew us some marks of your friendship and gratitude, not suffering the *Syracusians* to give us up to the fury of the *Romans*. The *Cretans*, affected with their speech, immediately took them under their protection, and promised either to share their danger, or deliver them out of it. *Sosis* and *Dinomenes* ordered the two prisoners to be put in irons as enemies of the state, but the soldiers refused to obey their orders, protesting that they would stand by them to the last drop of their blood. So that the two generals were forced to let the criminals escape unpunished, and guard as well as they could against new intrigues. And now *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes*, seeing the disposition of the army, invented a stratagem worthy of *Hannibal* himself. They counterfeited a letter from the two generals to *Marcellus*, and hired a courier, who was to suffer himself to be taken in the road from *Megara* to *Syracuse*. The letter was couched in the following terms : *Sosis and Dinomenes to the consul Marcellus, greeting. We are overjoyed to hear that you have put all the Leontines to the sword, especially the mercenaries who were commanded by Hippocrates. Our republic will never be at rest while we have any of these foreigners amongst us. Turn then your arms towards Megara, and deliver Syracuse from the mercenaries we command.* It is easy to imagine what effect the reading of this letter must have had on the minds of the soldiers. They immediately cried, *to arms*, and would have fallen on their generals, if they had not saved themselves by flight to *Syracuse*, whither
the

the calumny followed them. For *Hippocrates* and *Epicyles*, having corrupted one of the soldiers who had been shut up in *Leontini*, sent him away to *Syracuse*, that he might appear there as an eye-witness of the pretended cruelties practised by *Marcellus* at the taking of the city. He exaggerated the inhumanity of the *Romans*, and declared that every thing had been destroyed by fire and sword. This report found credit not only among the common people, but even among some of the magistrates. The informer was brought into the senate, and being examined, his deposition raised a jealousy among the leading men of the republic, who thought it necessary to shut the gates of *Syracuse*, and guard the city against the *Romans*, as an enemy, whose avarice and cruelty would spare nothing. However, this falshood did not take with all; there were but few, besides the populace and soldiery, who gave into it; the rest were undeceived by *Sosis* and *Dinomenes* ^w.

Hippocra-
tes and E-
picydes
enter Sy-
racuse.

IN the mean time *Hippocrates* and *Epicyles*, taking advantage of the absence of *Sosis* and *Dinomenes*, made themselves masters of the army, and so incensed them against their generals, that they were for cutting in pieces the few *Syracusan* troops that served among them, as privy to their design of destroying all the foreigners. But the two *Carthaginians* stopped their fury, not so much out of compassion as policy. They were sensible, that the massacre of those innocent men would have provoked the citizens of *Syracuse* against them; whereas by protecting them they secured to themselves both their friendship and that of their relations. Having taken these precautions, they began their march to *Syracuse*, and finding the gates shut, they prevailed upon the officers of the guard to open one, declaring, that their only design was to defend the city against the *Romans*. Some part of the army was already entered, when the *Syracusan* prætors, hastening to the gate, commanded it to be shut. But the soldiers without and populace within conspiring together, the few *Syracusan* troops, that were then under arms, could not prevent the whole army from entering the city, and possessing themselves of the quarter called *Tyche*. The prætors, retired to *Acradina*, but as they had only a handful of young citizens to defend it, that post was soon forced, and all the prætors who were there massacred, except *Sosis*, who escaped in the tumult, and took sanctuary in the *Roman* camp. Thus the two partizans of *Carthage* became masters of *Syracuse*, and, having the people and troops at their devotion, ruled with as absolute and arbitrary a sway as any tyrants had done

^w Liv. *ibid.* c. 34. 35.

before them. And now, foreseeing that *Marcellus* would soon lay siege to the city, they neglected nothing that was necessary to put it in a posture of defence. They gave the slaves their liberty, and enrolled them in the troops. They set free all prisoners, assembled the people to elect new prætors, and prevailed upon the blind multitude to elect them only, which was confirming the sovereignty they had usurped.

Marcellus no sooner heard that *Epicydes* and *Hippocrates* were become masters of *Syracuse*, but he left *Leontini*, and, at the entreaties of the prætors, who had fled for refuge to his camp, came and invested the city. The *Roman* prætor *Appius* still endeavoured to bring about an accommodation, and with this view sent two gallies to *Syracuse*, with ambassadors to negotiate a reconciliation between the *Romans* and the citizens. But one of the gallies being by a violent storm driven into the port, the *Syracusians* seized it, and by that act of hostility declared war. The other galley, which had the ambassadors on board, returned without landing them, lest the law of nations should be violated in their persons. However, *Marcellus*, who was encamped near the temple of *Jupiter Olympius*, about a mile and a half from the city, in order to bring the *Syracusians* to reason, sent in a new embassy. But *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes*, hearing of their approach, went out to meet them with a numerous attendance, not caring they should come into the city. The *Roman*, who was at the head of the embassy, addressing the *Syracusians*, told them, that the *Roman* consul was not come as an enemy to deprive them of their liberty, but to rescue them from the oppression they groaned under, and to revenge the death of their murdered prætors; and that if they suffered their magistrates, who had sheltered themselves in the *Roman* camp, to return and live at home quietly, if they delivered up into the consul's hands the authors of the late slaughter, and restored the city of *Syracuse* to its antient liberty, the *Romans* would have no occasion to make use of arms, or employ any violence. But, if they did not comply with these just demands, they should be obliged to treat them as enemies, and make them feel the most dreadful effects of war. To this *Hippocrates* haughtily replied, that if they intended to besiege *Syracuse*, they should soon be made sensible of the difference between that city and *Leontini*, and that as for their demands, they would grant none of them. Having made this short reply, he turned his back upon the deputies, returned into the city with his attendants, and caused

Syracuse the gates to be shut. *Marcellus* therefore determined to be-
besieged by siege the place by sea and land, and made the necessary pre-
Marcellus. parations for so great an undertaking *.

Archime- WHEN the *Romans* had taken their posts, they hoped to
des defends carry the city of *Syracuse* by assault, as they had lately done
Syracuse that of *Leontini*. The attack was general, on the side of *A-*
with his cradina by sea, and of *Tyche* by land. *Marcellus* took upon
surprizing himself the command of the fleet, leaving the land forces to be
machines. conducted by *Appius*. The city was twenty two miles in
compass, and nevertheless *Marcellus* caused machines of va-
rious sorts to be raised all round it, in hopes of finding some
weak place in so vast a compass of walls. But to his great
surprize he found all places equally defended by the wonder-
ful industry of a single man. This was the celebrated *Archimedes*,
who, at the request of king *Hiero*, to whom he was
related, had framed such engines of war, as quite discon-
certed the measures of the *Romans*. That pacific prince had
no occasion to make use of these master-pieces of art, during
the whole length of his reign, nor, probably, did he ever
imagine, that they would be first used against his faithful al-
lies the *Romans*. But *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes*, finding how
useful both the machines and the contriver might prove in so
critical a conjuncture, prevailed upon that great mathema-
tician to undertake the defence of his country ; and to his
genius alone it was owing, that the city, though of so large
a compass, held out near three years against the utmost efforts
of a consular army. The immense preparations, which the
consul made for the taking of the city by storm, could not have
failed carrying it, had it not been defended by *Archimedes*.
The *Roman* fleet consisted of sixty quinquereines, besides a
far greater number of other ships. The decks were covered
with soldiers armed with darts, slings, and bows, to drive
the besieged from the ramparts, which on the side of *Acradina*
were washed by the sea, and to facilitate the approach to the
walls. But a machine of *Marcellus's* own invention was
what he chiefly depended on. He had fastened together side-
ways eight gallies of different lengths, which made but one
large body, and were rowed only by the oars of the outer-
most gallies. These eight gallies, thus joined, served only
as a basis for a machine, which was raised up higher than
the highest towers of the walls, and had at the top a plat-
form, guarded with parapets in front and on each side. This

* LIV. l. xxiv. c. 24. POLYB. l. viii. PLUT. in Marcell.

machine

machine was called a *Sambuca*, from its resemblance to a musical instrument of that name, not unlike a harp. The consul's design was to bring his *sambuca* to the foot of the walls of *Arcadina* ; but while it was still at a considerable distance (and it advanced very slow being moved only by two ranks of rowers) *Archimedes* discharged from one of his engines a vast stone, weighing according to *Plutarch's* account (R), twelve hundred and fifty pounds, then a second, and immediately after a third, all which, falling upon the *sambuca* with a dreadful noise, broke its supports, and gave the gallies, upon which it stood, such a violent shock, that they parted, and the machine, which *Marcellus* had raised upon them, at a vast trouble and expence, was battered to pieces. At the same time several other machines, which were not visible without the walls, and consequently did not lessen the confidence of the *Romans* in the assault, played incessantly upon their ships, and overwhelmed them with showers of stones, rafters, and beams pointed with iron. Infomuch, that *Marcellus*, being at a loss what to do, retired with all possible haste, and sent orders to his land-forces to do the same ; for the attack on the land-side was attended with no better success, the ranks being broke and thrown into the utmost confusion by the stones and darts, which flew with such noise, force, and ra-

(R) It is not easy to conceive how the machines formed by *Archimedes* could throw stones of ten quintals, or of ten talents weight, as *Plutarch* expresses it (43). at the fleet of *Marcellus*, when it was at a considerable distance from the walls of *Syracuse*. If what *Plutarch* affirms be true, our artillery falls short of those frightful machines. Some have therefore questioned that author's account, and adhered to *Polybius*, who reduces the stones, that were thrown by the *Balistæ* made by *Archimedes*, to the weight of ten pounds. If we suppose that each of these stones, or rather rocks, weighed ten quintals, we cannot compute them at less than twelve hundred and fifty pounds weight each, at the rate of an hundred and twenty five pounds each quintal or talent, according to the custom of computing received among the antient *Greeks*, and here used by *Plutarch*. *Livy* seems to agree with *Polybius*, and only says, that the machines of *Archimedes* threw stones of a great weight on the gallies of *Marcellus*. If we reckon the talents mentioned by *Plutarch*, according to the talents used in *Sicily*, the stones will be reduced to the weight of 125 pounds only ; nay, some authors infer from various passages of *Suidas*, *Pollux*, and *Festus*, that the talent of *Sicily* scarce weighed ten pounds.

(43) *Plut. in Marcell.*

M m 2

pidity,

pidity, that they struck the *Romans* with terror, and dashed all to pieces before them ¹.

Marcellus surpris'd, though not discouraged, at this artificial storm, which he did not expect, held a council of war, in which it was resolv'd, the next day before sun-rise, to come up close under the wall, and keep there. They were in hopes by this means to secure themselves against this terrible storm of stones and darts, which fell on the ships when at a distance. But *Archimedes* had prepared engines, which were adapted to all distances. When the *Romans* therefore had brought their ships close under the wall, and thought themselves well covered, they were unexpectedly overwhelmed with a new shower of darts and stones, which fell perpendicularly on their heads, which oblig'd them to retire with great precipitation. But they were no sooner got at some distance, than a new shower of darts overtook them, which made a dreadful havock of the men, while stones of an immense weight, discharged from other machines, either disabled or broke in pieces most of their gallies. This loss they sustained without being able to revenge it in the least on the enemy. For *Archimedes* had plac'd most of his engines behind the walls, and not only out of the reach, but even out of the sight of the enemy; so that the *Romans* were repuls'd with a dreadful slaughter, without seeing the hand that occasion'd it, as if they had been fighting, to use *Plutarch's* expression, not with men, but with the gods themselves. What most harass'd the *Romans* in the attack by sea was, a sort of crow with iron claws, fasten'd to a long chain, which was let down by a kind of lever. The weight of the iron made it fall with great violence, and drove it into the planks of the gallies. Then the besieged, by a great weight of lead at the other end of the lever, weigh'd it down, and consequently rais'd up the iron of the crow in proportion, and with it the prow of the galley, to which it was fasten'd, sinking the poop at the same time into the water. After this the crow letting go its hold all on a sudden, the prow of the galley fell with such force into the sea, that the whole vessel was fill'd with water, and sunk. At other times the machines dragging ships to the shore by hooks, dashed them to pieces against the points of the rocks, which project'd under the walls. Other vessels were quite lift'd up into the air, there whirled about with incredible rapidity, and then let fall into the sea, and sunk with all that were in them. How these stupendous works were effected, few, if any, have hitherto been able to

¹ LIV. PLUT. POLYB. *ibid.*

understand.

understand. Some writers are of opinion, that *Plutarch* and *Polybius*, from whom we have these accounts, had no better authority for their relations than a tradition, founded only on the ignorance of those who handed it down to them. The *Romans*, say they, in the time of *Marcellus*, did not value themselves upon diving into the secrets of mechanism, and therefore to extol the conqueror of *Syracuse*, took pleasure in magnifying every thing, and making miracles of the most common effects of mechanics. Thus some authors reason, and chuse to lessen the credit of venerable writers, and of *Archimedes* himself, rather than honestly confess, that the machines, as described by *Polybius*, *Plutarch*, and *Livy*, were wonders of mechanism, which all mankind are not capable of understanding.

THE troops under the command of *Appius* suffered no less in this second attack than the fleet. In the whole space of ground, which the army, when formed, took up, the last files, as well as the first, were overwhelmed with showers of darts and flints, against which they could not possibly defend themselves. When they had with infinite trouble brought the mantelets and covered galleries, under which they were to work the rams, near the foot of the wall, *Archimedes* discharged such large beams and stones upon them as crushed them to pieces. If any brave *Roman* ventured to draw too near to the wall, iron hooks were immediately let down from above, which, taking hold of his cloaths, or some part of his body, lifted him up in the air, and dashed out his brains with the fall. Thus one single man repulsed two *Roman* armies, by mere dint of genius, without having any occasion to make use of the sword. The *Syracusians* were no more than his instruments in managing the machines according to his directions, while he himself was the soul that presided over all their powers and operations. *Marcellus*, though at a loss what to do, could not, however, forbear expressing himself with pleasantry; shall we persist, said he to his workmen, in making war upon this *Briareus*, upon this giant with an hundred hands? But the soldiers were so terrified, that if they saw upon the walls only a small cord, or the least piece of wood, they immediately turned their backs and fled, crying out, that *Archimedes* was going to discharge some dreadful machine upon them².

Marcellus and *Claudius*, seeing their troops thus disheartened, and having no hopes of making a breach in the walls, called a council, in which it was resolved to turn the siege

² PLUT. POLYB. LIV. ubi supra.

Marcellus
reduces se-
veral ci-
ties.

into a blockade, shut up all the avenues to the place both by sea and land, and force it to surrender by famine. But, in the mean time, that so great an army might not continue inactive before one single city, *Marcellus*, leaving *Appius* before *Syracuse* to intercept all convoys to it, put himself at the head of two-thirds of the *Roman* troops, and set out to reconquer the cities, which, in this general disturbance of *Sicily*, had deserted the *Romans*. *Elorum* and *Herbessus* surrendered of their own accord, and were kindly treated by the conqueror; but *Megara*, having stood a siege, was taken, and razed to the ground, which struck no small terror into the *Syracusians*, who now began to fear the like fate. After *Marcellus* had reduced a great many cities without opposition, there being no army in the field to oppose him, at last *Hamilco* entered the port of *Heraclea* with a numerous fleet sent from *Carthage*, and landed twenty thousand foot, three thousand horse, and twelve elephants. His forces were no sooner set ashore, but he marched against *Agrigentum*, which he retook from the *Romans*, with several other cities lately reduced by *Marcellus*. Upon the news of his arrival and progress, which were soon known at *Syracuse*, the garison, which was yet entire, and had suffered no hardships from the siege, was very impatient to take the field, and join *Hamilco*. Accordingly it was resolved, that *Epicydes* should command in the city, during the blockade, and *Hippocrates* march out at the head of ten thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse, to carry on the war in concert with *Hamilco*, and stop the progress of *Marcellus*. This design was executed in the night without difficulty. *Hippocrates*, at the head of his detachment, broke through the *Roman* lines, and encamped at *Acrillæ*, a small town to the south of *Syracuse*.

And de-
feats Hip-
pocrates.

In the mean time *Marcellus*, after having made a vain attempt upon *Agrigentum*, which was held by *Hamilco*, was returning with his army to *Syracuse*. He did not know that *Hippocrates* had broke out of the besieged city, and was so near him; but nevertheless marched in good order for fear of a surprize. As he drew near *Acrillæ*, he unexpectedly discovered the enemy busy in fortifying their camp, in order to pass the night there. Whereupon he advanced in great haste, and, falling upon them before they had time to draw up, cut eight thousand of them in pieces. The cavalry, with a small body of infantry, made their escape, under the conduct of *Hippocrates*, to *Acræ* (S), a city belonging to *Syracuse*; and
Marcellus,

(S) *Acræ* was built, according to *Thucydides* (44), by the *Syracusians* about the fourth year of the eighth *Olympiad*, seventy years after

Marcellus, after this victory, which kept several cities steady in the interest of *Rome*, pursued his march to *Syracuse*, and kept it more closely blocked up than ever ^a.

WHILE *Marcellus* and *Appius* continued inactive before *Syracuse*, succours were brought both to the *Carthaginians* and *Romans*, the two republics being resolved to make their utmost efforts in *Sicily*. *Bomilcar* arrived at *Syracuse* with a fleet of fifty sail; and about the same time a *Roman* fleet brought a whole legion to *Panormus*. This legion *Hamilco* hoped to surprize before they reached the *Roman* camp, but they luckily kept along the coast, and arrived safe at cape *Pachynum*, while *Hamilco*, expecting they would have crossed the country, lay in wait for them at a great distance from the shore. At *Pachynum* *Appius* met them with a large detachment, and conducted them to the main body of the army before *Syracuse*. As for *Bomilcar*, the *Carthaginian* admiral, soon after his arrival he put to sea again, and returned to *Carthage*, upon advice, that the *Roman* fleet, which was far more strong than his, was advancing to attack him. *Hamilco*, being joined by *Hippocrates*, and the few troops that had escaped the late slaughter, advanced to *Syracuse*, in order to draw *Marcellus* to a battle. But, finding the *Roman* general kept close in his lines, which were well fortified, he left *Syracuse*, and marching about the country drew several cities off from the *Romans*. *Murgantia* betrayed the *Roman* garison into his hands and surrendered. *Enna*, a city of great importance, intended to follow the example of *Murgantia*. But *Pinarius*, the commander of the garison, being alarmed at the reports which were spread of the revolt of many cities, after having massacred the *Roman* garisons, kept part of his men under arms night and day, so that all the *Sicilian* artifices to deceive him proved ineffectual. He set and relieved the guards himself, and was ever ready against all events, as if *Hamilco* had been at the gates. The inhabitants therefore, who had promised to deliver up the city to *Hamilco*, finding that *Pinarius* could not be surprised, resolved to attempt something by open

Several cities revolt to the Carthaginians.

^a LIV. l. xxiv. c. 35.

after the foundation of *Syracuse*. *Cluverius* plainly proves from the march which *Hippocrates* here takes, and from the old itineraries, that this city stood near the monastery, which the *Sicilians* call *Santa Maura d'Arcia*, between the cities of *Noto* and *Avola*, about twenty four miles from *Syracuse*.

Murganti:-
a preservation
ed by Pinari-
rius.

force, and, assembling in crowds, demanded of him the keys of their city. *Pinarius* calmly told them, that he had received the keys of the city, and his commission to guard it, from his general; that it was in vain to apply to him while the consul was within reach; and, lastly, that he could not disobey the orders of his general, without drawing upon himself and his family the severest punishments. The *Ennenses* answered, that if he did not of his own accord comply with their request, they would deliver themselves from their present slavery by force. To which *Pinarius* replied, that since they would not be at the trouble of recurring to *Marcellus*, he desired they would at least suffer an assembly of the people to be called, that he might know, whether this was the motion of a few only, or of the whole city. This being granted, and the assembly appointed to meet the next day, *Pinarius*, perceiving that the multitude were determined to come to some violent resolution, took his measures accordingly. In order to secure himself against their furious attempts, he retired with his garison into the citadel, and there acquainted them with the danger that threatened them. The perfidious *Ennenses*, said he, design to put us all to death, and then surrender themselves up to the *Carthaginians*. An assembly of the people is appointed to meet to-morrow. By break of day therefore our fate or that of the treacherous *Sicilians* must be determined. If we are not by that time masters of their lives and fortunes, they will be of ours. Let us not then suffer them to prevent us. Arm yourselves, and wait for a signal from me. I shall be at the assembly, and when I give you a signal with my robe, make a great shout, fall on the citizens, and cut them in pieces without giving any quarter. Having thus spoke, he posted some of his troops in the avenues to the market-place, and others in the theatre, where the assembly was held. As soon as it was day, *Pinarius* came to the place appointed, and represented to the multitude, that he could not surrender the keys, without incurring the displeasure of his general, which would prove fatal to him and his children. Upon this the whole multitude cried out, that he must deliver the keys, and that as to the incurring the displeasure of his general, that was nothing to them. They then crowded round him and began to offer violence, when *Pinarius* starting up, Your blood, said he, shall atone for the affront you offer a *Roman* officer, and immediately gave the signal agreed on, and the soldiers rushing in upon the unarmed multitude began the slaughter. Some posted themselves at the doors that none might escape, others sword in hand fell upon those who had surrounded their commander. The floor and seats of the theatre

theatre were in an instant covered with blood, and as many were stifled in endeavouring to escape, as fell by the sword. The slaughter in the streets was no less dreadful, the dead and wounded lying every-where in heaps; none were spared, and the city was treated as if it had been taken by assault, and given up to the soldiers to be plundered. Thus *Enna* was kept in the hands of the *Romans*, who excused their conduct on this occasion by saying, that they had only been before-land with those, who designed to treat them in the same manner. And indeed *Marcellus*, who was a man of a very mild and humane temper, approved of this action, and even granted the soldiers all the plunder which had been found in the city. But, as the city of *Enna* was consecrated to *Ceres* and her daughter *Proserpine*, the *Sicilians* were highly offended at the massacre of the *Ennenses*, and their revolts became daily more frequent ^b.

IN the mean-time *Marcellus*, having kept all the avenues to *Syracuse* shut up the whole summer, thought it advisable to put his men into winter-quarters, in some place near the besieged city; and accordingly retired to *Leon* (T) in that neighbourhood, to watch there the city and keep it blocked up till spring. He sent *Appius Claudius* to *Rome*, that prætor intending to ask the consulship against the next year, a dignity which he had well deserved. *T. Quintius Crispinus*, one of *Marcellus*'s lieutenants, was put in his room, and soon after new consuls being created, viz. *Q. Fabius Maximus* and *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*, *Marcellus*, from being consul, became proconsul in *Sicily*, and commander in chief of all the *Roman* forces there.

WHEN the season of the year suffered the proconsul to take the field again, he was at a loss what to do; some of his offi-

^b LIV. *ibid.* c 35.

(T) The town of *Leon* stood north of *Syracuse*, six or seven furlongs from *Hexapylum*, as *Thucydides* informs us (45) *Hexapylum* was a stately building, which served for an entrance into *Syracuse* by the quarter called *Tyche*. *Livy* (46) reckons the distance between *Hexapylum* and *Leon* to be five thousand paces. But this seems very improbable; for *Marcellus* encamped there with a design to continue the blockade of *Syracuse*. Interpreters therefore commonly take for granted, that the text of *Livy* is corrupted, and that we ought to read *Mille & quingentis passibus*, instead of *quinque milia passuum*. By this correction *Livy*'s account agrees better with that of *Thucydides*.

45) *Thucyd.* l. vi.
Vol. VII.

46) *Livy* l. xxiv
N. 1.

cers advised him to attack *Hamilco* in *Agrigentum*, and others to return to his trenches before *Syracuse* and continue the blockade. But the wise proconsul foresaw, that it would be impossible for him to take the city, either by force, while it was defended by *Archimedes*, or by famine, while the *Carthaginian* fleet, which was returned far more numerous than before, supplied it with provisions. He therefore thought, that the only expedient was to try whether he could make himself master of *Syracuse* by some secret intelligence. There were many *Syracusians* in his camp, who had taken refuge there in the beginning of the troubles. *Marcellus* therefore disclosed his scheme to these faithful allies, and impowered them to offer their countrymen their lives and liberties, if they surrendered to the *Romans*. The *Syracusians* in the camp zealously entered into the proconsul's measures; but as they found it impossible to carry on a correspondence with their friends in the city, they resolved to send into *Syracuse* a trusty slave, as a deserter, to acquaint their friends with the proconsul's proposals. The slave acquitted himself of his charge with great fidelity, and above fourscore persons of distinction, hiding themselves under the nets in a fisher-boat, came successively to the *Roman* camp and conferred in person with *Marcellus*. But when the conspiracy was upon the point of taking effect, one *Attalus*, in resentment for not having been admitted into it, discovered the whole to *Epicyles* who put all the conspirators to death.

Marcellus, seeing his scheme thus defeated, found himself involved in new difficulties. Nothing came into his thoughts but the grief and shame of raising a siege, after having spent so much time in it, and lost great numbers of men and ships. While he was deliberating what to do, an unforeseen accident revived his hopes of gaining at last the place. *Epicyles* had sent one *Damippus*, a *Lacedemonian*, to demand succours of *Philip* king of *Macedon*, who had already entered into a treaty with the *Carthaginians*. *Damippus*, was taken by some ships of the *Roman* squadron, and brought to the camp of *Marcellus*. But *Epicyles*, extremely concerned at his detention, expressed a great desire to ransom the prisoner, and the *Roman* general was not averse to it, *Rome* having her reasons to keep up a good understanding with *Lacedemon* at that time. Conferences therefore were appointed to be held near *Syracuse*, at a place called *Portus Trogilorum* (U), by the foot of a tower

(U) *Trogilorum* was a name common both to a suburb and a port near *Syracuse*; both which lay north of *Tyche* and *Acradina*. As

tower called *Galeagra*. As the deputies went to and fro, it came into a *Roman* soldier's thoughts to consider the wall with attention. After having counted the stones, which were all of an equal size, and examined with his eye the measure of each, he found that the wall was not so high as had been imagined, and concluded, that it might be scaled with ladders of a moderate size. The soldier therefore, without loss of time, gave the proconsul an account of what he had observed, and *Marcellus* did not neglect the hint; he examined the place himself, and found that the soldier's observations were very just. But the difficulty was how to come with his men to the place, which indeed was weak, but well defended with *Archimedes's* machines, and guarded with extraordinary care. While *Marcellus* was meditating with himself by what stratagem he might surprize the centinels there on guard, a deserter informed him, that the *Syracusans* were on a certain day to begin the celebration of the festival of *Diana* (W), which lasted three days, and that *Epicyles*, who wanted other provisions, designed to distribute wine in great plenty among the people and soldiers. Upon this advice *Marcellus* resolved to attack the city in one of the nights during the festival, not confining the assault to the weak place, but making it general. To this end he held a council with some tribunes of the army, and chose out a certain number of the most resolute centurions, giving them leave to select a thousand men out of the whole army. These were ordered first to take a repast, and then to repose till the trumpet called them. In the mean time ladders were prepared with great secrecy, to prevent the enemy from being informed by their spies. The *Roman* general determined to make his attack, when the townsmen and soldiers, after having drunk plentifully, were in their first sleep. The scaling-ladders were committed

to the tower called *Galeagra*, it stood near the *Portus Troglorum*, where *Tyche* and *Acradina* joined.

(W) This festival was celebrated in honour of *Diana* under the name of *Artemis*, not only at *Syracuse*, but at *Delphos*, and in most cities of *Greece*. On this occasion they offered to the goddess a mullet, as being thought to bear some sort of relation to her; because it is said to hunt and kill the sea-hare (47). The bread offered to the goddess was called *Lochia*, and the women, who performed the sacred rites, *Lombai* (48). The *Greeks* celebrated no fewer than twenty two festivals in honour of *Diana*; of which *Johnson* in his work, intitled, *de Festis Græcorum*, gives a minute and distinct account.

(47) *Athenæus*, l. vii.

(48) *Hejtelius* & *Athenæus*, *ibid.*
N n 2 to

Epipo'æ
taken.

And
Tyche.

to the management of one single manipulus or company, consisting of an hundred and twenty men. Those advanced silently to the foot of the wall, to which they applied their ladders, and made themselves masters of the tower *Galeagra*, without meeting with the least opposition, or even being discovered, the soldiers being all asleep after their debauch. When the first had gained the top of the ramparts without noise or tumult, the others followed, encouraged by the boldness and success of their leaders. At length this whole detachment, consisting of a thousand chosen men, got safe and undiscovered into the city. In the mean time another detachment, taking advantage of the enemy's stillness, for they were all either drunk or asleep, beat down one of the gates of *Hexapylum*, and gave a free passage to a great body of *Romans* on that side. Other detachments scaled the walls in different parts, and they all met at *Hexapylum*, which had before been appointed for the place of their general rendezvous. The *Romans* now kept silence no longer, but advanced in order of battle, and made themselves masters of the quarter called *Epipolæ*, which was encompassed with the same common wall as *Ortygia*, *Acradina*, *Tyche*, and *Neapolis*; had its own citadel called *Euryalum* on the top of a steep rock, and was, we may say, a fifth city. Here the *Romans* spent the night, making a dreadful noise with their trumpets in order to strike terror into the enemy. The sound was not heard all over this vast city, but it reached far enough to alarm all *Tyche*, and throw that quarter into the utmost consternation; some of the inhabitants there, thinking the *Romans* already in possession of the whole city, leaped down from the walls into the ditch, while others, falling in with the *Roman* guards, were cut in pieces. Notwithstanding this confusion, *Marcellus* waited till day-break, and then having beat down the stately entrance with six gates, called *Hexapylum*, he entered *Tyche* with his army in battalions.

In the mean time *Epicydes*, who was quartered in the farthest part of *Ortygia*, at a great distance from the places possessed by the *Romans*, hearing that the enemy had seized on *Epipolæ* and *Tyche*, went out of the island, and crossed *Acradina* at the head of a numerous body of mercenaries, with a design to drive the *Romans* from their posts, imagining that only a few desperate men had scaled the walls. But when he saw, to his great surprize, all *Epipo-*

læ full of legionaries, after a slight skirmish, he retired into *Acradina*, to allay the people's fears and prevent a tumult. Then *Marcellus* marching from *Tyche* to *Epipolæ* joined the detachment, which had possessed themselves of that quarter in the night. As *Marcellus* was now on the point of becoming master of one of the finest and most opulent cities in the world, his officers did not fail to congratulate him on his success. But he, considering from an eminence the beauty and extent of that great and stately metropolis, is said to have shed tears, being touched with compassion on the miseries, to which so many inhabitants, formerly rich and fortunate, were going to be reduced. He called to mind the two powerful *Athenian* fleets, which had been sunk before this city, and the two numerous armies cut in pieces with the illustrious generals who commanded them; the many wars sustained with so much valour against the *Carthaginians*; the famous tyrants and kings, who had reigned in that antient metropolis, *Hiero* particularly, who had signalized himself by the important services he had rendered the people of *Rome*, whose interests had been as dear to him as his own; moved with these reflections, and his natural inclination to try gentle methods before he used violence, he thought it incumbent upon him to engage the *Syracusan* noblemen of his party to solicit their countrymen to surrender of their own accord, that they might thereby prevent the sacking of the city. The soldiers murmured a little at the general's good nature, looking upon *Syracuse* and its immense riches as a sure booty. Their wishes were but too successful, for the *Syracusians* would hearken to no proposals, though the *Romans* were already masters of a considerable part of the city. *Acradina*, the strongest and best part of the city, was not yet taken, and *Epicydes* had appointed the *Roman* deserters to guard it, who, as they were to die according to the *Roman* laws, though the town were taken by composition, watched all the avenues to it with extreme care. *Marcellus* therefore, leaving *Acradina*, turned his arms against the citadel of *Epipolæ*, called *Euryalum*, which was not yet taken. This fort stood on an eminence, some distance from the sea, and commanded the great road by which the convoys were brought into the city. The governor was an *Argian*, by name *Philodamus*, and had been entrusted with the defence of the place by *Epicydes*. *Son*, who had formerly taken sanctuary in the *Roman* camp, hoped to prevail upon him to capitulate. But the *Greek*, having demanded time to consider, put off the surrender of the citadel from day to day, not doubting but *Mar-*

The quar-
ters of the
city that
were taken
plundered.

milco and *Hippocrates* would hasten to the relief of *Syracuse* already half taken. Hereupon *Marcellus*, encamping between *Neapolis* and *Tyche*, cut off all communication with *Epipolæ*, hoping to reduce the citadel in a very short time by famine. In this new camp the inhabitants of *Tyche* and *Neapolis* sent deputies to him, entreating him to spare their lives, and preserve their houses from being plundered. Their city had been taken by assault, so that according to the laws of war the conqueror was master of their lives and fortunes. However, *Marcellus* shewed them some clemency. The plunder of the place was due to the soldiers, as a reward of their valour, and he could not deprive them of it without injustice. But he enjoined them under pain of death not to kill, or any ways abuse the inhabitants, and even posted guards in all the avenues to see that his orders were put in execution. No city was ever plundered with so much order or less cruelty. The soldiers, breaking open the houses, seized indeed every thing they found, money, moveables, and provisions; but did not offer the least violence to the vanquished. The booty was immense, but it only raised their expectations of a greater, when *Acradina* and *Ortygia* should be taken. During this military execution, *Philodemus*, governor of the citadel of *Epipolæ*, despairing of being able to subsist in the midst of a plundered city, which could not supply him any longer with provisions, came to terms with the proconsul, and being allowed to march out with his men and join *Epicydes*, put the citadel into the hands of the *Romans*. Then *Marcellus*, turning all his efforts against *Acradina*, blocked it up so close, that it could not hold out long without new supplies of men and provisions ^d.

DURING these transactions, *Hamilco* and *Hippocrates* appeared before *Syracuse*, and their arrival gave the *Romans* no small apprehension. *Marcellus*, as we have said, was shut up within the walls, being encamped between *Neapolis*, or the New City, and *Tyche*, in a place which was almost destitute of inhabitants; *Crispinus* was not yet entered *Syracuse*, but still continued in the old post of the *Romans*. The two *Carthaginian* generals, after having taken a view of both camps, resolved to divide the attacks between them. *Hamilco* was to fall upon *Marcellus's* camp, while *Hippocrates* endeavoured to force the trenches of *Crispinus*. The *Carthaginian* fleet at the same time was drawn up in line of battle along the coast within reach of *Acradina*, so as to cut

^d Liv. l. xxv. c. 24. Plut. in vita Marcelli.

off all communication between the forces of *Marcellus*, which surrounded *Acradina*, and *Crispinus*. *Hippocrates* began the attack, and fell with the utmost fury upon the camp of *Crispinus*, but was three times repulsed with incredible bravery. At the same time *Hamilco* without, and *Epicydes* within the walls, attacked the posts of *Marcellus*; but were attended with no better success. *Epicydes* was forced to return into *Acradina* with great loss, and narrowly escaped being taken prisoner by *Marcellus*, who commanded there in person. After these two advantages the *Roman* general pitched three camps round *Acradina*, and kept it blocked up closer than ever, but durst not draw too near it for fear of the machines of *Archimedes*. The unfortunate *Syracusians* were now in the utmost distress for want of provisions, and, to complete their misfortunes, a plague broke out among them. The infection began in the country, being occasioned by the excessive heat of the season, and the unwholesome exhalations of the neighbouring marshes. The two camps of *Hamilco* and *Crispinus* were first infected with it, and from the latter it spread to *Marcellus's* army, by means of his communication with *Crispinus*. Soon after it began to rage in *Acradina*; so that, within and without the city, nothing was seen but persons dead or dying. None durst relieve or assist the sick, for fear of being infected by them; and the bodies of the dead were for the same reason left without burial, to infect and poison the air with their stench and corruption. Nothing was heard night and day but groans of dying men, and the heaps of dead bodies continually presented mournful objects to the living, who expected every moment the same fate. However, the distemper made less ravage in the two *Roman* armies, than in those of *Hamilco* and *Hippocrates*. As the latter had no place to retire to, and were not inured to the climate and air of the country, being for the most part but lately come from *Africa*, they died daily in great numbers, and at length *Hamilco* and *Hippocrates* themselves were carried off. Upon their death most of the *Sicilian* troops, which had joined the *Carthaginians*, disbanded and returned to their respective cities. Thus *Marcellus* was delivered from a great army, which had besieged him as close as he had done *Acradina*. He had now only a small body of *Sicilians* to contend with, for the *Carthaginians*, both officers and soldiers, were all swept off by the plague. The *Sicilians* retired to two small towns, strong by situation, and at a small distance from *Syracuse*, and there waited for a new reinforcement from *Carthage*, whether

Bomilcar
returns to
Sicily with
a mighty
fleet.

But unex-
pectedly
he set sail
again for
Africa.

ther *Bomilcar* had failed to give the senate an account of the death of *Hamilco* and the utter ruin of his army. He allayed the grief, which this news occasioned, by representing, that the *Romans* had imprudently shut themselves up in one city to besiege another, that their troops were greatly diminished by the plague, and that it would be no difficult matter to besiege them, and bring them into the same straits, to which they had reduced *Acradina*. His speech revived the hopes of the senate, who gave him the command of an hundred and thirty gallies, with seven hundred transports, which formed a fleet considerably greater than that which the *Romans* had on the coasts of *Sicily*. With this squadron *Bomilcar* set sail from *Carthage*, and had a quick passage. The news of his return raised the courage of the besieged, and greatly disheartened the *Romans*, who were quite tired out with so long and tedious a siege. But as *Bomilcar* was for several days prevented by contrary winds, from doubling cape *Pachynum*, *Marcellus* had time to recollect himself, and cause his fleet to be got ready with a design to engage that of the *Carthaginians*, though far superior in number to his. In the mean time *Epicydes*, fearing lest the *Carthaginians* should be surprized by the *Romans*, took it into his head to leave *Syracuse* and go to the fleet, which was designed for his relief. On his arrival he found *Bomilcar* uneasy about the event of a battle, and very backward to engage the *Romans*, of whose preparations he had been already informed. But, nevertheless, he was prevailed upon by *Epicydes* to venture an engagement, and advanced in sight of the *Roman* fleet. *Marcellus*, who commanded it, as soon as the high winds abated, began to prepare for a battle, when all on a sudden, *Bomilcar*, doubling cape *Pachynum*, took to the main, and steered his course towards *Tarentum*, after having dispatched expresses to *Heraclea*, with orders to the transports, which lay there, to return to *Africa*. What induced him to take so sudden and unexpected a resolution was never known. *Epicydes*, being thus disappointed in the great hopes he had entertained, was afraid to return into a city already half taken, and therefore fled for refuge to *Agrigentum*, rather with a design to wait the event of the siege in a place of safety, than to make any attempts towards the relief of a city, which he had brought to destruction.

WHEN it was known in the camp of the *Sicilians*, that *Epicydes* had quitted *Syracuse*, and the *Carthaginians* *Sicily*, they sent deputies to *Alexandria*, after having sounded the dis-
position

position of the besieged, to treat of a surrender. It was *The Syra-* unanimously agreed, both by the *Sicilians* in the camp and *cusians* the *Syracusians* in *Acradina*, to surrender on the following *propose to* terms, *viz.* that all the demesnes of the kings of *Syracuse* *capitulate.* should be delivered up to the *Romans*, and that *Rome* should suffer the *Syracusians* to live according to their own laws, and enjoy their estates and liberties. *Marcellus* was willing to grant them the terms they demanded, in order to prevent the spilling of blood and the ruining of so stately a city. But those, whom *Epicycles* had entrusted with the government of the city during his absence, opposed the wise measures of the inhabitants. As these were all strangers, they were little concerned for the welfare of *Syracuse*, and still retained some hopes of relief, either from *Epicycles* or *Bomilcar*. But the magistrates, seeing the city already reduced to great straits for want of provisions, resolved to get rid of their governors, and accordingly assassinated them all, and then having assembled the people in the market-place, introduced to them the deputies from the camp, who had hitherto treated only with themselves. These, in a speech well calculated for the occasion, represented to the people, that they ought not to impute the calamities they groaned under to fortune, since it was in their power to deliver themselves from them when they pleased; that the *Romans* had not undertaken the siege of *Syracuse* out of hatred, but out of affection, to the inhabitants, having no other view but to rescue them out of the hands of their tyrants; that *Hippocrates* and *Epicycles* had brought all their misfortunes upon them, but since one of them was carried off by the plague, and the other had deserted them out of fear, what remained but to have recourse to the clemency of the conqueror? The services, said they, of *Hiero*, and his faithful adherence to the *Romans*, are not entirely blotted out of their memories. Only consent to be reconciled to *Rome*, and you will be free and happy. *Marcellus* out of good nature offers you advantageous terms, which if you do not accept, all subsequent calamities will be intirely chargeable on yourselves. Seize therefore the present opportunity, and since you are delivered from your tyrants, let the first use you make of your liberty be to return to the *Romans*.

THIS discourse was received with general applause; and the assembly thought proper to create new magistrates before the nomination of the deputies, to make the embassy to *Mar-* *Deputies sent to*
cellus more solemn and authentic. Some of the prætors were *Marcellus.*

* LIV. l. xxv. c. 29.

in the number of the deputies, and the person who spoke addressed himself to *Marcellus* thus : “ You see at your feet
 “ the deputies of a people, who have been unfaithful to you
 “ against their will. *Hieronimus*, and not we, broke the alliance with *Rome*, wherein he did more hurt to his subjects
 “ than to you. When after his death our antient alliance
 “ was renewed with *Rome*, it was not infringed by the
 “ *Syracusians*, but by the emissaries of *Hannibal*, who did not
 “ make war upon you till they had first made us slaves ;
 “ and it cannot be said, that we have had any times
 “ of liberty, which have not been times of peace and alliance with you. And at this present, as soon as we are
 “ become masters of ourselves by the death of those who held
 “ us in subjection, we come to deliver up to you our arms,
 “ our persons, our walls, and our city, determined not to
 “ refuse any conditions you shall think fit to impose. The
 “ gods, illustrious general, have granted you the glory of
 “ taking the most noble and beautiful city of the *Greeks*, so
 “ that all her past achievements, whether by sea or land, will
 “ add to the glory of your triumph. Make it not then so
 “ much a point of honour to destroy it, as to leave it for a
 “ standing monument of your fame to the world. All strangers, from whatever part of the universe they shall come
 “ to *Syracuse*, and there observe the monuments of our antient victories over the *Athenians* and *Carthaginians*, will at
 “ the same time know, that *Marcellus* conquered this victorious people. They will be told, that the *Syracusians* are become perpetual clients of the *Claudian* family, and that
 “ *Marcellus* made himself their first patron by his valour and clemency. Let not the remembrance of *Hieronimus* be
 “ of more weight with you, than that of *Hiero*. The
 “ latter was much longer your friend, than the former
 “ your enemy. Permit me to say, that you have reaped
 “ the fruits of *Hiero*’s friendship ; but the ill-conducted enterprizes of *Hieronimus* have fallen only on his own
 “ head.”

Disturbances raised in Syracuse by the Roman deserters.

THE suppliants were graciously received by *Marcellus*, who was very willing to grant them their demands ; but the greatest difficulty was to preserve tranquillity and union in the city. The garison consisted of *Roman* deserters and mercenaries, and the former, looking upon all conferences about a surrender as so many sentences of death against themselves, used their utmost efforts to prevent the citizens from complying with the terms proposed by *Marcellus*. But finding all their endeavours unsuccessful, they applied themselves to the mercenaries and persuaded them that *Marcellus* would give them no quarter.

ter. Whereupon the mercenaries, being inspired with the same fear, joined the deserters, and both taking up arms, while the deputies were still in the camp of *Marcellus*, ran to the houses of the new prætors, whom they massacred, and then dispersing themselves on all sides, put to the sword all they met, without distinction, plundered the houses, and filled the city with blood and slaughter. That they might not be without leaders, they appointed six officers of their own body, three to command in *Acradina* and three in *Ortygia*. The tumult being at length appeased, the mercenaries were made sensible, that they had been imposed upon by the *Roman* deserters ; and the deputies, returning at the same time from the camp of *Marcellus*, assured them, that the *Romans* had not decreed any punishment against the foreign troops.

AMONG the six new governors, chosen by the seditious to *Marcellus* command in *Syracuse*, was a *Spaniard*, named *Mericus*, a man of great integrity, and who did not approve of the measures taken by his colleagues. This man *Marcellus* took upon him to gain over to the *Romans*, and with this view sent into the city a young *Spaniard* lately come from *Spain*, charging him to make great offers in his name to his countryman, provided he would do him some important service. The young *Spaniard* got safe into the city among the attendants of the *Syracusan* ambassadors, and discharged his commission so well, that *Mericus* sent his brother privately to *Marcellus* with the *Spanish* soldier, who having obtained a private audience agreed with *Marcellus*, in the name of *Mericus*, to deliver up one of the gates to the *Romans*. As soon as the two *Spaniards* were returned into *Acradina*, *Mericus* made it his only business to perform his promise. He first feigned an extraordinary zeal for the defence of the city, pretending, that the deputies of *Marcellus* were allowed too much liberty, and that it was dangerous to admit any such deputies into *Acradina*, or to send embassies to the *Romans*. Upon the credit of this first step he proposed that, as they had to deal with so artful an enemy as *Marcellus*, each governor should have his distinct quarter of the city assigned him, and should be responsible for any neglect of duty in it. His advice was followed, and in this division that part of *Acradina* fell to him, which lay between the fountain of *Arethusa* and the great port, not far from the island *Ortygia*. *Marcellus*, being informed in what part *Mericus* commanded, resolved to make an attempt on that side. Accordingly, having filled a transport with soldiers, he ordered them to land at the gate of *Arethusa*, where they were received within the walls by *Mericus*, and put in possession

of the gate. A false attack was carried on at the same time in a neighbouring quarter, which drew all the enemies forces out of the island, and diverted them from observing what happened at the gate *Arethusa*. As the island of *Ortygia* was by this means quite abandoned, *Marcellus*, who had foreseen this, sent several transports with a strong detachment to take possession of the island, which they did without opposition, the gate being left open by the garison, while they halted to repulse the enemy at the place where the false attack was carried on. When *Marcellus* was informed, that his men were in possession of the island, which was reckoned impregnable, and also of a quarter in *Acradina*, he immediately caused the retreat to be sounded, lest the soldiers should, in the heat of the action, plunder the treasures of the kings of *Syracuse*, which were much magnified by fame^f.

The clemency of *Marcellus* towards the conquered.

AND now *Marcellus*, after a three years siege, being at length become master of the unfaithful city, gave signal proofs of his clemency and good nature. The place was taken by assault, and had greatly provoked the *Romans* by joining their most avowed enemies, while they were engaged in a war, that was likely to prove fatal to them. But notwithstanding their infidelity, he would not use all the rights of a conqueror, nor practice that severity which the faithless city perhaps deserved. The first instance he gave of his good nature was, his ordering that the *Roman* deserters should be suffered to escape, being unwilling to shed the blood even of traitors. Accordingly a gate was left open for them, and all the *Roman* forces withdrawn from thence till they had made their escape. The inhabitants of the two conquered cities sent deputies to him, demanding nothing else but their own lives and the lives of their children. These *Marcellus* received with great humanity, and having assembled a council composed of his own officers and of some *Syracusians* who were in his camp, returned them the following answer. “ *Syracusians*, said he to them, “ the services which good king *Hiero* rendered *Rome* in a “ long reign, have been exceeded by the insults you have offered her in a few years ; and now you are going to reap the “ fruits of your unfaithfulness, and pay dearer for the breach “ of your treaties than we desire. My aim was not, in sitting down before *Syracuse*, to reduce you to slavery, but “ to deliver you from your tyrants, and prevail upon you to “ deliver up into my hands two men, who have now abandoned you without sharing the misfortunes they have “ brought upon you. Both the examples of your magistrates

^f LIV. *ibid.* PLUT. *in.* *Marcell.*

“ who

“ who fled to the *Roman* camp for refuge, and of the most
 “ illustrious of your citizens, who came from time to time
 “ to surrender themselves up into our hands, continually ex-
 “ cited you to return to us. And yet a generous *Spaniard*
 “ has all the glory of bringing you back to your duty. As
 “ for myself, the glory of having taken *Syracuse*, and the sa-
 “ tisfaction of saving it from the entire ruin it deserved,
 “ make me sufficient amends for the fatigues and dangers I
 “ have undergone in so long a siege. Live then *Syracusians*
 “ live : But let the plunder of your goods be the punishment of
 “ your obstinacy, and the just reward of my soldiers.” *Mar-*
cellus having spoke thus immediately ordered the quæstor of his
 army to take possession of the kings treasures for the use of the
 republic, and gave the rest of the booty up to his troops with-
 out reserving any part of the plunder for himself.

As soon as the trumpets sounded, the *Roman* soldiers disper-
 sed themselves all over *Ortygia* and *Acradina*, and nothing
 escaped their avarice. Nay, the enraged soldiers went be-
 yond their orders, and, adding cruelty to avarice, put many
 of the citizens to the sword, and amongst others the great *Archime-*
Archimedes. During the sacking of *Acradina*, he was shut ^{des} killed
 up in his closet, and, so intent on a demonstration of geome- ^{by a Ro-}
 try, that neither the noise of the soldiers, nor the cries of the man ^{soldi-}
 people, drew off his attention from it. He was very calmly ^{er.}
 drawing his lines, when he saw a soldier enter his room, and
 clap a sword to his throat. Hold, friend, said *Archimedes*,
 one moment, and my demonstration will be finished. The
 soldier, surprized at his unconcern in so great danger, re-
 solved to carry him to the proconsul; but *Archimedes* taking
 under his arm a small box full of spheres, sun-dials, &c. the
 soldier thought it contained gold and silver, and not being a-
 ble to resist the temptation killed him upon the spot. *Mar-*
cellus was exceedingly concerned for his death, but not being
 able to repair that misfortune, he applied himself to honour
 his memory to the utmost of his power. He made a diligent
 search after his relations, treated them with great distinction,
 and granted them peculiar privileges. He likewise caused his
 funeral to be performed with great pomp and solemnity, and
 a monument to be erected to his memory, among the great
 men who had distinguished themselves in *Syracuse* ^s.

As the defence of the city for near three years together *An account*
 was the work of *Archimedes* alone, whose great genius made *of Archi-*
 him, as it were, the intelligence that presided over all the la- *medes.*
 hours of the besieged, it will not be improper to make here a

^s LIV. & PLUT. ubi supra.

short digression, and give the reader some account of so extraordinary a person. He was born in *Syracuse*, and descended of an illustrious family, being related to king *Hiero*. Most of the antients tell us, that he was no less considerable for his noble extraction, than sublime genius. Yet *Cicero* represents him as a man of a very mean birth, who had nothing to recommend him, but his skill in geometry^b; and the only elogium he bestows on this famous mathematician is, that he had a fruitful genius, and made many fine discoveries. But the *Roman* orator knew no more of *Archimedes* than what he had learned of *Polybius*, who only mentioned such endowments, as have made his name immortal, and these were not so much esteemed by the *Romans* in *Cicero*'s times, who thought no merit equal to that of an orator, a general, or a statesman. And hence it is, that *Cicero* prefers *Archytas* and *Plato* to *Archimedes*. The former had governed *Tarentum*, and, together with a singular talent for the mathematics, had all the qualities of an excellent general. The latter was eminent among the antient legislators, which was enough to gain him the preference in the opinion of the *Romans*. But *Archimedes* was neither a statesman, nor a soldier, nor an orator. But if we consider, that he alone found means to disconcert all the measures of one of the greatest officers of the *Roman* republic, and by the force of his genius rendered all the efforts of two numerous armies unsuccessful, we cannot without injustice degrade him so far, as to place him after an *Archytas*, or a *Plato*. And therefore *Plutarch* speaks of him with admiration: He says, that his great genius made him be looked upon as something more than a mortal, that he excelled all those who had gone before him, and that it was hardly credible any should in future ages ever rival him. His strong passion for mathematics gave room for the report, that he was continually so charmed with the soothing songs of a domestic syren, that he neglected the common concerns of life: For he took delight in no pleasure of life, but in that of study. For the sake of this he despised every thing else. Not to interrupt his studies he often denied himself the necessaries of life, and was dragged from his contemplations, to take a frugal repast. Sensible only to the pleasures of the mind, he so neglected his person, that his friends were obliged in a manner to force him to the public baths, to make him preserve a decency suitable to his rank; and even then he employed himself for the most part in drawing mathematical figures, on the walls of the stoves with the water in

^b Cic. Tuscul. Quæst. l. 5.

which he bathed. In short, the contemplation of the heavens and the earth gave him such delight as rendered all other pleasures quite tasteless to him and insipid. He long confined his thoughts to speculations only, according to the prejudice of that time, when it was thought too low an employment for a great genius to reduce the sublime discoveries of the mind to practice. But king *Hiero* had sufficient power with him to make him descend from those sublime speculations to practice, and to convince him, that no man could without ingratitude, deprive the public of the fruits of his private studies. One day when *Archimedes* was explaining to the king the wonderful effects of the motive powers, he told him, that he had invented, but not made, a machine, by which he could draw the whole globe of the earth to him, provided he could find another globe or earth to stand on. The king, surprized at the proposal, desired him to give a proof of so bold an assertion, by removing some great weight with a small force. *Archimedes* complied with the king's request, and having caused one of the heaviest galleys in the port to be drawn ashore by a great number of men, he built his machine, and then sitting down at a proper distance from the galley, without trouble or exerting his force in the least, drew the vessel to him, though she had her full lading in her, and was crowded with men. This experiment plainly shewed the king what use he might make of the wonderful talents of this great man, if he could only persuade him to put his inventions in practice. This the king undertook to do, and by many intreaties prevailed upon the speculative geometician to descend to mechanics, and build those wonderful machines for the defending of cities, which we have spoke of above. Besides the warlike machines, amongst his master-pieces was reckoned a sphere of glass, the circles of which represented the periodical and synodical motions of the stars and planets. *Cicero* himself could not help doing justice to the inventor of so fine a work, saying, that we ought to look upon the artificial globe, or rather little world, in which *Archimedes* had so happily imitated the wise hand of the divine architect of the universe, as the effect of a superior genius¹ (X). Some have

¹ *Cic. Tuscul. Quæst. l. 1.*

(X) This sphere is elegantly described by *Claudian* in the following epigram.

*Jupiter, in parvo cum cerneret æthera vitro,
Risit, & ad superos talia dicta dedit :*

Fluccine

have falsely imagined, that *Archimedes* set fire to the *Roman* fleet by means of a burning glass^k. But the honour of this invention is due to *Proclus*, who first made use of brazen burning-glasses, to set on fire the ships of *Vitalian*, who besieged *Constantinople*, in the 500th year of the *Christian* æra. Those who have the least knowledge of mathematics, understand what kind of demonstration *Archimedes* made use of against a dishonest goldsmith, who having received from king *Hiero* a certain quantity of gold, which was to be formed into a crown for one of the gods, kept some of the gold for himself, and putting silver in the room of it delivered to the king of *Syracuse* a crown as heavy as the gold he had received. The discovery of this fraud, which *Archimedes* made in a bath, gave him so great pleasure, that he ran home, without reflecting he was naked, crying out aloud, *I have found it, I have found it*. But the force of his genius shewed itself to far greater advantage in the structure and direction of the formidable batteries he played against the *Roman* armies and fleets. It is a great misfortune, that neither he, nor any after him, have given us an account of the manner of building and working those machines. Upon his tomb, as he had ordered in his life-time, was placed a cylinder and a sphere, with an inscription shewing the proportion between them, which he first found out. An invention of so little use, as this may seem, pleased that great artist better, than the devising of those machines which made him so famous. The *Syracusians*, who had been in former times so fond of the sciences, did not long retain the esteem and gratitude they owed a man, who had done so much honour to their city. In less than an hundred and forty years after, *Archimedes* was so

^k GALIEN. l. 3. TZETZES. l. 35. chiliad, 5.

*Hucine mortalis progressa potentia curæ ?
 Jam meus in fragili luditur orbe labor.
 Jura poli, rerumque fidem, legesque deorum,
 Ecce Syracusius transtulit arte senex.
 Inclusus variis famulatur spiritus astris,
 Et vivum certis motibus urget opus.
 Percurrit proprium mentitus signifer annum,
 Et simulata novo Cynthia mense redit.
 Jamque suum volvens audax industria mundum
 Gaudet, & humana sidera mente regit.
 Quid falso insontem tonitru Salmonæa miror ?
 Æmula naturæ parva reperta manus (49).*

(49) Claud. Epigram. 16.

perfectly

perfectly forgot by his citizens, notwithstanding the eminent services he had done them, that they did not even know he had been buried at *Syracuse*. It is from *Cicero* we have this circumstance, who being led by his curiosity, while he was quæstor in *Sicily*, to make a search after the tomb of *Archimedes*, was assured by the *Syracusians*, that his search would be to no purpose, there being no such monument among them. *Cicero* pitied their ignorance, which only served to encrease his desire of making that discovery. After many fruitless attempts, he at last observed, without the gate of the city leading to *Agrigentum*, a pillar almost entirely covered with thorns and brambles, through which he could discern the figure of a sphere and cylinder. Those who have any taste for antiquity, may easily conceive the joy of *Cicero* on this occasion. He cried out with the words of *Archimedes*, *I have found it, I have found it*. The place was immediately cleared, when the inscription appeared still legible. So that, says *Cicero*, in concluding this account, the greatest city of *Greece*, formerly the mother of sciences, would not have known the treasure it possessed, if a man born in *Arpinas* had not discovered the tomb of one of its citizens, so highly distinguished by the greatness of his genius¹. But to resume the thread of our history.

Tomb of Archimedes discovered by Cicero.

Marcellus, after having plundered *Syracuse*, and stript it of all its valuable monuments, which were sent to *Rome*, advanced to the city of *Engyum*, which was one of the most ancient colonies the *Cretans* had founded in *Sicily*. The *Engyans* had received a strange superstition from their founders, which it was dangerous to contradict. It was affirmed, that certain goddesses, called the *Mothers*, appeared from time to time in a temple of that city. But one *Nicias*, a man of wit, had talked with some pleasantry of these pretended apparitions, and being likewise a friend to the *Romans*, the inhabitants resolved to put him to death. But he avoided the danger by counterfeiting madness, and then made his escape to the *Romans*, who took him under their protection. This enraged the *Engyans* against them to such a degree, that *Marcellus* thought it necessary to curb their insolence, and punish them for the severity they practised on the friends of *Rome*. He flew to *Engyum*, and took it by assault, but, at the request of *Nicias*, spared the inhabitants, and would not even suffer his soldiers to plunder the place. By this clemency *Marcellus* gained the hearts of the *Sicilians*, and his reputation was extended far among the *Greeks*^m.

Engyum taken by Marcellus.

¹ *Cic. Tusc. Quæst. l. 5.*

^m *Liv. & PLUT. ibid.*

Mutines
maintains
the Car-
thaginian
interest in
Sicily.

AFTER the reduction of *Syracuse*, most of the cities of *Sicily*, which had sided with the *Carthaginians*, voluntarily submitted to *Marcellus*; and those which had continued faithful to *Rome*, or had renewed their alliance with the republic without waiting till *Syracuse* was taken, were maintained in possession of their antient privileges. Nevertheless *Sicily* was not entirely settled in peace: *Epicydes*, and *Hanno*, the commander of the *Carthaginian* forces in the island, were fled to *Agrigentum* for refuge; *Mutines*, who had been sent by *Hannibal* to supply the place of *Hippocrates*, kept the field at the head of a detachment of *Numidians*. This general was a *Phœnician* by descent, and a native of *Hippo*, a city of *Africa*, which the *Greeks* called *Diarrhytos*, to distinguish it from another city, bearing the same name of *Hippo*, in *Numidia*. This officer, who was formed by *Hannibal* himself, had acquired great reputation in the army by his valour and conduct. *Epicydes* and *Hanno*, who were well acquainted with his merit, had given him the command of a body of *Numidian* horse, and this brave man answered their expectations. He soon made himself dreaded in all *Sicily*, by the many advantages he gained over the cities in alliance with *Rome*. After he had, with surprising expedition, ravaged the enemy's lands, he flew to all the places that still adhered to *Carthage*, and, by his presence, kept the wavering people in awe, even after the reduction of *Syracuse*. He secured the fidelity of some, by sending them the provisions and succours they wanted; others he encouraged with his presence to hold out resolutely against *Marcellus*, and raised their dejected spirits. He seemed to be in all places where the interest of the republic required his presence. *Epicydes* and *Hanno* had till now shut themselves up in *Agrigentum*; but being encouraged by the successful expeditions of *Mutines*, they ventured to take the field, and, advancing as far as the river *Himera*, formed a camp there. *Marcellus*, being informed of his enemy's march, immediately put himself at the head of his army, and encamped about four miles from the *Carthaginian* troops, with a design to watch their motions. *Mutines* did not give him time to deliberate what part to act; for that brave general, who only wanted an opportunity of signalizing himself, immediately passed the river, and falling on the advanced guards, spread an alarm in the whole *Roman* army. The next day *Marcellus* marched out of his lines, and attacked the camp of *Mutines*, but was repulsed with great loss. *Mutines* was preparing to attack the *Romans* in their entrenchments, when news was brought him, that the *Numidian* cavalry, falling out among themselves, had raised

raised great disturbances in the neighbouring country, and that a body of three hundred of them had retired to *Hera-clea*. This obliged the general to drop, or rather put off, his enterprize. He instantly flew to suppress a revolt, the consequences of which might defeat his designs, and at the same time desired *Epicydes* and *Hanno* not to venture an engagement till he returned. This request was no-ways agreeable to the two generals. *Hanno*, who had been long jealous of the glory and reputation of *Mutines*, could not brook his seeming to impose laws upon him as if he had been a subaltern. What, said he, am I sent into *Sicily* with a commission by the senate and people of *Carthage*, only to be subject to the caprice of a man of no birth or family? *Hanno* found it no difficult matter to instil the same uneasiness into the mind of *Epicydes*. So that they both resolved to pass the river, and give battle without waiting for *Mutines*. Their rage and jealousy made them look upon this brave *African* only as a troublesome rival, who would assume to himself all the honour of a victory, which they might gain without him. *Marcellus*, seeing the *Carthaginians* form their army, drew up his likewise in battalia. This great general had four years before humbled the pride of *Hannibal* before *Nola*, and therefore thought it shameful to retire before two commanders, who were much inferior to him, and who had already felt so often the effects of the *Roman* valour. So that the *Roman* accepted the challenge, and, while he was preparing for the battle, ten *Numidians* came from the *Carthaginian* army to inform him, that their countrymen were determined to continue inactive during the engagement. They were persuaded, that *Epicydes* and *Hanno* had sent away *Mutines* their commander, and employed him elsewhere, on purpose to rob him of the glory of conquering the *Romans*. The report of the revolt of the *Numidians* was soon spread among the legionaries, who looked upon it as a happy presage of victory. The most cowardly took courage when they were no longer to contend with those squadrons, which had been to that time so formidable to them. As to the enemy, they were seized with a sudden terror upon the first report of the revolt. Besides, *Epicydes* and *Hanno* could no longer depend on the *Numidian* cavalry, which was the main strength of their army, and were under no small apprehension, lest, in the heat of the engagement, they should turn their arms against the *Carthaginians*. While they were in this perplexity, the *Roman* army advanced, and, falling upon the affrighted troops with the utmost fury, put them to flight upon the first onset. The fugitives took the road to *Agrigentum*, whither they were pur-

*Epicydes
and Hanno
defeated by
Marcel-
lus.*

New forces
arrive
from Car-
thage in
Sicily.

sued by the *Romans*, who killed many thousands of them, and took eight elephants. The *Numidians*, after having been idle spectators of the battle, refused to follow the others to *Agri- gentum*, for fear of being besieged there by the *Romans*, and retired to the neighbouring cities. This great advantage raised *Marcellus* to the highest pitch of glory; he returned victorious to *Syracuse*, and soon after set out from thence for *Rome*, after having delivered up his army, and the government of *Sicily*, to *Marcus Cornelius Cethegus*. He was scarce gone, when a *Carthaginian* fleet landed eight thousand foot and three thousand *Numidian* horse in *Sicily*. By the help of these new forces the *Carthaginians* began to recover their power in several parts of the island; *Murgantia*, *Hybla*, and *Macella* went over to them, and, after their example, some less considerable places fell off from the *Romans*. As for *Mutines*, he, at the head of his *Numidians*, destroyed the country with fire and sword, daily returned to the cities of his allies loaded with booty, and laid the whole country waste with impunity, even in sight of the *Roman* army. The *Roman* soldiers were enraged, that they had not been allowed to follow their general to *Rome*, and there share the honours of a triumph with him. Their murmurs increased, when they were forbid to take up their winter quarters in the cities; and they only wanted a head to break out into an open rebellion. All the address of *Marcus Cornelius* was wanting to appease their resentment; some he gained by caresses and fair words, others he intimidated by threatnings, and, having brought them to submit again to the laws of military discipline, he soon repaired the losses the republic had suffered since the departure of *Marcellus*. At the head of his troops he forced all the rebellious cities to return to their duty, and particularly *Murgantia*, which, with its territory, was bestowed by the senate on the *Spaniards*, as a reward for their zeal in the service of the republicⁿ.

The Sici-
lians com-
plain of
Marcel-
lus.

BUT the total reduction of *Sicily* was reserved for *Marcus Valerius Lævinus*, who, being appointed consul with *Marcellus*, was sent into *Sicily* to settle the affairs of that island. It still continued customary at *Rome* for the two consuls to chuse their provinces by lot; and it now happened, that *Italy* fell to *Lævinus*, and *Sicily* to *Marcellus*. But as soon as this was declared, the *Sicilians*, who were present, expressed as much terror and consternation as they had done at *Syracuse*, when *Marcellus* surprized it. They dressed themselves in mourning, crowded to the houses of the senators, and pro-

ⁿ LIV. PLUT. *ibid.*

tested that it would be better for *Sicily* to perish in the flames of mount *Ætna*, or to be swallowed up by the sea, than to fall again under the government of her conqueror and tyrant. These accusers had been suborned by *M. Cornelius Cethegus*, who, being prætor in *Sicily*, sent them to *Rome* with a design to form an accusation against *Marcellus*, and raise his own glory on the ruins of this great man's reputation. In order to this he wrote many letters to the senate, wherein he declared, that there was a great deal to do in the island, before it could be entirely reduced; and thereby prevented *Marcellus* from enjoying the honour of a triumph, which was seldom granted till an expedition was completed. The *Syracusians*, who were to accuse *Marcellus* kept themselves concealed in the villages round *Rome*, till they heard that *Sicily* had fallen to his lot, and then they appeared as suppliants before the senate to demand justice against him. *Marcellus*, who was not a stranger to the secret plots of his enemies, and knew, that some of the senators out of compassion, and others out of jealousy, laid great stress on the complaints of the *Syracusians*, declared, that if his colleague was willing to change provinces, he would not be against it. *Lævinus* consented to the change, and accordingly orders were sent into *Marcellus Sicily*, enjoining the prætor *Cornelius Cethegus* to deliver up ^{cleared,} the troops under his command to the consul. But before either *Lævinus* or *Marcellus* set out for their respective provinces, the *Sicilians* were heard in the senate, and *Marcellus* cleared. His proceedings in *Sicily* were declared regular, the pillage of *Syracuse* approved of, and his regulations ratified. Nevertheless it was decreed, that *Rome* should for the future consult the interest of *Syracuse*, and *Lævinus* was exhorted to shew the *Syracusians* all the lenity that was consistent with the welfare of the republic. When the decree was passed, the *Sicilians* were brought to the senate to hear it, and *Marcellus*, who had retired that the debates of the senators might be more free, came in after them, and took his place as consul. Then the *Sicilians*, confounded at what they had done, threw themselves at his feet, bathed them with tears, and begged him to pardon the attempts, which the present sense of their misery had induced them to make against his honour. *Marcellus* received them very graciously, promised them his protection, and in consequence of this promise obtained of the senate, that the *Syracusians* should be reinstated in their antient liberties, and treated as allies of *Rome*. Hence proceeded the eternal gratitude of the *Syracusians* to *Marcellus* and his posterity. They enacted a decree, wherein it was ordered, that whenever any of his family set foot in *Sicily*, the people should

should walk before him crowned with garlands, and celebrate that happy day with sacrifices. From thenceforth, the whole island remained under the patronage of the *Marcellis*, the *Sicilians* becoming clients of that illustrious family • (Y). THE

• PLUT. in Marcell.

(Y) The conduct of *Marcellus* on this occasion was not intirely approved of at *Rome*. Some of the senators, remembering the attachment which king *Hiero* had on all occasions shewn to their republic, could not help condemning their general for giving up the city to be plundered by his greedy soldiers. The citizens were not in a condition to make good their party against an army of mercenaries, and therefore were obliged, against their will, to yield to the times, and obey the ministers of *Hannibal*, who commanded the army. But they were no sooner their own masters, first by the death of *Hieronimus*, and afterwards by the flight of *Epicydes*, than they declared for the *Romans*, and put to death such as favoured the *Carthaginian* party; so that they were never willingly unfaithful to *Rome*. *Marcellus* nevertheless plundered the city, and stripped it of all its valuable monuments, as if the citizens had been enemies to *Rome*, not by force, to use *Livy's* expression, but by inclination. The same writer imputes to *Marcellus* the custom, which prevailed among the *Romans*, of stripping the conquered cities of their richest ornaments, and embellishing their capital with them. It is true, says he, these spoils belonged, by right of war, to the conqueror; but it must be owned, that this custom gave rise to many evils. From that time the people began to be very inquisitive after these master-pieces of art, which have been the admiration of all ages. And hence came that unbounded licentiousness, which prevails among us to this day, of sparing nothing, either sacred or profane, to gratify our ostentation and curiosity. Religion itself could no longer set bounds to the avarice of a greedy conqueror. He laid his sacrilegious hands on sacred things. The most venerable deities were tore from the places where they had fixed their abode; and the temple, which was built by *Marcellus* himself, has met with the same fate. The stately monuments, with which he enriched it, are now become the prey of an unjust usurper; and there are now but few remains of the fine statues and valuable paintings, which the conqueror of *Syracuse* reserved for embellishing it. Thus far *Livy* (50). Till the age, in which this general lived, *Rome* had entertained her citizens with no sights, but what suited her martial genius, viz. triumphs, trophies, and the military ensigns and arms of conquered nations. This was very suitable to the taste of men, who were enemies to luxury, and had been brought up in the noise and hurry of war. The old *Romans* therefore, who were fond of the antient customs, thought the conduct of *Fabius* at the taking of *Tarentum*

(50) *Liv. l. xxv.*

preferable

THE cause of the *Sicilians* being thus determined, *Lævinus* set out for his province, and on his arrival found the whole island reduced by the prætor *Cornelius*, except *Agri- gentum* and its territory. Having therefore settled the government of *Syracuse* and its dependencies, to the advantage of the *Romans* and the satisfaction of the inhabitants, he turned his arms against the only place that was left to *Carthage* in the whole island. The city of *Agri- gentum* was defended by a numerous garison under the command of *Hanno*; but the consul with little trouble made himself master of it, more by the good fortune of *Rome* than his own valour. *Hanno*, growing daily more jealous of the great reputation which *Mutines* acquired, at length deprived that brave subaltern of his commission, and put his son in his room. But his having no command did not at all lessen his credit among the soldiers, especially the *Numidians*, who were more attached to him than ever; so that all the odium of this removal fell on the general. On the other hand, *Mutines*, not being able to brook the affront put upon him, resolved, at all events, to be

preferable to that of *Marcellus* at the taking of *Syracuse*. The former was content with the gold and other spoils that might fill *Rome* with plenty, and did not touch the famous statues and pictures which adorned the temples and public places, saying, *Let us leave the Tarentines their angry gods*. *Marcellus*, on the contrary, emboldened by his example the triumphant victors to lead both men and gods in chains after their chariots. From his time, says *Plutarch* (51), the citizens were no longer employed as in earlier ages, in forming great designs, and conspiring to promote the glory of their country. The public places were filled only with idle people, who spent great part of the day in discoursing on statues of exquisite workmanship, valuable pictures, and those who had excelled in painting and sculpture. *Polybius* is no less severe on the *Romans* on this account, than *Livy* or *Plutarch*. These statues, says he (52), pictures, bas-reliefs, and other rich spoils of the conquered nations, were indeed a proof of the conquests of *Rome*, and at the same time, of the injustice of those who seized them. When these monuments were shewn to strangers, they perpetuated their hatred to the *Roman* name, and put the conquered people in mind of their misfortunes. This inspired the spectators with indignation against the conquerors, and with compassion for the oppressed nations. The rich spoils, which *Marcellus* brought out of *Sicily*, were placed by him in the temples of *Virtue* and *Honour*, which he had built in discharge of a vow made in the war with the *Gauls* (53).

(51) *Plut. in Marcell.*
Marcell. Cornel. Nepos.

(52) *Polyb. l. ix.*

(53) *Plut in*

Agrigentum taken by Lævinus.

revenged on *Hanno* ; and accordingly began to maintain a private correspondence with the consul, advising him to bring his army before *Agrigentum*. Upon the first news of the march of the *Romans*, *Mutines* conspired with the *Numidians* against *Hanno*, put himself at their head, and having seized one of the gates, put the *Romans* in possession of it. The *Carthaginian* guard was then cut in pieces, and the legionaries, mixed with the *Numidians*, advanced in order of battle into the centre of the city. So that the place was taken before *Hanno* knew that the *Romans* were before it. He hastened to the market-place, imagining, that the *Numidians*, who often opposed the orders of their generals, had raised some new commotion. But perceiving, while he was yet at some distance, that the *Romans* were mixed with the *Numidians*, and not doubting but he was betrayed, he turned short, and made the best of his way out of the city, and arriving at the port, he embarked with *Epicydes* and a small number of officers on a vessel which was ready to set sail. The rest of his army betook themselves to flight, but, *Lævinus* having posted guards in all the avenues and passages, they were all killed to a man. All the chiefs of the *Agrigentini* were, by *Lævinus's* order, first beaten with rods, and then beheaded. The common people were reduced to slavery, and sold to the best bidder. The spoils of the pillaged city were publicly put up to sale, and the money returned to the public treasury. After the reduction of *Agrigentum* and flight of *Hanno* and *Epicydes*, most of the *Sicilian* cities submitted to the *Romans* of their own accord, and others were either betrayed or taken by force. Thus the *Romans* became masters of the whole island, the conquest of which paved them a way to the more distant nations in *Africa* and *Asia*. *Lævinus*, having now no enemies to contend with, settled peace throughout the whole island; and took upon himself the government of it in the name of his republic, making it all but one province. This fruitful country, the cultivating of which had been long interrupted by wars, produced corn an hundred-fold; hence from this time it became the granary of *Rome*, and her constant refuge in distress.^p

And all Sicily reduced to a Roman province.

Lævinus, having settled *Sicily* in peace, was recalled to *Rome* to preside in the comitia, which were to be held for the electing of new magistrates. Upon his departure, as he was to return soon, he left the command of his army and the government of *Sicily* to the prætor *Cincius* during his absence. When he came to *Rome*, he gave the senate an account of his

^p LIV. l. xxvi. c. 40. ZONAR. l. ix. c. 7.

†

expedition,

expedition and of the present state of the island. After which he introduced to the conscript fathers *Mutines*, and all those who deserted *Hannibal* to adhere to the republic. They had many honours conferred upon them; and all the advantageous terms, which the consul had promised them, were granted by a decree of the senate. *Mutines* himself was admitted to enjoy the rights of a *Roman* citizen, at the motion of one of the tribunes of the people and by the authority of the senate. He ever afterwards served the *Romans* with great fidelity, and accompanied the two *Scipios* into *Asia* against *Antiochus*, on which occasion he is said to have distinguished himself in a very particular manner.

ALL *Sicily* being now become a province of the *Roman* republic, it was not treated as the other countries, which *Rome* subdued afterwards, upon which a certain tribute was imposed; but suffered to enjoy its antient privileges, and retain all its former rights. This distinction, as *Tully* observes, *Sicily* well deserved, since that island was the first of all foreign nations that had entered into alliance and amity with *Rome*, and the first conquest the republic made out of *Italy*. This island was afterwards a kind of pass for their troops into *Africa*; and *Rome* would not have so easily reduced the formidable power of *Carthage*, had not *Sicily* served her as a magazine to supply her armies with provisions, and been a secure retreat to her fleets. Hence *Scipio Africanus*, after having taken and destroyed *Carthage*, thought himself obliged to adorn the cities of *Sicily* with some of the richest spoils he had brought from *Africa*, to the end that the *Sicilians* might have some monuments among them of those victories to which they had greatly contributed⁴.

BESIDES *Syracuse*, there were several other free cities in *Sicily*, namely, *Leontini*, *Agrigentum*, *Gela*, *Messana*, *Himera*, *Catana*, *Ætna*, *Apollonia*, *Selinus*, *Taurominium*, *Agyris*, and *Centuripe*. These underwent the same vicissitudes as *Syracuse*, being sometimes governed by their own laws, and at others enslaved by their domestic tyrants, till they were at last all brought under subjection by the *Romans*. *Phalaris*, tyrant of *Agrigentum*, is one of the most famous on account of his cruelty among the *Sicilian* tyrants. He usurped the sovereignty of that city in the second year of the fifty second olympiad, and maintained it for sixteen years. We have still remaining some letters of *Abaris* to this tyrant, and his answers; though some ascribe them to *Lucian*, *Perillus* the

⁴ Cic. in Verr. Act. 3.

Athenian, to flatter the cruelty of *Phalaris*, made the famous brazen bull for tormenting of criminals, and was the first that suffered in it, having demanded too great a reward for his contrivance. The people of *Agrigentum*, unable to bear any longer with his unheard-of cruelties, made a general insurrection, seized on the tyrant and put him to death, some say, by shutting him up in his beloved bull^r. The most material transactions relating to the other cities of *Sicily* we have delivered in the history of *Syracuse*, with which their respective histories are inseparably interwoven, and therefore shall now proceed to the history of the other islands, beginning with that of *Rhodes*, which, though small in extent, yet makes a very considerable figure in history, perhaps the first after *Sicily*.

S E C T. III.

The History of RHODES.

Its names.

THE island before us was formerly known by the names of *Ophiusa*, *Asteria*, *Æthraea*, *Trinacria*, *Corymbia*, *Poessa*, *Atabyria*, *Macria*, *Oloessa*, *Stadia*, *Telchinis*, *Pelagia*, and *Rhodus*. In latter ages the name of *Rhodus* or *Rhodes* prevailed, which authors commonly derive from the Greek word *Rodon*, signifying a rose, that island abounding, as they say, above any other with this sort of flowers. And indeed several *Rhodian* coins are still to be seen representing the sun, and on the reverse a rose. But *Diodorus Siculus*ⁱ will have it so called from one *Rhoda*, the daughter of *Apollo* by *Venus* (Z). It lies in the *Mediterranean* over-against

^r LUCIAN. dial. 3. de Poet. EUSEB. in Chron. CIC. l. ii. Off.
ⁱ DIONOR. SICUL. l. v. c. 3.

(Z) Bochart derives the name of *Rhodes* from the *Phœnician* word *Rod*, signifying a serpent, and adds, that as the *Greeks* called it *Ophiusa*, because it was once greatly infested by those insects, so the *Phœnicians*, who were once masters of it, named it *Gest-rath Rod*, that is, the island of serpents; to the word *Rod* the *Greeks* adding the termination peculiar to their language formed the name of *Rhodos* (54). Others tell us, that it was called *Rhodus* from the Greek word *Rodon*, signifying a rose, not that it abounded with roses, but because a rose-bud of brass was found in laying the foundations of the ancient city of *Lindus* (55).

(54) Bochart. *Plaieg.* l. i. c. 2.
 c. 4.

(55) *Athenæus*, l. iii.

the coast of *Lycia* and *Caria*, from which it is distant about twenty miles. This island is about an hundred and twenty miles in compass, and blessed with a most fruitful soil, which gave occasion to the fable of those golden showers that were once said to have fallen upon it. It formerly produced, in great plenty, all sorts of delicious fruits, and wines of so exquisite a taste, that they were used by the *Romans* chiefly in their sacrifices, and thought, as *Virgil* informs us ^t, too good for mortals. The air is here said to be so serene, that no day ever passes without sun-shine; whence the poets feigned *Phæbus* to be in love with this island, which, say they, was a mere marsh altogether uninhabitable, till loved by *Phæbus*, and raised out of the waters by his powerful influence. Soil, climate, &c.

THE island of *Rhodes* had in *Homer's* time three cities, *Cities of* viz. *Lindus*, *Camirus*, *Ialysus*; to which in after-ages was *Rhodes*. added a fourth bearing the name of the island. *Lindus*, now *Lindo*, stood on the east coast of the island, and was *Lindus*. famous in ancient times for a temple dedicated to *Minerva*, whence that goddess had the surname of *Lindia*. This temple is said to have been built by *Danaus* king of *Egypt*, landing here on his flight from his own kingdom. A certain festival was celebrated annually in this city, not with blessings and prayers, as *Lactantius* informs us ^u, but with curses and imprecations; insomuch, that if one good word escaped any of those that were present, it was deemed a very bad omen, and the whole ceremony begun anew. *Lindus* gave birth to *Chares*, the architect of the colossus, and to *Cleobulus* one of the seven wise men of *Greece*. *Camirus* or *Cameiros* was situate on the western coast of the island, and is barely mentioned by the ancients. *Ialysus*, in *Ialysus*. the north over-against the coast of *Lycia*, was the most ancient city in the whole island, but we find nothing relating to it worth mentioning. These three cities were, according to *Diodorus* ^w, built by *Tlepolemus* the son of *Hercules* before the *Trojan* war. But *Strabo* ^x and *Cicero* ^y tell us, that they were founded by the *Heliades*, or grandsons of *Phæbus*, *Ialysus*, *Camirus*, and *Lindus*, who imparted their names each to the city he built (A). But the city of *Rhodes*. *Rhodes*

^t VIRGIL. Georg. l. ii.
 HOR. SICUL. l. iv. c. 60.
 de nat. deor. l. iii. c. 21.

^u LACTAN. l. i. c. 31.
^x STRABO, l. xiv.

^w DIO-
^y CIC.

(A) Some writers tell us, that these three cities were built by the *Dorians* not long after their migration, whence they are counted

by *Athenæus* among the *Dorian* colonies (56). *Herodotus* says, they were founded by the daughters of *Danaus*, who landed in this island, after having put to death the sons of *Egyptus* their husbands (57). In the city of *Lindus* was a magnificent temple, said by *Plutarch* (58) to have been built by them in honour of the *Lindian Minerva*. *Zosimus* tells us, that in his time were still to be seen at *Constantinople* two statues of exquisite workmanship, the one of *Jupiter Dodonæus*, the other of the *Lindian Minerva*, and adds, that the magnificent temple of that goddess in the city of *Lindus* having been by an accidental fire reduced to ashes, these two statues were found in the rubbish, no ways hurt or damaged (59). *Cadmus*, according to *Diodorus Siculus* (60), presented the *Lindian Minerva* with a kettle made after the ancient fashion, on which was an inscription in *Phœnician* letters. *Amasis* king of *Egypt* consecrated, as *Herodotus* informs us (61), to the same goddess two statues and a linen vest of a wonderful texture. *Pliny* says, that each thread of this vest consisted of three hundred and fifty smaller threads, and adds, lest we should question the truth of what he says, that the consul *Mutianus*, having had the curiosity to untwist several threads both of the woof and warp, found that each of them contained exactly the abovementioned number of other threads, so fine that they were scarce discernible by the naked eye (62.) The same author tells us, that *Helena* offered to the same goddess a cup of amber of exquisite workmanship, and speaks of several pictures in this temple done by *Parrhasias*, *Zeuxis*, and other great masters. The other two cities, *Camiros* and *Ialysus*, contained nothing remarkable; the latter was commanded by a citadel built on a neighbouring hill, and called by *Strabo* (63) *Ochyroma*. *Lindus* and *Ialysus* were both well fortified in the time of the *Peloponnesian* war, as appears from *Thucydides* (64); but *Camiros*, or as some write it *Cameiros*, was then without walls. *Diodorus* (65) speaks of another town, which he calls *Acbaia*, and supposes to have been built by *Ochimus* and *Cercaphus*, two of the sons of *Apollo*, at a small distance from *Ialysus*; but, as no other writer makes mention of this city, we are inclined to believe, that *Diodorus* by *Acbaia* meant the castle of *Ochyroma*, which perhaps in his time was known by that name. The cities of *Lindus*, *Ialysus*, and *Camiros* were, as *Strabo* informs us (66), three different republics, and quite independent of each other, governing themselves by their own laws till the inhabitants abandoned their ancient habitations, and went to settle in the city of *Rhodes*, which was built in the time of the *Peloponnesian* war, that is many centuries after the other three.

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|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (56) <i>Athenæus</i> , l. iii. | (57) <i>Herodot.</i> l. ii. | (58) <i>Plut.</i> |
| <i>de soler. Animal.</i> | (59) <i>Zosimus</i> , l. v. | (60) <i>Diodor.</i> |
| <i>Sicul.</i> l. ii | (61) <i>Herodot.</i> l. ii. | (62) <i>Plin.</i> l. v. c. 6. |
| (63) <i>Strabo</i> , l. xiv. | (64) <i>Thucyd.</i> l. viii. | (65) <i>Diodor.</i> |
| <i>Sicul.</i> l. v. | (66) <i>Strabo</i> , <i>ibid.</i> | |

Rhodes (B), built during the *Peloponnesian* war, soon eclipsed the other three, and became the metropolis of the whole island. It was situate on the east coast, at the foot of a hill of a gentle ascent; and in an agreeable plain, environed at some distance with several hills full of springs, and covered with all kinds of fruit trees. No city, if we believe *Strabo* ², was in ancient times preferable to it, whether we consider the state-liness of its buildings, or the excellent laws by which it was governed.

² STRAB. l. xiv.

(B) This stately city was built by the same architect, whom the *Athenians* had employed in building the *Piræus* or port of *Athens*, viz. *Hippodamus*, a native of *Miletus*, and deservedly counted among the best architects *Greece* ever produced (67). *Isidorus* was greatly mistaken in making *Cecrops* king of *Athens* the founder of this city (68), since it is manifest from all the monuments of antiquity, that *Rhodes* was not built before the *Peloponnesian* war; no mention being made by any writer of such a city till that period. It was built, according to *Strabo* (69) and *Aristides* (70), in the form of an amphitheatre, surrounded with walls like those of *Munychia*, embellished with most stately buildings, strait and broad streets, pleasant avenues, fine groves, large squares, &c. *Dio Chrysostomus* (71) tells us, that most of the *Pagan* deities had temples in this city; among which that of the sun, called by the *Dorians* *Haleium*, was one of the most noble structures of antiquity. *Strabo* mentions the temple of *Bacchus*, or, as the *Rhodians* stiled him, *Thyonidas*, which, as he tells us, was enriched with a prodigious number of pictures done by the celebrated painter *Protogenes*. *Hesychius*, *Appian*, and *Suetonius* speak of the temples of *Isis*, of *Ocridion*, and *Diana*, as master-pieces of art. Each of these temples contained immense treasures, votaries flocking thither with rich presents from all parts of *Greece*, *Asia*, and *Italy*. In the *Dionysium*, or temple of *Bacchus*, was a statue of *Pluto* of massy gold, and an incredible number of other statues and pictures done by the greatest masters. *Pliny* tells us (72), that in his time there were in the city of *Rhodes* above three thousand statues, most of them done with great taste; nay if *Aristides* is to be credited (73), there were more valuable statues and pictures in the city of *Rhodes* alone, than in all the other cities of *Greece*. The pictures of *Menander* king of *Caria* and of *Anæus* the son of *Neptune* by

(67) *Strabo*, l. xiv.

(68) *Isidor. de Origin.*

l. i.

(69) *Strabo*, ubi supra.

(70) *Aristid. in*

Rhodiæ.

(71) *Dio Chrysostom. in Rhodiæ.*

(72) *Plin. l. iv.*

s. 7.

(73) *Aristid. in Rhodiæ.*

The Co-
lossus.

governed. In the *Roman* times it was famous for the study of all sciences, and resorted to by such of the *Romans* as were desirous to improve themselves in literature, being by some of the ancients equalled to *Athens* itself^a. It had a very convenient haven, at the entrance of which were two rocks, and on those rocks, though fifty foot asunder, the famous *Colossus* is supposed to have stood (C). It was a huge statue of brass erected in honour of the *Sun* or *Apollo*, the tutelary god of the island, and for its size accounted one of the seven wonders of the world, being seventy cubits, or an hundred and five foot high; insomuch, that ships in entering the harbour sailed between its legs. *Demetrius Poliorcetes* having for a whole year besieged the city of *Rhodes* without being able to take it. at last tired out with so long a siege was reconciled to the *Rhodians*, and on his departure presented them with all the engines of war he had employed against their city.

^a Suet. in Tiber.

Apelles, and those of *Perseus*, *Hercules*, and *Meleager* by *Zeuxis*, are greatly cried up by *Pliny* and other ancient writers. That of *Meleager* was thrice singed with lightning, as the same *Pliny* informs us (74); but that accident did not in the least deaden the lustre and brightness of its colours.

(C) *Pliny* describes it in the following terms: Of all things that are deservedly admired, the *Colossus* of *Rhodes*, done by *Chares* of *Lindus* the disciple of *Lyfippus*, is the most worthy of admiration. It was seventy cubits high, and is still, though lying on the ground, a great prodigy. Its thumb is a fathom in compass, and its fingers larger than most statues. It was hollow, and had in its cavities vast stones employed by the artificer to counterballance its weight, and render it steady, &c. (75). *Sextus Empiricus* tells us, that it was eighty cubits high, and that *Chares* the *Lindian*, having spent the whole sum which he had demanded for the completing of the work, before he had half done it, laid violent hands on himself, out of shame for being so grossly mistaken in his computation. Upon his death, one *Laches*, a native of the same city, undertook the work, says the same writer, and put the last hand to it. That it was done, at least in part, by *Laches*, he proves from the inscription which was still extant in his time on the pedestal of the statue in the following words: *Laches of Lindus made the Colossus of Rhodes eighty cubits high*. We will not call in question the veracity of our author; but after all we cannot help thinking it somewhat strange, that no writer, either before or since his time, should mention this inscription. He flourished in the reign of *Antoninus* surnamed *the philosopher*.

(74) *Plin. ibid.*

(75) *Plin. l. 34. c. 7.*

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These the *Rhodians* sold for three hundred talents, and, with that money and other additional sums of their own, raised this famous colossus. The artificer they employed was *Chares* of *Lindus*, who was twelve years in completing the work. After it had stood sixty years, it was thrown down by an earthquake, which did great damage in the east, especially in *Caria* and *Rhodes* ^b. On this occasion the *Rhodians* sent ambassadors to all the princes and states of *Greek* origin to represent the losses they had sustained, and by that means procured great sums for the repairing of them, especially from the kings of *Egypt*, *Macedon*, *Syria*, *Pontus*, and *Bithynia*. The money they gathered is said to have exceeded five times the value of the damages. But they, instead of setting up the colossus again, for which end most of it was given, pretended an answer from the oracle of *Delphos*, forbidding it, and kept the money for themselves ^c. Thus the colossus lay where it fell for the space of 894 years till at length *Murwias*, the sixth caliph or emperor of the *Saracens*, having taken *Rhodes*, sold the brass to a *Jew*, who loaded with it nine hundred camels, so that allowing eight hundred pound weight to every camel's load, the brass of the colossus, after the waste of so many years, amounted to seven hundred and twenty thousand pound weight ^d. From this colossus the island is by some authors called *Collossa*, and the inhabitants *Colossians*, whence some have falsely imagined, that St. *Paul's* epistle to the *Colossians* was directed to the *Rhodians*. But the *Colossians*, to whom the apostle wrote, were the inhabitants of *Colosse*, a city in *Phrygia Major*, of which we have spoke in the history of that antient kingdom.

THE city of *Rhodes* is still a place of no small note, being pleasantly seated on the side of a hill, three miles in compass, and well fortified with a treble wall. The streets, as our modern travellers inform us, are wide, strait, and well paved, and the houses built after the *Italian* taste. The chief haven is convenient, safe, and well fortified. The city is well peopled, and the inhabitants as wealthy as the *Turkish* tyranny permits any to be. It is well known, that this city and island belonged in the middle ages to the knights of *St. John of Jerusalem*, who defended it with incredible bravery against the mighty fleet and numerous army of *Solyman II.* till the place was betrayed by a traitor in the town. After the reduction of

^b EUSEB. Chron. OROS. l. iv. c. 13. POLYB. l. v. p. 428—429. PLIN. l. xxxiv. c. 7. STRAB. l. xiv. p. 652. ^c PLIN. POLYB. & Strab. ibid. ^d ZONAR. Cadrew. sub. regno Constantis. Iheral. Nepot.

Rhodes, the knights, who were denominated from this island, retired to that of *Malta*, which was granted to them by the emperor *Charles V.* where they continue to this day.

The inhabitants.

THIS island, if we believe *Diodorus*, was first peopled by the *Telchinæ*, who were originally from the island of *Crete*. The *Telchinæ*, who, according to that writer, were well skill'd in astrology, foreseeing, that the island would be soon laid under water and the inhabitants drowned, abandoned their habitations, and made room for the *Heliades* or grandsons of *Phæbus*, who took possession of it after that god had cleared it of the mud, with which it had been covered by the deluge. The *Heliades*, as the same author informs us, excelled all other men in learning, especially in astrology; and were the first who found out the art of navigation, and the dividing of the day into hours. One of them by name *Tanges*, continues our author, being through envy killed by his brothers, they were forced to abandon *Rhodes*, and take sanctuary in other countries. *Macer* fled to *Lesbos*, *Candalus* to *Coos*, *Triopas*, to *Caria*, and *Actis* to *Egypt*. *Triopas* possessed himself of the promontory in *Caria*, from him called *Triopium*; *Actis* built in *Egypt* a city, which from the name of the sun he called *Heliopolis*, and taught the *Egyptians* the science of astrology. But most of the inhabitants of *Greece* being afterwards destroyed by the flood, and the antient monuments lost, the *Egyptians* took this opportunity of appropriating the study of astrology solely to themselves; and it was generally believed, even by the *Greeks*, that the *Egyptians* were the first who found out the knowledge of the stars^c. Thus *Diodorus* derives the study of astrology from the inhabitants of *Rhodes*. But we should be glad to know how he came to make this discovery, after all the antient monuments, relating thereunto, were lost. All authors agree, that the *Egyptians* were the first who applied themselves to the study of astrology, and the opinion of *Diodorus*, supported by no authentic monuments, is not of weight enough with us to counter-balance their authority.

IN after-ages the descendants of the *Heliades*, who had remained in *Rhodes*, (four of them only being concerned in the death of their brother *Tanges*) being infested by great serpents, which bred in the island, had recourse to an oracle in *Delos*, which advised them to admit *Phorbas* and his followers to share with them the lands in the island, if they desired to be delivered from their present calamity. *Phorbas* was the son of *Lapithas*, and was at that time, with many of his friends,

^c DIODOR. SICUL. l. v. c. 13.

in *Theffaly* seeking for a convenient place to settle in. The *Rhodians*, according to the direction of the oracle, sent for *Phorbas*, who being admitted as a proprietor with them in the island, destroyed the serpents, and freed the inhabitants from their former fears. He continued with his followers, who were all *Theffalians*, in *Rhodes*, where after his death he was honoured as a demi-god ^f.

AFTERWARDS *Althæmenes*, the son of *Catreus* king of *Crete*, consulting the oracle concerning some affairs, was answered, that it would be his fate to kill his own father. To avoid this misfortune he of his own accord abandoned *Crete*, and with many *Cretans*, who attended him, passed over into *Rhodes*, and settled at *Camirus*. There he built a temple on the top of mount *Atamirus* in honour of *Jupiter*, called from thence *Jupiter Atamirus*. He chose that place because he had from thence a clear prospect of *Crete* his native island. He was greatly honoured by the inhabitants of *Camirus*, and admitted with his followers to enjoy all the rights and privileges of the antient proprietors. But his father *Catreus* having no other son, and being exceeding fond of *Althæmenes*, undertook a voyage to *Rhodes* in order to bring him back to *Crete*. He landed at *Rhodes* in the night with a numerous attendance, which giving jealousy to the *Rhodians*, they fell upon him, and in this conflict he was killed by his own son. *Althæmenes* was so concerned for his death, that he ever afterwards avoided all manner of company, wandering in the deserts till he died of grief; but by the direction of the oracle he was afterwards honoured as an hero or demi-god ^g.

NOT long before the *Trojan* war *Tlepolemus* the son of *Hercules*, having killed unawares one *Licynnius*, fled from *Argos*, and, having consulted an oracle about planting a colony, was advised to pass over into *Rhodes*, which he did accordingly and settled there. He was afterwards created king of the whole island, which he governed with great justice and equity. These were, according to *Diodorus*, the first inhabitants of the island of *Rhodes* ^h.

AFTER the *Trojan* war, the *Dorians* possessed themselves of the best part of this island, after having driven out the antient proprietors; and hence it is, that both *Strabo* ⁱ and *Pausanias* ^k call the *Rhodians* *Dorians* and also *Peloponnesians*, the *Dorians* being properly the inhabitants of *Peloponnesus*. As the *Dorians* were, according to *Ensebins* ^l, descended from

^f DIODOR. SICUL. *ibid.* ^g DIODOR. SICUL. *ibid.* ^h DIODOR. SICUL. *ibid.* ⁱ STRAB. l. xiv. ^k PAUSAN. l. ix. ^l EUSEB. Chron.

Tharsis, the son of *Javan* and grandson of *Japhet*, that writer by *Tharsis* understands the *Rhodians*. On the other hand *S. Jerom* is of opinion, that the island of *Rhodes* was first peopled by the descendants of *Dodanim* the brother of *Tharsis*, whom the *Greeks* corruptly called *Rhodanim*; and hence came the name of *Rhodes* and *Rhodians*^m. Be that as it will, all the antients agree, that the *Rhodians* after the *Trojan* war consisted chiefly of *Dorians*, and that the *Doric* dialect was commonly used throughout the whole island.

Their trade and navigation THE *Rhodians* applied themselves very early to trade and navigation, and soon became so skilled in maritime affairs and expert in navigation, that for many ages they were sovereigns of the sea, their laws, called the *Rhodian* laws, being the standard whereby to decide all controversies relating to maritime affairs. These laws and constitutions were so just, that they were afterwards incorporated into the *Roman* pandects, and followed in all the provinces of the *Roman* empire.

Government. THE government of *Rhodes* was originally monarchical, and several kings are said to have reigned there long before the *Trojan* warⁿ; but as the authors (D), who have wrote of

^m HIERONYM. in quest. Hebraic. ⁿ Vide PINDAR. Olymp. Od. 7. DIODOR. SICUL. l. v. c. 13. STRAB. l. xiv. &c.

(D) The *Rhodian* writers mentioned and quoted by *Diodorus Siculus* (76), *Athenæus* (77), *Suidas*, *Plutarch* and others, are *Clitophon*, who, according to *Hierocles*, wrote a treatise on the government of *Rhodes*. *Ergeas* is quoted by *Athenæus* as the author of a history containing the exploits of the *Phœnicians*, who in ancient times inhabited the island of *Rhodes*. *Jason* described in three books the state of *Greece* and *Rhodes*. *Polyzelus* is said by *Strabo* and *Athenæus* to have wrote several historical tracts, among others one on the warlike actions of the *Rhodians*. *Zenon* wrote a geographical account of *Rhodes*. *Eudoxus* is mentioned by *Laertius*, who tells us, that he wrote an history, and by *Suidas*, *Apollonius*, and the etymologist, who quotes the tenth book of this author's history. Some writers confound *Eudoxus* the *Rhodian* historian with another *Eudoxus* of *Cyzicum*, who, following *Ptolemy* *Lathurus*, sailed from the *Persian* gulph to *Cadix*, as *Strabo* relates on the credit of *Possidonius* (78), and *Pliny* on that of *Cornelius Nepos*. *Simmius* flourished about the beginning of the *olympiads*, and wrote several poems on the antiquities of *Samos*, where he was born of *Rhodian* parents. *Tertius* cites thirteen verses from his poem, intitled *Apollo*, on men who had dogs heads. These have all wrote

(-6) *Diodor Sicul. l. v. c. 13.*
c. 11.

(-8) *Strab. l. vi.*

(77) *Athenæus, l. viii.*

of *Rhodes*, have not reached our times, we can give no account of those antient kings. The names of the princes, who

the history, or part of the history, of *Rhodes*, and are frequently quoted by the antients, especially by *Diodorus Siculus*. It would be too tedious to insert here a catalogue of the many eminent writers, whom this island has produced. However, we shall give a succinct account of those, whom we find to have been most admired by the best judges of antiquity. These are, *Aristophanes*, a native of *Lindus*, whose comedies met with such applause at *Athens*, that he was declared free of that city, and honoured with a crown made of the branches of an olive tree, which grew in the citadel and was sacred to *Minerva*. *Eudemus*, counted by *Strabo* among the most illustrious philosophers of antiquity (79); he is said to have wrote a learned treatise of geometry, astronomy, and the power and influence of the stars: *Hieronymus*, commended by *Strabo*, *Athenæus*, and *Tully*, as the chief *Peripatetic* philosopher of his time. *Leonidas*, ranked by *Strabo*, *Hesychius*, and *Vitruvius* among the men, who gained more reputation to their country by the arts of peace, than the greatest captains by those of war. *Pisander*, a native of *Camirus*, mentioned by *Strabo* and *Macrobius* as the author of a poem stiled *Heraclea*, which comprehended in two books all the exploits of *Hercules*: he is said by *Suidas* to have been the first that represented *Hercules* with a club: *Panætius*, who was preceptor to *Scipio Africanus* the younger, and attended him together with *Polybius* in all his expeditions. Upon *Scipio's* death he retired to *Athens*, where he was highly esteemed and admitted into the number of *Athenian* citizens. *Cicero* acknowledges that he followed him in his book of offices: *Molon*, or *Apollonius Molon*, who taught rhetoric first at *Rome* afterwards at *Rhodes*, and had in both places a great many disciples of distinction, amongst others *Cicero*, who followed him from *Rome* to *Rhodes*. *Molon* wrote some historical works; for *Josephus* (80) complains of him as undeservedly traducing the *Jews*, and disparaging some of the most glorious actions of their princes: *Idæus* who took upon him to correct the *Iliad*, but did not succeed so well in that undertaking, as he did in an epic poem of his own, wherein he set forth the memorable actions of the *Rhodians*: *Timocreon*, a famous poet and wrestler, who in the *olympic* games was victor in five different sorts of combats. *Athenæus* tells us, that his epitaph was wrote by *Simonides*, and conceived in the following terms: *Here lies Timocreon The Rhodian, who of all things liked good eating and drinking, and never spoke well of any body*. *Praxiphanes*, a native of *Lindus*, wrote a most learned comment on the obscure passages of *Sophocles*, and is often mentioned by *Strabo*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Hesychius*: *Antheas*, born likewise in *Lindus*, was the first inventor, as *Suidas* informs us, of the *Adonic* verse, so called from *Adonis*, that

(79) *Ibid.* l. xiv.(80) *Joseph. contra. Ap.*

Kings of
Rhodes.

who reigned in the time of the *Trojan* war, and after that epoch, are *Tlepolemus*, *Dorieus*, *Damagetus*, *Diagoras*, *Evagoras*, *Cleobulus*, *Eraftides*, *Damagetus* II. *Diagoras* II.

Tlepolemus, the son of *Hercules*, accompanied *Agamemnon* to the *Trojan* war, leaving the government of his kingdom to *Butas*, who had attended him in his flight from *Argos*. Some say, that he was killed before *Troy* by *Sarpedon*, others that he returned home loaded with the spoils of the plundered city^o. *Dorieus* is only mentioned by *Pausanias*, and supposed to have reigned, since his son *Damagetus* enjoyed the royal dignity. All we know of *Damagetus* is, that he was commanded by an oracle to marry the daughter of the best man among the *Greeks*, and that in compliance with the injunction of the god he took to wife the third daughter of *Aristomenes* the *Messenian*^p, by whom he had *Diagoras*, who succeeded him in the kingdom, and became so famous on account of his equity and justice, that the princes who succeeded him were all called *Diagoridæ*, as if he had been the head and first of the family^q. *Evagoras* is mentioned only by *Laertius*, who gives us no account of his reign^r. *Cleobulus* travelled into *Egypt*, where he studied philosophy, and on his return to *Rhodes* was highly esteemed, not only by his countrymen, but by all the *Greeks*, and counted among the seven wise men of *Greece*. His daughter *Cleobulina* is said to have been a woman of great learning, well versed in philosophy, astrology, poetry, &c. and to have had an admirable talent in making of ænigmas^r. *Cleobulus* died in the 70th year of his age, leaving the kingdom, as he had no male issue, to his daughter, who resigned it to *Eraftides*, one of the descendants of *Diagoras*, and consequently of the same family. *Eraftides*, it seems, performed nothing worth mentioning; he is called by *Pindar* a pacific prince, and said to have reigned without giving trouble to his neighbours, or being troubled by them. After him reigned several other princes of the same family, as we gather from the scholiast of *Pindar*^s; but

^o DIODOR. *ibid.* DICTYS, PHILOSTRATUS, &c. ^p PAUSAN. l. iv. ^q PAUSAN. *ibid.* ^r LAERTIUS, in vit. *Cleobul.* ^s Idem, *ibid.* ^t Scholiast. *PIND.* p. 59.

poet having first made them to bewail his death. Many other writers of great note have formerly flourished in this island; but, as we cannot pretend to give an account of them all in this place, we must refer our readers to *Mewius*, in his learned treatise on the island of *Rhodes*, printed at *Amsterdam* in 1675, and published with those on *Creta* and *Cyprus* by the same author.

the only one we find mentioned by the antients is *Diagoras* II. who was coteremporary with *Pindar*. He proved conqueror in the *Olympic*, *Isthmian*, *Nemæan*, and *Argian* games, and is on that account highly commended by *Pindar*. He had two daughters *Calipateras* and *Pherenice*, and three sons, *Acusilaus*, *Damagetus*, and *Dorieus*. These sons were all three victors at the same time in the *olympic* sports, *Acusilaus* in boxing, *Dorieus* in wrestling, and *Damagetus* in the exercise called *Pancration*, which consisted of the two former. After the judges had passed sentence, and the public herald proclaimed their names, they flew to embrace their father, who was present, and placing their crowns on his head, carried him in triumph through the crowd, all *Greece* extolling with loud acclamations their piety, which made that numerous assembly in a manner forget their victory. The father, not able to bear such an excess of joy, died in their arms, envied more for his death, as our author expresses it, than for the many victories, which during his life had equalled him to the gods ^u. *Dorieus* was three times successively victor in the *Olympic* games, eight times in the *Isthmian*, seven times in the *Nemæan*, and once in the *Pythic*, no one daring to contend with him. Being driven from *Rhodes*, he retired with his nephew *Pisidorus* to *Thurium* in *Italy*. What was laid to his charge, we know not; but *Thucydides* informs us, that he was soon recalled, and that on his return he not only openly declared for the *Lacedemonians*, but served in their fleet with gallics equipped at his own expence, till he was in an engagement taken prisoner by the *Athenians*, who at first designed to put him to death, but afterwards sent him home untouched and without ransom, in consideration of the many victories he had gained in the public sports ^w. His sister *Pherenice*, after the death of her husband, privately instructed her son *Pisidorus* in the exercises used at *Olympia*, and attended him herself in disguise to the sports; for women were not allowed to be present at those games; nay, so severe were the laws in this particular, that if any woman was found so much as to have passed the river *Alpheus*, during the time of the solemnity, she was to be thrown headlong from a rock on the top of mount *Timæus*. *Pherenice*, after her son had won the prize, discovered herself, and being apprehended was brought before the judges, who acquitted her, out of respect to her father, brothers, and son ^x. From *Diagoras* I. to *Diagoras*

^u PAUSAN. l. vi. AUL. GELL. l. iii. c. 15. ^w THUCYD. l. iii. & viii. XENOPH. l. i. DIODOR. SICUL. l. xiii. PAUSAN. l. vi. ^x PAUSAN. in *Eliac.* p. 157. JULIAN. var. hist. x. c. i. VAL. MAX. l. viii. p. 11. l. vii. c. 11.

The re-
publican
form of go-
vernment
introduced.

The social
war.
Year of
the Flood,
2643.
Before
Christ,
356.

II. chronologers count two hundred and fifty years ; whence it is manifest, that neither the actions, nor even the names, of several intermediate kings have reached us. Upon the death of *Diagoras* II. some great revolution must have happened ; for we find another family on the throne, viz. that of the *Asclepiadæ*, while his children were still alive¹. But we are quite in the dark both as to their names and actions. All we know is, that they did not long enjoy the sovereignty, the *Rhodians* having no king at the time of *Xerxes's* expedition into *Greece*, which, according to *Diodorus*², happened a few years after the death of *Diagoras*. After the death or expulsion of the last king, the republican government prevailed all over the island, during which the *Rhodians* applied themselves to trade and navigation, and as *Strabo* informs us³, became very powerful by sea, and planted several colonies, in distant countries, namely *Rhodes* in *Spain*, and *Parthenope* in the country of the *Opici*. The same author adds, that the *Rhodians* at this time were masters of the *Balearic* islands, called then the *Gymnesian* islands. During the *Peloponnesian* war, the *Rhodians* first sided with the *Athenians*, but, after their great overthrow in *Sicily*, revolted from them and joined the *Lacedemonians*, whom they likewise abandoned, and renewed their antient alliance with the *Athenians*, after the former had been defeated by *Conon* admiral of the *Persian* fleet. In the time of the *Peloponnesian* war, and for several years after, the republic of *Rhodes* was rent into two factions, the people favouring the *Athenians*, and the nobles the *Lacedemonians* ; but the latter at last prevailed, the democracy was abolished, and an aristocracy introduced in its room. Under this form of government the state enjoyed a profound tranquillity, till the third year of the hundred and fifth olympiad, which was the third year of the reign of *Philip* the son of *Amyntas*, when that war broke out, which was called the *Social War*, and lasted four years. The *Rhodians*, *Chians*, *Coans*, and *Byzantines*, being weary of their alliance with the *Athenians*, by whom they were treated rather like subjects than allies, resolved to take up arms against *Athens*, and reinstate themselves in their antient independency. To reduce them the *Athenians* employed great forces and the most experienced officers of their republic, viz. *Chatrias*, *Iphicrates*, and *Timotheus*. These were the last of the *Athenian* generals who distinguished themselves either at home or abroad⁴. The war was

¹ ARISTID. orat. in Asclepiad. & ad. Rhodios de concordia.
² DIODOR. SICUL. l. xi. ³ STRABO. l. xiv. ⁴ CORN. NEPOS. in TIMOTH.

begun by the siege of *Chios*, where *Chares* commanded the land-forces, and *Chabrias* the fleet. All the allies, especially the *Rhodians*, exerted themselves in sending aid to the *Chians*. But in spite of their utmost efforts *Chabrias*, having forced the passage, entered the port, and fell upon the enemy's fleet. The other gallies under his command, seeing him in great distress and surrounded by the enemy, betook themselves to flight, leaving *Chabrias* to the mercy of the allies. But he, chusing rather to die, than to retire or surrender, fought with incredible bravery till he received a wound, which soon put an end to his life ^c.

THUS the first attempt of the *Athenians* having miscarried, both sides made vast preparations for renewing the war. The *Athenians* fitted out a fleet of sixty gallies, giving the command of it to *Chares*, and appointed *Iphicrates* and *Timotheus* to command another fleet, consisting of the same number of gallies, which was to be employed against the *Rhodians*, and to prevent their joining the other allies. But the *Rhodians* were before-hand with them, and the confederate fleet to the number of an hundred sail being united early in the spring, they ravaged the islands of *Imbras* and *Lesbos*, took all the ships they met, and, raising contributions among the allies of *Athens*, got together such sums of money, as were sufficient to defray all the expences of that campaign. Being encouraged with this success they sailed to *Samos*, which adhered to the *Athenians*, and besieged the place both by sea and land. On the other hand, the *Athenians*, to oblige the allies to raise the siege, invested *Byzantium*, which had the desired effect, the allies making all possible haste to its relief. When the two fleets were in sight of each other, the allies began to prepare for an engagement, but, a violent storm arising, *Timotheus* and *Iphicrates* thought it not adviseable to hazard a battle in such a conjuncture. *Chares*, who was for engaging, after having earnestly pressed, but in vain, his colleagues to follow his advice, wrote to *Athens* accusing them of cowardice and treason. Upon his accusation, the people, who were naturally jealous of such as were distinguished by their extraordinary merit, recalled the two generals, and laid a heavy fine upon them, which *Timotheus* being unable to pay, retired to *Chelos*, where he died of grief ^d.

Chares, by the recal of his two colleagues, having the sole command of the fleet, engaged in a very rash enterprize,

^c DIODOR. SICUL. l. xvi. ^d CORN. NEPOS. DIODOR. SICUL. JUSTIN. *ibid*.

whereby he hoped to do his country great service. *Pharnabazus*, having revolted from the king of *Persia*, was upon the point of being attacked by the governors of the neighbouring provinces at the head of seventy thousand men, he himself having but a very small army. In this critical conjuncture he prevailed upon *Chares* to join him with his forces, and by his assistance totally routed the king's generals; for which signal piece of service *Pharnabazus* rewarded him with such sums of money, as were sufficient to pay his fleet and army. When the news of this victory first reached *Athens*, *Chares*'s conduct was highly applauded; but after the king had complained by his ambassadors of the injury done him by *Chares*, and it was spread abroad, that the *Persians* designed to join the confederates with a fleet of three hundred sail, the *Athenians* changed their notes, and treated *Chares* as a traitor, who had not only abandoned the service of his country for a foreign war, but infringed the articles of peace with the *Persians*, and thereby provoked that mighty monarch against the *Athenian* republic. However, the credit of *Chares* saved him upon this, as it had done upon several other occasions. But the people were so terrified with the threatnings of the king of *Persia*, that they resolved to conclude a peace with the states which had revolted, almost upon their own terms: accordingly a treaty was agreed on very little to the honour of *Athens*, and an end put to the *Social War*, after it had continued for the space of four years*. By this treaty *Rhodes*, *Chios*, *Cos*, and *Byzantium*, were to enjoy full liberty, and be quite independent of *Athens*. It was on this occasion that *Isocrates* wrote that famous oration which is entitled, *of peace or social*, wherein he represents to the *Athenians*, that real and lasting greatness does not consist in making conquests, which cannot be effected without violence and injustice, but in governing the people with wisdom, and rendering them happy, in protecting their allies, and by good offices obliging and gaining over their neighbours, without having recourse to arms, except when all other means prove ineffectual. This oration is still extant and well worth the reader's perusal.

The Rhodians oppressed by Mausolus king of Caria.

THE peace, which put an end to the war of the allies, did not procure for all of them the tranquillity they had reason to expect. The people of *Cos* and *Rhodes*, who had been declared free by the treaty, seemed only to have changed their master. *Mausolus*, king of *Caria*, who had assisted them in throwing off the *Athenian* yoke, declared for an aristocracy,

* DIODOR. P. L. C. 1. 1. N. 1. ibid.

and by that means having oppressed the people, came by degrees to be absolute master of both islands, the nobility not daring, as they were hated by the people, to oppose him. But *Mausolus* dying two years after the treaty of peace with *Athens*, the people and nobility, uniting together, drove out the garrisons of *Mausolus*, and recovered their antient liberties. Having thus cleared their respective islands of foreign forces, the *Rhodians*, to revenge the injuries they had suffered from *Mausolus*, having equipped a fleet, invaded *Caria*, with a design to possess themselves of that country, which lay very convenient for them. The famous queen *Artemisia*, who had succeeded her husband in the kingdom of *Caria*, being acquainted with their design, ordered the inhabitants of *Halicarnassus*, where it was most likely they would land, to keep within the walls, and when the enemy arrived, to express by shouts and clapping of hands, a readiness to surrender. The inhabitants followed her directions; whereupon the *Rhodians*, not suspecting any treachery, left their fleet without any to guard it, and entered the city. In the mean time *Artemisia* came with her gallees out of the little port through a small canal, which she had caused to be cut on purpose, entered the great port, and seizing the enemy's fleet without resistance, set sail for *Rhodes*. The *Rhodians*, who had entered the city, having no means to make their escape, were all cut in pieces. But before this melancholy news reached *Rhodes*, *Artemisia* had got possession of that city. When the inhabitants saw their vessels approach adorned with wreaths of laurel, they admitted them into the port with extraordinary marks of joy, not doubting but they had taken *Halicarnassus*. Then *Artemisia*, landing her troops, fell upon the unarmed multitude, dispersed them, and having possessed herself of the city, put the chief citizens, who had promoted the *Carian* expedition, to death. Being now mistress of the metropolis, she caused a noble trophy to be erected in the market-place, and two statues of brass; one of which represented the city of *Rhodes*, and the other *Artemisia* branding it with an hot iron. The *Rhodians* afterwards surrounded that trophy with a building, which prevented it entirely from being seen, religion forbidding them to demolish any monuments which had been once consecrated. From this, and from what we read in one of *Demosthenes's* orations^B, it appears, that *Artemisia* did not, like a forlorn and inconsolable widow, pass her whole time in grief and

Artemisia
possesses
herself of
the city of
Rhodes.
Year of
the Flood
2649.
Before
Christ,
350.



^f VITRUVIUS. l. 2. c. 10.
Rhodior.

^B DEMOSTHEN. de libertat.

lamentation, as some writers would make us believe. A modern author of no mean character^b suspects, that whatever has been reported of her excessive grief is without any foundation, being advanced by some, and perhaps believed, on account of the magnificent monument she erected to the memory of her deceased husband, and afterwards copied by others. And truly her whole conduct discovers rather the active courage of a queen, than the severe affliction and retirement of a widow. The *Rhodians*, being thus reduced by a woman, and unable to bear any longer so shameful a servitude, had recourse to the *Athenians*, and privately sent ambassadors to implore their protection. They had but lately provoked the *Athenians* by their revolt, and the many mischiefs which they had brought upon their republic, during the social war. However, *Demosthenes* took upon him to back their ambassadors, and speak to the people in their favour. He began by setting their revolt in its full light, and enlarging on their injustice and perfidy; insomuch, that some imagined the orator was going to declare against them in the strongest terms. But all this was only to insinuate himself into the favour of his auditors, and afterwards stir them up to compassion for a people, who acknowledged their fault, and owned themselves unworthy of that protection, which they were come to implore. He set before them the great maxims, which in all ages had gained so much glory to *Athens*, the forgiving of injuries, the pardoning of their enemies, and the taking upon them the defence of the unfortunate. To the motives of glory he added those of interest, shewing how necessary it was, that they should declare for a city, that favoured the democratic government, and not abandon, to a foreign power, so wealthy an island as that of *Rhodes*. This is the substance of that famous discourse, entitled, *For the liberty of the Rhodians*. What impression this speech made on the minds of the *Athenians* we know not. All we can advance with certainty is, that the *Rhodians* were soon after delivered from the yoke they groaned under. Some writers tell us, that they were indebted to the *Athenians* for their liberty, while others affirm, that *Artemisia* dying the same year she possessed herself of the island, the *Rhodians* reinstated themselves in their former condition with their own forces^c.

Rhodians
restored to
their ancient
liberty.

They sur-
render to
Alexander

FROM this time the *Rhodians* enjoyed a profound tranquillity till the reign of *Alexander the Great*, to whom they delivered up of their own accord their cities and harbours,

^b BAYLE. Diction. Histor. &c. ^c AUL. GEL. l. 10. c. 18.
STRABO, l. 14.

and were on that account highly favoured by that prince ^k. *Diodorus* tells us, that *Alexander* lodged his last will in the archives of the city of *Rhodes*, and shewed on all occasions a greater value for the *Rhodians*, than for any other of the *Greek* nations. However, they no sooner heard the news of his death, but taking up arms they drove out the *Macedonian* garison, and once more became a free people ^l. About this time happened a dreadful inundation at *Rhodes*, which being accompanied with violent storms of rain, and hail-stones of an extraordinary bigness, beat down many houses, and killed great numbers of the inhabitants. As the city of *Rhodes* was built in the form of an amphitheatre, and no care had been taken to clear the pipes and conduits which conveyed the water into the sea, the lower parts of the city were in an instant laid under water, several houses quite covered, and the inhabitants drowned before they got to the higher places. As the deluge encreased, and the violent showers continued, some of the inhabitants made to their ships, and abandoned the place, while others, attempting to remedy the evil, miserably perished in the waters. The city being thus threatened with utter destruction, the wall all on a sudden burst asunder, and the water discharging itself with a violent current into the sea, unexpectedly delivered the inhabitants from all danger ^m.

An inundation at Rhodes.

THE *Rhodians* suffered greatly by this unexpected misfortune, but soon repaired their losses by applying themselves more closely than ever to trade and navigation, the only sources of their wealth and power. As the city of *Rhodes* was at this time very powerful at sea, and, according to *Diodorus* ⁿ, the best governed of any city among the *Greeks*, all the princes, who were then at variance with each other, courted her friendship. But the *Rhodians* carefully declined favouring one against another, and, by thus observing a strict neutrality in the wars that were kindled in those times, became one of the most opulent states of all *Asia*; insomuch, that, for the common good of all *Greece*, they undertook the *Piratic war*, and at their own charges cleared the seas of the pirates, who had for many years infested the coasts both of *Europe* and *Asia*. Though they were thus in amity with all the neighbouring princes, yet their inclination as well as interest secretly attached them to *Ptolemy*; for the most advantageous branches of their

Antigonus makes war upon the Rhodians. Year of the Flood, 2695. Before Christ, 304.

^k CURT. I. 4.
DOR. SICUL. I. 19.

^l DIODOR. I. 18.

^m DIO.

ⁿ DIODOR. SICUL. I. 20. c. 4.

commerce sprung from *Egypt*. Wherefore when *Antigonus*, engaged in a war against *Ptolemy* for the island of *Cyprus*, demanded succours of them, they earnestly entreated him not to compel them to declare against their ancient friend and ally. But this answer, as prudent as it was, drew upon them the displeasure of *Antigonus*, who immediately ordered one of his admirals to sail with his fleet to *Rhodes*, and seize all the ships that made out of the harbour for *Egypt*. The *Rhodians*, finding their harbour blocked up by the fleet of *Antigonus*, equipped a good number of gallies, fell upon the enemy, and obliged him with the loss of many ships to quit his station. Hereupon *Antigonus*, charging them as the aggressors and beginners of an unjust war, threatened to besiege their city with the strength of his whole army. The *Rhodians* endeavoured by frequent embassies to appease his wrath, representing to him, that not they, but his admiral had begun hostilities, by seizing their trading vessels, and interrupting their navigation. But all their remonstrances served rather to provoke, than allay, his resentment; and the only terms, upon which he would hearken to any accommodation, were, that the *Rhodians* should declare war against *Ptolemy*; that they should admit his fleet into their harbour; and that an hundred of the chief citizens should be delivered up to him as hostages for the performance of these articles. The *Rhodians*, foreseeing the storm which was then impending, sent ambassadors to all their allies, and to *Ptolemy* in particular, imploring their assistance, and representing to the latter, that their attachment to his interest had drawn upon them the danger to which they were exposed. The preparations on both sides were immense. As *Antigonus* was near fourscore years of age at that time, he committed the whole management of the war to his son *Demetrius*, who appeared before the city of *Rhodes* with two hundred ships of war, an hundred and seventy transports having on board forty thousand men, and a thousand other vessels, loaded with provisions and all sorts of warlike engines. As *Rhodes* had enjoyed for many years a profound tranquillity, and been free from all devastations, the expectation of booty in the plunder of so wealthy a city allured multitudes of pirates and mercenaries to join *Demetrius* in this expedition; insomuch, that the whole sea between the continent and the island was covered with ships, which struck the *Rhodians*, who had a prospect of this mighty armada from the walls, with great terror and consternation. *Demetrius*, having landed his troops without the reach of the

*Demetrius
arrives
before the
city of
Rhodes
with a
mighty
fleet.*

the enemy's machines, detached several small bodies to lay waste the country round the city, and cut down the trees and groves, employing the timber, and materials of the houses without the walls, to fortify his camp with strong ramparts and a treble palisade; which work, as many hands were employed, was finished in a few days °.

THE *Rhodians* on their part prepared for a vigorous defence. Many great commanders, who had signalized themselves on other occasions, threw themselves into the city, being desirous to try their skill in military affairs against *Demetrius*, who was reputed one of the most experienced captains, in the conduct of sieges, that antiquity had produced. The besieged began with dismissing from the city all such persons as were useless; and then taking an account of those, who were capable of bearing arms, they found that the citizens amounted to six thousand, and the foreigners to a thousand. Liberty was promised to all the slaves, who should distinguish themselves by any glorious action, and the public engaged to pay the masters their full ransom. A proclamation was likewise made, declaring, that whoever died in the defence of his country should be buried at the charge of the public; that his parents and children should be maintained out of the treasury; that fortunes should be given to his daughters; and his sons, when they were grown up, should be crowned and presented with a compleat suit of armour, at the great solemnity of *Bacchus*. This decree kindled an incredible ardour in all ranks of men. The rich came in crowds with money to defray the charges of the war, and the artificers applied themselves with indefatigable industry to the forging of arms, making of engines, and contriving new sorts of warlike machines, which did great execution on the enemy. In a word, every thing was in motion throughout all the quarters of the city, the workmen and artificers striving to out-do each other, and the rich supplying them with materials at their own charge.

THE besieged first sent out three nimble vessels against a small fleet of merchant ships that supplied the enemy with provisions. These falling upon them sunk some, took others, and burnt the greatest part of them, carrying back with them to *Rhodes* a great number of prisoners. By this first expedition the *Rhodians* gained a considerable sum of money; for it had been mutually agreed between them and *Demetrius*, that a thousand drachmas should be paid for the ransom of every freeman, and five hundred for each slave.

° Idem, ibid.

Demetrius, having planted all his engines, began to batter with incredible fury the walls on the side of the harbour, but was for eight days successively repulsed by the besieged, who set fire to most of his warlike machines, and thereby obliged him to allow them some respite, which they made good use of in repairing the breaches, and building new walls, where the old ones were either weak or low. When *Demetrius* had repaired his engines, he ordered a general assault to be made, and caused his troops to advance with loud shouts, thinking by this means to strike terror into the enemy, and drive them from the walls. But the besieged were so far from being intimidated, that they repulsed the aggressors with great slaughter, and performed the most astonishing feats of bravery. *Demetrius* returned to the assault the next day, but was in the same manner forced to retire, after having lost a great number of men, and some officers of distinction. He had seized at his first landing an eminence at a small distance from the city, and having fortified this advantageous post, he caused several batteries to be erected there with engines, which incessantly discharged against the walls stones of an hundred and fifty pounds weight. The towers being thus furiously battered night and day, began to totter, and several breaches were opened in the walls. Then the *Rhodians*, unexpectedly sallying out, drove the enemy from their post, overturned their machines, and made a most dreadful havock; insomuch that some of them retired on board their vessels, and were with much ado prevailed upon to come ashore again.

THE ardor of *Demetrius* was not diminished by this loss, he ordered a scalade by sea and land at the same time, and so employed the besieged, that they were at a loss what place they should chiefly defend. The attack was carried on with the utmost fury on all sides, and the besieged defended themselves with the greatest intrepidity. Such of the enemies as advanced first were thrown down from the ladders, and miserably bruised. Several of the chief officers, having mounted the walls, to encourage the soldiers by their example, were there either killed or taken prisoners. After the combat had lasted many hours with great slaughter on both sides, *Demetrius*, notwithstanding all his valour, thought it necessary to retire, in order to repair his engines, and give his men some days rest ^p.

Demetrius, being sensible that he could not reduce the city till he was master of the port, after having refreshed his men,

^p Idem, ibid.

returned with new vigour against the fortifications, which defended the entry into the harbour. When he came within the cast of a dart, he caused a vast quantity of burning torches and firebrands to be thrown into the *Rhodian* ships which were riding there, and at the same time galled, with dreadful showers of darts, arrows, and stones, such as offered to extinguish the flames. However, in spite of their utmost efforts, the *Rhodians* put a stop to the fire, and having, with great expedition, manned three of their strongest ships, drove with such violence against the vessels, on which the enemy's machines were planted, that they were shattered in pieces, and the engines dismounted and thrown into the sea. *Excestus* the *Rhodian* admiral, being encouraged with this success, attacked the enemy's fleet with his three ships, and sunk a great many vessels, but was himself at last taken prisoner; the other two vessels made their escape, and regained the port.

As unfortunate as this last attack had proved to *Demetrius*, he determined to undertake another; and, in order to succeed in his attempt, he ordered a machine of a new invention to be built, which was thrice the height and breadth of those he had lately lost. When the work was finished, he caused the engine to be placed near the port, which he was resolved at all adventures to force. But as it was upon the point of entering the harbour, a dreadful storm arising, drove it against the shore with the vessels on which it had been reared. The besieged, who were attentive to improve all favourable conjunctures, while the tempest was still raging, made a sally against those who defended the eminence mentioned above, and, though repulsed several times, carried it at last, obliging the *Demetrians*, to the number of four hundred, to throw down their arms and submit. After this victory, gained by the *Rhodians*, there arrived to their aid an hundred and fifty *Gnossians*, and five hundred men sent by *Ptolemy* from *Egypt*, most of them being natives of *Rhodes*, who had served among the king's troops⁴.

Demetrius, being extremely mortified to see all his batteries against the harbour rendered ineffectual, resolved to employ them by land, in hopes of carrying the city by assault, or at least reduce it to the necessity of capitulating. With this view, having got together a vast quantity of timber and other materials, he framed the famous engine called *Helipolis*, which was by many degrees larger than any that had ever been invented before. Its basis was square, each side be-

The Helipolis.

⁴ Idem, ibid. & PLUT. in Demetr.

ing in length near fifty cubits, and made up of square pieces of timber, bound together with plates of iron. In the middle part he placed thick planks, about a cubit distance from each other, and on these the men were to stand who forced the engine forward. The whole was moved upon eight strong and large wheels, whose fellows were strengthened with strong iron plates. In order to facilitate and vary the movements of the *Helepolis*, casters were placed under it, whereby it was turned in a trice to what side the workmen and engineers pleased. From each of the four angles a large pillar of wood was carried to about the height of an hundred cubits, and inclining to each other, the whole machine consisting of nine stories, whose dimensions gradually lessened in the ascent. The first story was supported by forty three beams, and the last by no more than nine. Three sides of the machine were plated over with iron, to prevent its being damaged by the fire that might be thrown from the city. In the front of each story were windows, of the same size and shape as the engines that were to be discharged from thence. To each window were shutters to draw up for the defence of those who managed the machines, and, to deaden the force of the stones thrown by the enemy, the shutters were covered with skins stuffed with wool. Every story was furnished with two large stair-cases, that whatever was necessary might be brought up by one, while others were going down by the other, and so every thing might be dispatched without tumult or confusion. This huge machine was moved forwards by three thousand of the strongest men of the whole army, but the art with which it was built, greatly facilitated the motion. *Demetrius* caused likewise to be made several testudos or pent-houses, to cover his men while they advanced to fill up the trenches and ditches, and invented a new sort of galleries, through which those who were employed at the siege might pass and repass, at their pleasure, without the least danger. He employed all his seamen in levelling the ground, over which the machines were to be brought up to the space of four furlongs. The number of workmen, who were employed on this occasion, amounted to thirty thousand men.

In the mean time the *Rhodians*, observing these formidable preparations, were busy in raising a new wall within that which the enemy intended to batter with the *Helepolis*. In order to accomplish this work, they pulled down the wall, which surrounded the theatre, some neighbouring houses, and even some temples, after having solemnly promised to build

¹ DIODOR. SICUL. *ibid.* PLUT. in *Demetri.*

more magnificent structures in honour of the gods, if the city were preserved. At the same time they sent out nine of their best ships to seize such of the enemy's vessels as they could meet with, and thereby distress them for want of provisions. As these ships were commanded by their bravest sea-officers, they soon returned with an immense booty, and a great many prisoners. Among other vessels they took a galley richly laden, on board of which they found great variety of valuable furniture and a royal robe, which *Phila* herself had wrought, and sent as a present to her husband *Demetrius*, accompanied with a letter written with her own hand. The *Rhodians* sent the furniture, the royal robe, and even the letter to *Ptolemy*, which exasperated *Demetrius* to a great degree. In this proceeding they did not imitate, as *Plutarch* observes, the polite conduct of the *Athenians*, who having once seized one of *Philip's* couriers, with whom they were then at war, opened all the packets but that of *Clymias*, which they sent sealed as it was to *Philip* ^r.

WHILE *Demetrius* was preparing to attack the city, the *Rhodians* having assembled the people and magistrates to consult about the measures they should take, some proposed in the assembly the pulling down of the statues of *Antigonus* and his son *Demetrius*, which till then had been had in the utmost veneration. But this proposal was generally rejected with indignation, and their prudent conduct greatly allayed the wrath both of *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*. However the latter continued to carry on the siege with the utmost vigour, thinking it would reflect no small dishonour on him, were he obliged to quit the place without making himself master of it. He caused the walls to be secretly undermined; but when they were ready to fall, a deserter very opportunely gave notice of the whole to the townsmen, who having with all expedition drawn a deep trench all along the wall, began to countermine, and meeting the enemy under ground, obliged them to abandon the work. While both parties guarded the mines, one *Athenagoras* a *Milesian*, who had been sent to the assistance of the *Rhodians* by *Ptolemy* with a body of mercenaries, promised to betray the city to the *Demetrians*, and let them in through the mines in the night-time. But this was only in order to ensnare them; for *Alexander*, a noble *Macedonian*, whom *Demetrius* had sent with a choice body of troops to take possession of a post agreed on, no sooner appeared, but he was taken prisoner by the *Rhodians*, who were waiting for him under arms. *Athenagoras* was crowned by the senate with a crown of gold, and presented with five talents of silver.

^r DIODOR. SICUL. *ibid.* PLUT. in *Demetr.*

Demetrius now gave over all thoughts of undermining the walls, and placed all his hopes of reducing the city in the battering engines which he had contrived. Having therefore levelled the ground under the walls, he brought up his *Helepolis*, with four testudos on each side of it. Two other testudos of an extraordinary size, bearing battering rams, were likewise moved forwards by a thousand men. Each story of the *Helepolis* was filled with all sorts of engines for discharging of stones, arrows, and darts. When all things were ready, *Demetrius* ordered the signal to be given, when his men, setting up a shout, assaulted the city on all sides, both by sea and land. But in the heat of the attack, when the walls were ready to fall by the repeated strokes of the battering-rams, ambassadors arrived from *Cnidus*, earnestly soliciting *Demetrius* to suspend all further hostilities, and at the same time giving him hopes, that they should prevail upon the *Rhodians* to submit to an honourable capitulation. A suspension of arms was accordingly agreed on, and ambassadors sent from both sides. But the *Rhodians* refusing to capitulate on the conditions offered them, the attack was renewed with so much fury, and the machines played off in so brisk a manner, that a large tower, built with square stones, and the wall that flanked it were battered down. The besieged nevertheless fought in the breach with so much courage and resolution, that the enemy, after various unsuccessful attempts, was forced to abandon the enterprize and retire ^f.

IN this conjuncture a fleet, which *Ptolemy* had freighted with three hundred thousand measures of corn and different kinds of pulse for the *Rhodians*, arrived very seasonably in the port, notwithstanding the vigilance of the enemy's ships, which cruised on the coasts of the island to surprize them. A few days after came in safe two other fleets, one sent by *Cassander* with an hundred thousand bushels of barley, the other by *Lyfimachus* with four hundred thousand bushels of corn and as many of barley. This seasonable and plentiful supply, arriving when the city began to suffer for want of provisions, inspired the besieged with new courage, and raised their drooping spirits. Being thus animated, they formed a design of setting the enemy's engines on fire, and with this view ordered a body of men to sally out the night ensuing, about the second watch, with torches and fire-brands, having first placed on the walls an incredible number of engines to discharge stones, arrows, darts, and fire-balls against those who should

^f DIODOR. SICUL. & PLUT. *ibid.*

attempt to oppose their detachment. The *Rhodian* troops, pursuant to their orders, all on a sudden sallied out, and advancing in spite of all opposition to the batteries, set them on fire, while the engines from the walls played incessantly on those who endeavoured to extinguish the flames. The *Demetrians* on this occasion fell in great numbers, being incapable in the darkness of the night either to see the engines, that continually discharged showers of stones and arrows upon them, or to join in one body and repulse the enemy, the conflagration was so great, that several plates of iron falling from the *Helepolis*, that vast engine would have been entirely consumed, had not the troops, that were stationed in it, with all possible speed quenched the fire with water before prepared, and ready in the apartments of the engine against such accidents. *Demetrius*, fearing lest all his machines should be consumed, called together by sound of trumpet those whose province it was to move them, and by their help brought them off before they were entirely destroyed. When it was day he commanded all the darts and arrows, that had been shot by the *Rhodians*, to be carefully gathered, that he might from their number form some judgment of the number of machines in the city. Above eight hundred fire-brands were found on the spot, and no fewer than fifteen hundred darts, all discharged in a very small portion of the night. This struck the prince himself with no small terror, for he never imagined, that they could have been able to bear the charges of such formidable preparations. However, after having caused the slain to be buried, and given directions for the curing of the wounded, he applied himself to the repairing of his machines, which had been dismounted and rendered quite unserviceable.

In the mean time the besieged, improving the respite allowed them by the removal of the machines, built a third wall in the form of a crescent, which took in all that part that was most exposed to the enemy's batteries; and besides drew a deep trench behind the breach to prevent the enemy from entering the city that way. At the same time they detached a squadron of their best ships, under the command of *Amyntas*, who made over to the continent of *Asia*, and there meeting with some privateers, who were commissioned by *Demetrius*, took both the ships and the men, among whom were *Timocles*, the chief of the pirates, and several officers of distinction belonging to the fleet of *Demetrius*. On their return they fell in with several vessels laden with corn for the enemy's camp, which they likewise took and brought into the port. These were soon followed by a numerous fleet of similar vessels, loaded with corn and provisions sent them by *Antiochus*.

together with fifteen hundred men, commanded by *Antigonus*, a *Macedonian* of great experience in military affairs. *Demetrius*, in the mean time having repaired the machines, brought them up anew to the walls, which he incessantly battered, till he opened a great breach, and threw down several towers. But when he came to the assault, the *Rhodians* under the command of *Aminias* defended themselves with such resolution and intrepidity, that he was in three successive attacks repulsed with great slaughter, and at last forced to retire. The *Rhodians* likewise on this occasion lost several officers, and amongst others the brave *Aminias* their commander.

WHILE the *Rhodians* were thus signaling themselves in the defence of their country, a second embassy arrived at the camp of *Demetrius* from *Athens* and the other cities of *Greece*, soliciting *Demetrius* to compose matters, and strike up a peace with the *Rhodians*. At the request of the ambassadors, who were in all above fifty, a cessation of arms was agreed upon, but the terms offered by *Demetrius* being again rejected by the *Rhodians*, the ambassadors returned home without being able to bring the contending parties to an agreement. Hostilities were therefore renewed, and *Demetrius*, whose imagination was fertile in expedients for succeeding in his projects, formed a detachment of fifteen hundred of his best troops, under the conduct of *Alcimus* and *Mancius*, two officers of great resolution and experience, ordering them to enter the breach at midnight, and, forcing the entrenchment behind it, to possess themselves of the posts about the theatre, where it would be no difficult matter to maintain themselves against any efforts of the townsmen. In order to facilitate the execution of so important and dangerous an undertaking, and amuse the enemy with false attacks, he at the same time, upon a signal given, ordered the rest of the army to set up a shout, and attack the city on all sides, both by sea and land. By this means he hoped, that the besieged being alarmed in all parts, his detachment might find an opportunity of forcing the entrenchments which covered the breach, and afterwards of seizing the advantageous posts about the theatre. This feint had all the success the prince could expect; for the troops having set up a shout from all quarters, as if they were advancing to a general assault, the detachment commanded by *Alcimus* and *Mancius* entered the breach, and fell upon those, who defended the ditch and the wall that covered it, with such vigour, that, having slain the best part of them and put the rest in confusion, they advanced to the theatre, and seized on the posts adjoining to it. This occasioned a general uproar in the city, as if it had been already taken

But the commanding officers dispatched orders to the soldiers on the ramparts not to quit their posts, nor stir from their respective stations. Having thus secured the walls, they put themselves at the head of a chosen body of their own troops and of those who were lately come from *Egypt*, and with these charged the enemy's detachment. But the darkness of the night prevented them from dislodging the enemy, and regaining the advantageous posts they had seized. But the day no sooner appeared, than they renewed their attack with wonderful bravery. The *Demetrians* without the walls with loud shouts endeavoured to animate those who had entered the place, and inspire them with a resolution to maintain their ground, till they were relieved with fresh forces. The *Rhodians*, being sensible, that their fortunes, liberties, and all that was dear to them in the world lay at stake, fought like men in the utmost despair, the enemy defending their posts for several hours without giving ground in the least. At length the *Rhodians*, encouraging each other to exert themselves in defence of their country, and animated by the example of their leaders, made a last effort, and breaking into the very heart of the enemy's battalion, there killed both their commanders. After their death the rest were easily put in disorder, and all to a man either killed or taken prisoners. The *Rhodians* likewise on this occasion lost many of their best commanders, and among the rest *Damotetis*, their chief magistrate, a man of extraordinary valour, who had signalized himself during the whole time of the siege¹.

Demetrius, not at all discouraged by this check, was making the necessary preparations for a new assault, when he received letters from his father *Antigonus*, enjoining him to conclude a peace with the *Rhodians* upon the best terms he could get, lest he should lose his whole army in the siege of a single town. From this time *Demetrius* wanted only some plausible pretence for breaking up the siege. The *Rhodians* likewise were now more inclined to come to an agreement than formerly, *Ptolemy* having acquainted them, that he intended to send them a great quantity of corn, and three thousand men to their assistance, but that he would have them first to try, whether they could make up matters with *Demetrius* upon reasonable terms. At the same time ambassadors arrived from the *Ætolian* republic, soliciting the contending parties to put an end to a war, which might involve all the east in endless calamities.

¹ DIONOR. SICUL. & PLUT. *ibid.*

AN accident, which happened to *Demetrius* in this conjuncture, did not a little contribute towards the wished-for pacification. This prince was preparing to advance his *Helepolis* against the city, when a *Rhodian* engineer found means to render it quite useless. He undermined the tract of ground over which the *Helepolis* was to pass the next day, in order to approach the walls. *Demetrius*, not suspecting any stratagem of this nature, caused the engine to be moved forward, which, coming to the place that was undermined, sunk so deep into the ground, that it was impossible to draw it out again. This misfortune, if we believe *Vegetius* and *Vitruvius*, determined *Demetrius* to hearken to the *Ætolian* ambassadors, and at last to strike up a peace upon the following conditions : that the republic of *Rhodes* should be maintained in the full enjoyment of their antient rights, privileges, and liberties without any foreign garison ; that they should renew their antient alliance with *Antigonus*, and assist him in his wars against all states and princes, except *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt* ; and that, for the effectual performance of the articles stipulated between them, they should deliver an hundred hostages, such as *Demetrius* should make choice of, except those who bore any public employment^u.

The siege
of Rhodes
raised.
Year of
the Flood
2696.
Before
Christ
303.



THUS the siege was raised after it had continued a whole year, and the *Rhodians* amply rewarded all those, who had distinguished themselves in the defence of their country ; the slaves were set free, and admitted to the rights and privileges of citizens, and many of the freemen crowned with crowns of gold, and honoured with rich presents out of the public treasury. They likewise set up statues to *Ptolemy*, *Cassander*, and *Lyfimachus*, who had greatly contributed to the preservation of the place. But to express their gratitude to *Ptolemy* above the rest, they sent some of their priests to consult the oracle of *Ammon*, whether they should worship him as a god, or no ; and being answered, that they might pay him divine honours, they consecrated to him a square grove in the city, enclosing it with a sumptuous portico, which was a furlong in length, and from him called *Ptolemeum* or *Ptolemy's portico* ; and in order to perpetuate the memory of their deliverer in this war by another method, they gave him the appellation of *Soter*, that is, *Saviour*. By this surname he is distinguished by the historians from the other *Ptolemies*, who succeeded him in the kingdom of *Egypt*^w. Some writers have imagined, that the surname of *Soter* was given him for

^u DIONOR & PLUT. *ibid.* VI G E T. *de re militari.*
SICUT. *ibid.*

^w DION.

having saved *Alexander* in the city of the *Oxydracans* ²; but in this particular we choose with the learned *Usher* to follow *Diodorus*.

Demetrius, now reconciled with the *Rhodians*, at his departure presented them with the *Helepolis* and all the other machines he had employed in the siege, which they selling, erected, with the money accruing from the sale, and with some additional sums of their own, the famous colossus, as we have hinted above. We cannot help taking notice here of one circumstance, which greatly redounds to the honour of *Demetrius*. *Rhodes* was, at the time of the siege, the residence of a celebrated painter named *Protogenes*, who was a native of *Cannus* a city of *Caria*. The house, where he lived, was in the suburbs without the city when *Demetrius* first besieged it. But neither the presence of the enemy, who surrounded him, nor the noise of the arms, that perpetually rung in his ears, could induce him to quit his habitation or interrupt his work. The king, surprized at this, asked him, *Why he did not, like the other inhabitants, save himself within the walls?* *Protogenes* replied, that he was under no apprehension, since he was sensible, that *Demetrius* had declared war against the *Rhodians*, and not against the sciences. The prince was so pleased with this answer, that from that time he took him under his protection, and placed a safe-guard round his house to protect him from the insults of the soldiery. The master-piece of *Protogenes* was the picture of one *Ialysus* (E), supposed

The commendable conduct of *Demetrius* toward *Protogenes* a celebrated painter.

² ARRIAN. l. vi. p. 131. STEPH. ad verbum *Oxydrac*.

(E) This *Ialysus* was but a fabulous hero, the son of *Orchimus* and grandson of *Apollo* and the nymph *Rhoda*. *Protogenes* is said to have employed seven years in finishing this piece, during which time he condemned himself to a very rigid and abstemious life, eating nothing but lupines, lest the vapours, which a richer food might send up to the brain, should darken his imagination. To make the picture the more lasting, he covered it with four lays of colours, that as time should wear one away, another underneath should still appear fresh. When *Apelles* first saw it, he was so transported with admiration, that his speech failed him for some time; and when he began to recover from his astonishment, he cried out, *Prodigious work! a wonderful performance!* However, it has not all those graces which the world admires in my works. One of the figures in this picture was a dog, which had cost the painter immense pains without his being able to express to his own satisfaction the idea he had conceived. He endeavoured to represent the dog in a panting attitude with his mouth foaming, as after a long course, and exerted

supposed by the *Rhodians* to have founded their city. *Pliny* pretends, that the city was saved by this piece ; it was lodged, as he informs us, in that quarter of the city, by which alone it was possible for *Demetrius* to storm the place ; but he chose rather to retire from before the city, than to expose so valuable a monument of art to the danger of being consumed in the flames *. This indeed would have been carrying his taste to a surprizing excess ; but we have already intimated the true reasons which obliged *Demetrius* to raise the siege.

THE *Rhodians* having finished this war, and concluded a peace upon very honourable and advantageous terms, applied themselves entirely to trade and navigation, by which they not only became masters of the sea, as *Polybius* styles them †, but the most opulent and flourishing state of all *Greece*. They

* PLIN. l. vi. c. 4.

† POLYB. l. iv.

ed all the skill he could, but still was dissatisfied with what he had done. Art, in his opinion, was more visible than it ought to have been, and he wanted to make the foam appear not painted, but actually flowing out of the dog's mouth. He frequently retouched it, but could not express those simple traces of nature of which he had formed the ideas in his mind. At last finding all his attempts unsuccessful, in a violent emotion of rage and despair he darted at the picture the sponge with which he used to wipe off his colours, and chance accomplish'd, to use *Pliny's* expression, what art had not been able to effect (81). In the same piece was a satyr represented with wonderful art leaning against a column, on the top of which was a thrush so well done, that when the picture was exposed to view, some fowlers with thrushes having stopt to see it, their birds, mistaking the painted thrush for a real one, began to sing as soon as they discovered it (82). This piece *Cicero* admired above all the pictures he had ever seen ; for in his time it was still in *Rhodes*. It was afterwards carried to *Rome* by *Cassius*, and consecrated in the temple of *Peace*, where it remained in *Pliny's* time ; but was in the reign of the emperor *Commodus*, as *Herodianus* informs us, consumed with the temple by fire. *Protogenes* is censured by the ancients for often retouching his pictures without ever being satisfied with what he had done. Of him it was that *Apelles* said, *Nescit manum de tabula tollere*, as *Pliny* expresses it ; a defect to be equally avoided, as *Tully* observes, by painters and writers ; we ought, says that great orator, to know how far it is proper to expatiate on every subject : for *Apelles* justly censured some painters, who could never quit the pencil, nor put the last hand to their work (83).

(81) *Plin. l. xxxvii. c. 12.* (82) *Idem ibid.* (83) *Cic. Orat. 73.*

endeavoured to maintain, as much as lay in their power, a strict neutrality in the wars that broke out in the east, especially after the death of *Antigonus*, but, however, could not help being involved in one with the *Byzantines*, which lasted but a short time, and did not prove very expensive. The ground of this war is thus related by *Polybius*; the *Byzantines*, being obliged to pay a yearly tribute of fourscore talents to the *Gauls*, in order to raise this sum, came to a resolution of laying a toll on all the ships that traded to the *Pontic* sea. This resolution provoked the *Rhodians*, who were a trading nation, above all the rest. Wherefore they immediately dispatched ambassadors to the *Byzantines* complaining of this new tax; but as the *Byzantines* had no other means of raising money wherewithal to satisfy the avarice of the *Gauls*, and redeem their country from the rapines of those barbarians, they persisted in their former resolution. Whereupon the *Rhodians* declared war against them, and at the same sent to solicit *Prusias* king of *Bithynia* to join them, being well assured, that *Prusias* wanted only a favourable opportunity of venting his resentment upon the *Byzantines* for having endeavoured to reconcile *Attalus* and *Achæus*, who were both declared enemies to the king of *Bithynia*. The *Byzantines* likewise dispatched ambassadors to *Attalus* and *Achæus* soliciting aid from them. They found *Attalus* disposed to assist them; but he was not then in a condition to give them a proof of his friendship, having been lately confined by *Achæus* to the antient limits of his father's kingdom. As for *Achæus*, who was at this time in possession of all *Asia* on this side mount *Taurus*, and had lately assumed the title of king, he readily espoused the cause of the *Byzantines*, and promised to assist them with the whole power of his kingdom².

In the mean time *Prusias*, taking the field, possessed himself of *Hieron*, which town formerly belonged in common to the merchants trading to the *Pontic* sea, but had been lately purchased by the *Byzantines* with a great sum of money, by reason of its convenient situation for protecting their trade. He likewise seized on all that portion of *Mysia* in *Asia* which they had enjoyed for many ages. At the same time the *Rhodians* with their fleet ravaged the coasts of the *Byzantine* territories, and seized all their ships trading to the *Pontic* sea. But these losses were not sufficient to make them comply with the request of the *Rhodians*, or to hearken to

² POLYB. l. i. p. 158 & l. iv. p. 305, 306.

War between the Rhodians and Byzantines.
Year of the Flood
2741.
Before Christ
258.

Peace concluded between the Rhodians and Byzantines.

the terms proposed to them by *Xenophon* the *Rhodian* admiral. They chiefly depended upon the promises made them by *Achæus*, who was both inclined to assist them, and had a powerful army on foot. The *Rhodians* therefore, to draw *Achæus* off from the *Byzantines*, sent ambassadors to *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*, entreating him to deliver up to them *Andromachus*, the father of *Achæus*, who was at that time a prisoner in *Alexandria*. They hoped, that by sending him back to his son without ransom, they should so gain the goodwill of *Achæus*, as to prevent him at least from sending any succours to their enemies. *Ptolemy* did not readily yield to the demand of the *Rhodians*; for *Andromachus*, being both father to *Achæus* and brother to *Laodice* the wife of *Seleucus*, he proposed to make a better bargain of him for himself; for the disputes between him and *Antiochus* were not yet composed; and *Achæus* was become very powerful, extending his conquests far and wide. However, *Ptolemy* was at length prevailed upon to gratify the *Rhodians* by delivering up *Andromachus* to them. The *Rhodians* immediately restored him without ransom to his son, and, by that grateful office and other honours decreed to *Achæus*, gained him over to their party, and so deprived the enemy of their chief support. Another misfortune at the same time befel the *Byzantines*, which proved no less prejudicial to their affairs. They had sent for *Tibites*, who was then in *Macedon*, and had as just a claim to the kingdom of *Bithynia* as *Prusias*, who was his nephew. *Tibites* immediately set out from *Macedon* in hopes of raising disturbances in *Bithynia*, and making good his title to that kingdom, when supported by the power of the *Byzantines*. But he died on his journey, and his death so disheartened the *Byzantines*, that they began to deliberate how they might extricate themselves out of their present difficulties. *Cavarus*, king of the *Thracian Gauls*, happened to be at that time in *Byzantium*, and, being desirous to have the glory of putting an end to the war, offered his mediation, which being readily accepted by the contending parties, a peace was concluded between the *Rhodians* and *Byzantines*, upon condition that the *Byzantines* should forbear exacting toll on ships trading to the *Pontic* sea; which was all the *Rhodians* had in view in declaring war. As for king *Prusias*, the articles of the treaty with him were, that there should be perpetual peace between him and the *Byzantines*; that *Prusias* should restore to the *Byzantines* all the lands, towns, people, &c. which he had taken during the war, and that he should repair all the damages suffered by the *Byzantines* and *Mysians* subject to them. Thus a period was put to the war between the *Byzantines* on
one

one side, and king *Prusias*, surnamed *Cholos* or the *Lame*, and the *Rhodians* on the other ^a.

ABOUT this time happened that dreadful earthquake, which, as we have hinted above, threw down the famous colossus, the arsenal, and great part of the walls of the city of *Rhodes*; which calamity the *Rhodians* improved to their advantage, sending ambassadors to all the princes and states of the *Greek* name, who exaggerating their losses procured immense sums for the repairing of them. *Hiero* king of *Syracuse* presented them with an hundred talents, and besides exempted from all taxes and duties such as traded to *Rhodes*. *Ptolemy*, king of *Egypt*, gave them an hundred talents, a million of measures of wheat, materials for building twenty quinqueremes, and the like number of triremes, and besides sent them an hundred architects, three hundred workmen, and materials for repairing their public buildings to a great value, paying them moreover fourteen talents a year for the maintenance of the workmen he sent them. *Antigonus* gave them an hundred talents of silver with ten thousand pieces of timber, each piece being sixteen cubits long, seven thousand planks, 3000 pounds of iron, as many of pitch and rosin, and a thousand measures of tar. *Chryseis*, a woman of distinction, sent them an hundred thousand measures of wheat, and three thousand pounds of lead. *Antiochus* exempted from all taxes and duties the *Rhodian* ships trading to his dominions, presented them with ten gallies, and two hundred thousand measures of corn, with many other things of great value. *Prusias*, *Mithridates*, *Lyfanius*, *Olympicus*, *Linnaeus* and all the other princes then reigning in *Asia* made them proportionable presents. In short all the *Greek* towns and nations, all the princes of *Europe* and *Asia* contributed, according to their ability, to the relief of the *Rhodians* on that occasion; in-somuch, that their city not only soon rose from its ruins, but attained to a higher pitch of riches and splendor than ever ^b.

A FEW years after the *Rhodians* could not help engaging in a war against *Philip* king of *Macedon*, which cost them immense treasures. *Philip*, without any provocation, had invaded the territories of *Attalus* king of *Pergamus*, and because the *Rhodians* seemed to favour their antient friend and ally, the king of *Macedon* sent one *Heraclides*, by birth a *Tarentine*, to set fire to their fleet, and at the same time dispatched

The colossus and several public buildings thrown down by an earthquake.

The Rhodians join with Attalus, against Philip king of Macedon. Year of the Flood 2786.

^a POLYB. in excerpt. Val. p. 26. & l. iv. ATHEN. l. vi. c. 6. Before

^b POLYB. l. v.

ambassadors into *Crete* in order to stir up the *Cretans* against the *Rhodians*, and thereby prevent them from lending any assistance to *Attalus*. These proceedings so provoked the *Rhodians*, that they entered into an alliance with *Attalus*, and proclaimed war against *Philip* ^c. That prince at first gained an inconsiderable advantage over the *Rhodians*, in a naval engagement fought near the island of *Lada*, over-against the city of *Miletus*, having taken two of their quinqueremes and dispersed the rest. The next year he ventured a second battle off the island of *Chios* against the united fleets of *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*; but was defeated with the loss of three thousand *Macedonians* and six thousand allies; and besides, 2000 *Macedonians* and seven hundred *Egyptians*, who served on board his fleet, were taken prisoners, the *Rhodians* having lost in all but sixty men, and *Attalus* seventy. Notwithstanding this loss, which was the greatest he had ever sustained to that day, either by sea or land, he gave out, that he had been victorious, because he happened to take the ship which carried *Attalus* after it had been driven ashore. However, he afterwards carefully avoided coming to a sea engagement either with *Attalus* or the *Rhodians*. After this victory the two fleets steered their course towards the island of *Ægina*, where they came to an anchor, hoping to intercept *Philip*, as he returned on board his fleet into *Macedon*. But failing in their attempt, they sailed to *Pyræus* the port of *Athens*, and there renewed their alliance with the *Athenians*, who, having been lately insulted by *Philip*, paid them extraordinary honours, adding to their ten tribes, each of which bore the name of one of their heroes, an eleventh, which they called *Attalis*, in honour of *Attalus*, and presenting the *Rhodians* with a crown of gold, after having made all the inhabitants of *Rhodes* free of *Athens*. The king of *Pergamus* and the *Rhodians*, better pleased with the treaty than the honours bestowed upon them, returned on board their galleys and set sail, *Attalus* to the island of *Ægina*, and the *Rhodians* to their own island. In their passage they drew into their confederacy all the *Cyclades*, except *Andros*, *Paros*, and *Cythnos*, where *Philip* kept *Macedonian* garisons. Nevertheless, this separation of *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* proved of very bad consequence for the common cause. Had they kept united, and pursued *Philip* in his retreat, or at least shut up all the entrances into *Greece*, they would have re-established its liberty, and deprived the *Romans* of that glory. But while

the *Rhodians* and *Attalus* were losing time in negotiations with the inhabitants of the *Cyclades* and *Ægina*, *Philip*, who knew how to improve the faults of his enemies to his own advantage, having divided his forces into two bodies, sent one under the command of *Philocles* to ravage the territory of *Athens*; the other he put on board his fleet, with orders to sail to *Meronea*, a city on the north coast of *Thrace*. As for himself, he marched by land to the same place, attended only by two thousand foot and two hundred horse. The city, being attacked at the same time by sea and land, was taken at the first assault. The city of *Ænos*, which stood on the same coast, was betrayed to the *Macedonians* by the governor of the place; and then all the castles along the shore submitted of their own accord to the conqueror, who passed on from thence to the *Thracian Chersonesus*, where he took *Eleus*, *Alopeconesus*, *Callipolis*, and *Madytos*. From the *Chersonesus* the king passed over the *Hellepont*, and laid siege to *Abydos*, which city stopped the rapidity of his conquests, but was at last taken by assault, as we shall relate at length in the history of the successors of *Alexander*^d.

BEFORE *Philip* began the siege of *Abydos*, the *Rhodians* and *Attalus* had sent ambassadors to *Rome* to complain of him, and inform the senate, that he was soliciting several states in *Asia* to take up arms, with a design to enslave the *Greek* cities that refused to join him, and then pursue his conquests both in *Europe* and *Asia*. The *Rhodians* had in the very beginning of this war entered into an alliance with *Rome*, and on that consideration their ambassadors were received with marks of great distinction by the senate, who promised to dispatch ambassadors to *Philip*, and employ their good offices with that prince, in behalf of the *Greeks* in *Asia* and *Europe*. They were as good as their word, but *Philip* dismissed their ambassadors without shewing any inclination to treat of a peace. Whereupon the *Romans*, *Attalus*, and the *Rhodians* having renewed their alliance, war was proclaimed at *Rome* against *Philip*, and *P. Sulpitius* the consul sent with an army into *Macedon*. On his arrival he found *Athens* besieged by part of the king's troops, and the king himself busy in making the necessary preparations for invading the kingdom of *Pergamus*. *Sulpitius* immediately detached a squadron of twenty galleys to the relief of *Athens*, under the conduct of *Claudius Centho*, who obliged the *Macedonians* to raise the siege, and performed such exploits in *Greece* as were worthy of the con-

^d POLYB. l. xvi. p. 736, 737, 738. LIV. l. xxxi.

ful himself. *Sulpitius* was not in a condition to undertake any thing else the rest of the year ; he had left *Rome* too late, and did not arrive in *Epirus* before the end of *Autumn*, when the season did not allow him to keep out at sea or take the field ^e.

E A R L Y in the spring, the *Rhodians* sent twenty gallies, under the command of *Agessimbrotus*, to join *Attalus* and *Apustius* the *Roman* admiral, and these three fleets struck such terror into the *Macedonians*, that they durst not venture out of their harbours ; so that the confederates laying siege to *Oreos*, a strong city subject to *Philip* on the eastern coast of *Eubæa*, made themselves masters of that important place, and afterwards laid waste all the neighbouring countries which adhered to *Philip*. The ensuing year the *Rhodians*, in conjunction with *Attalus* and *L. Quinctius*, brother to *Titus Quinctius Flaminius*, after having rayaged the country of the *Carystii*, laid siege to *Eretria*, a city near the *Euripus*, which they took by assault ; and then returning to *Carystus* carried that place likewise. From *Carystus* they entered the *Saronic* gulf, and appeared before *Cenchrea* one of the ports of *Corinth*, which they likewise reduced. But *Corinth* itself, being garisoned by some of the choicest of the *Macedonian* troops and the *Roman* deserters, the consul, who attacked the place by land, while his brother with the *Rhodians* invested it by sea, was forced to raise the siege after he had made a breach in the walls ^f.

The Rhodians recover the province of *Peræa* from *Philip*.

T H E S E exploits the *Rhadians* performed in conjunction with the *Romans* and king *Attalus*. But the province of *Peræa* they recovered from *Philip* with their own forces alone. *Peræa* was a small province of *Caria*, separated by the *Carpathian* sea from the island of *Rhodes*, to which it had been formerly subject. This province the *Rhodians* undertook to recover, while *Philip's* forces were engaged with *Attalus* and the *Romans*, committing the whole conduct of this expedition to *Pausistratus*, who was then their prætor or chief magistrate. *Pausistratus* put to sea with his fleet, and landed in *Caria* at the head of two thousand nine hundred men. With this small army he encamped in the plain which led to *Stratonice*, one of the richest cities in *Caria*, and antiently peopled, according to *Strabo*, by a colony from *Macedon*. The *Rhodian* general on his landing had the precaution to seize on a strong hold, called *Tendeba*, where he was reinforced by a thousand *Achæans* and an hundred horse, sent him by the *Achæan* republic. *Dinocrates*, one of the king of *Macedon's* generals, hearing

^e POLYB. & LIV. ioid.

^f LIV. l. xxxii. c. 18.

that the *Rhodians* had made a descent in *Caria*, and possessed themselves of *Tendeba*, immediately hastened thither to recover the place, and oblige the enemy to reembark. But finding them well fortified, he turned towards *Astragon*, a fortress on the borders of the territory of *Stratonice*. Under the walls of this castle he strengthened his army with all the *Macedonian* garisons in that neighbourhood, and then marched to *Alubanda*, where the *Rhodians* were encamped, with a design to draw them to a decisive action. The *Rhodians* were so far from declining a battle, that they came to meet him, and encamped at a small distance from his army. The two generals drew up their troops in battalia. *Dinocrates* posted five hundred *Macedonians* on the right, the *Argives* on the left, and the *Carians* in the center. *Pausistratus* placed most of his auxiliaries in the center, and the *Cretans* and *Thracians* in the wings. Both armies advanced in good order, and continued some time within reach of each other before they began the attack, being separated by a rivulet. At last *Pausistratus*, advancing at the head of his mercenaries, charged the *Macedonian* phalanx with such fury that he put it in disorder; then the rest of his army, forcing their way through the ranks, already broken by the confusion and flight of the *Phalangites*, spread terror and slaughter every where. *Dinocrates* in vain endeavoured to rally his disordered troops; the affrighted soldiers would not hearken to the voice of their commander, and the general himself was forced to retire with the small remains of his army to *Bargyliæ* a city of *Caria*. The *Rhodians* spent the rest of the day in pursuing the fugitives, and in the evening returned to their camp. Nothing now prevented them from marching directly to *Stratonice*, which city they might have made themselves masters of without striking a blow. There was no enemy in the field, and *Dinocrates* had drawn out the garison to reinforce his army before the battle. But not knowing how to use their victory, they lost a favourable opportunity of extending their conquests all over *Caria*. They reduced indeed all the castles and towns of *Peræa*; but in the mean time gave the *Macedonian* general leisure to supply *Stratonice* with provisions, and throw himself into it with the remains of his army; so that all the efforts of *Pausistratus*, in attempting afterwards to reduce it, proved ineffectual⁸.

ABOUT this time *Antiochus*, surnamed *the Great*, having reduced in one campaign *Cælo-Syria*, *Phœnice*, and *Judæa*,

⁸ LIV. *ibid.* POLYB. l. xvi.

The Rhodians give a signal proof of their attachment to the Romans, and of their zeal for the common interest of Greece. was making vast preparations in order to conquer *Cilicia* and *Caria*, and then pass into *Europe* and join his old ally *Philip*. With this view having raised a mighty army, he sent it under the command of his two sons, *Ardues* and *Mithridates* to wait for him at *Sardis*, while he with a powerful fleet, consisting of an hundred large ships of war and two hundred other vessels, reduced the cities on the coasts of *Caria* and *Cilicia*, which were subject to the king of *Egypt*. On this occasion the *Rhodians* gave a signal proof of their attachment to *Rome*, and zeal for the common interests of *Greece*. *Antiochus* had already taken *Zephyrium*, *Soli*, *Aphrodisias*, *Selinus*, and several other castles along the coast, and was actually besieging *Coracesium*, an important place in *Cilicia*, when the *Rhodians* sent an embassy to him, requiring him not to extend his conquests beyond *Nephele*, a famous promontory of *Cilicia*, and threatening him with war in case he did not comply with their request. The ambassadors were ordered to add, that the *Rhodians* were not prompted to take up arms against him out of any grudge or hatred to his person; but because they would not suffer him to join *Philip*, and interrupt the progress of the *Romans* in restoring *Greece* to its antient liberty. When the ambassadors were brought into his tent, for he was then encamped before *Coracesium*, and acquainted him with their business, the proud monarch, who was used to give laws to others, was highly provoked; but, however, had command enough over his temper not to express any resentment. He only answered, that he would take care not to quarrel with the *Rhodians* or the *Romans*, with whom he designed always to keep up a good understanding; that he would send ambassadors to renew the antient treaties, which his ancestors had made with *Rhodes*, and that he had been always desirous to live in amity with the *Romans*; and, in proof of the friendship then subsisting between him and that republic, he gave them an account of the embassy he had lately sent to *Rome*, and of the great honours which had been bestowed upon his ambassadors by the senate. Soon after *Antiochus* sent ambassadors to *Rhodes*, who upon their arrival there heard the news of the entire defeat of *Philip* at *Cynocephalæ*. This news emboldened the *Romans*, and most of them were for putting a fleet out to sea and engaging *Antiochus*. But the *Rhodians* advised them rather to secure the liberty of the cities in alliance with the king of *Egypt*, which were not yet subdued by *Antiochus*. Their advice was followed, and the cities of *Caunus*, *Myndus*, *Halicarnassus*, and the island of *Samos* were by this means preserved from the Syrian yoke. However, *Antiochus* reduced *Coracesium*, *Coricus*, *Andriace*,
† *Limyra*,

Limyra, Patara, Xanthus, all which cities belonged to *Ptolemy*, and lastly *Ephesus* itself ^h.

IN the mean time, a peace being concluded between *Philip* and the *Romans*, the *Rhodians* were, by the articles of the treaty, put in possession of *Stratonice* and the best part of *Caria*. This regard shewn them by the *Romans* encouraged them to assist the republic to the utmost of their power in the war, which was soon after proclaimed at *Rome* against *Antiochus*. They sent *Pausistratus* with thirty ships of war to join *Livius* the *Roman* admiral, and act in conjunction with him against *Antiochus*. But the best part of the fleet was, by the artifice of *Polyxenidas* *Antiochus's* admiral, surprized and destroyed. *Polyxenidas* was himself by birth a *Rhodian*, but having been banished his country, had gone into the service of the king of *Syria*, and was now commander in chief of the *Syrian* fleet. *Pausistratus* had advanced with his fleet as far as the island of *Samos*, where he received an express from *Polyxenidas*, telling him, that being now master of the *Syrian* fleet, it was in his power to do *Pausistratus* and his country signal service, provided *Pausistratus* would engage in the name of his republic to restore him to his native country, and to the honours he enjoyed before his banishment. *Pausistratus*, thinking that such a proposal ought neither to be implicitly believed, nor absolutely neglected, desired *Polyxenidas* to explain himself more fully, and promised secrecy. Then the latter sent a second express, acquainting him, that he was ready to deliver up *Antiochus's* fleet, provided only, he might be permitted to return to his country, and be reinstated in his former condition there. This *Pausistratus* thought a proposal of too much importance to be rejected, and in order to give *Polyxenidas* time to follow him, he retired with his squadron to a port of *Samos*, called *Panormus*, and there waited to see the conclusion of the affair. From thence he sent an express to *Polyxenidas*, promising him whatever he demanded; and *Polyxenidas* on his side sent him a letter written with his own hand, wherein he promised to deliver up the whole *Syrian* fleet. Upon this open declaration *Pausistratus* was no longer in suspense. He had it in his power to ruin *Polyxenidas*; and he could not believe, that a wise man would make a promise, which might cost him his life, without designing to perform it. Nothing therefore remained but to take the proper measures for putting the design in execution. To this end *Polyxenidas* promised to caution duty to be neglected on board the *Syrian* fleet; to sepa-

^h LIV. l. xxxiii HIERONYM. in Dan. c. ii.

rate the soldiers and seamen under several pretences, to send them away from the port of *Ephesus*, where his fleet was then at anchor, and by that means expose them to be taken without the least difficulty. This method pleased *Pausistratus*, who affected the same negligence, which he was assured he should find in the enemy's fleet, and quietly waited for notice when he should go and attack them in the port of *Ephesus*. In the mean time *Polyxenidas*, the better to cover his real design, sent away some of his gallies, ordered the harbour to be cleansed, and seemed in no haste to put to sea. While *Pausistratus* was daily expecting to be called to *Ephesus*, a private person happened to come from that city to *Samos*, who being examined by *Pausistratus* concerning the proceedings of *Polyxenidas* and the condition of his fleet, ingenuously told him, that the port of *Ephesus* was full of ships, that the soldiers and mariners were all assembled at a place within reach of it, and that the *Syrian* admiral was making great preparations as if he had some great enterprize in view. Notwithstanding this sincere report of an indifferent person, *Pausistratus* was so prepossessed with the promise of an artful enemy, that he still continued at *Samos*, in hopes of being soon sent for to take the *Syrian* fleet. But *Polyxenidas* took quite different measures; he sailed from *Ephesus* with seventy ships of war, steering his course to *Pygela*, a city on the coast of *Ionia*, whence the *Asiatic* fleets generally set out for *Greece*. But before he weighed anchor, he ordered one *Nicaner*, commander of a squadron of privateers, to make a descent in the island of *Samos*, and conceal his men there till the rest of the fleet arrived. From *Pygela* *Polyxenidas* set sail for the port of *Panormus*, where arriving in the night, he found the *Rhodians* lying on the shore without any apprehension of an enemy. But the noise of a fleet entering the port soon awakened them. As they were all veteran troops, *Pausistratus*, at last convinced of the treachery of his adversary, thought it more adviseable to make use of them in a fight at land than at sea; and accordingly drew them up in order of battle to the right and left upon two promontories, which formed the mouth of the harbour. They were scarce drawn up when they were, to their great surprize, attacked in the rear by *Nicaner*, who had therein followed the directions of *Polyxenidas*. The *Rhodians*, fearing lest they should be surrounded, retired with precipitation to their ships; but, the mouth of the harbour being stopped up by the *Syrian* fleet, they found it necessary to force a way through it in order to gain the high seas. The galley, on board of which was *Pausistratus*, was the first that faced the enemy at the mouth

of the port, and broke through their fleet in spite of all opposition ; but, being immediately invested by five quinqueremes commanded by *Polyxenidas* in person, she was overpowered and sunk. Thus perished *Pausistratus*, who had on all occasions distinguished himself by his courage and prudent conduct, and was at last overcome by a base stratagem. After the death of the admiral, the *Rhodian* fleet was soon destroyed ; some of the gallies were taken in sight of the port, others in the port itself, while they attempted to force their way out ; inasmuch, that of this great armament only seven ships escaped, viz. five belonging to *Rhodes*, and two to the island of *Cos*. These, in order to force their way through the enemy's fleet, lighted great fires in their prows, and from thence held out long poles with kettles full of burning bitumen, which, by the terror they gave the enemy, favoured their escape. In their flight they were met by some *Erythræan* gallies, that were coming to their assistance ; and with them they turned towards the *Hellepont*, where they joined the *Roman* fleet, which under the command of *Livius* was carrying on the siege of *Abydos*¹.

THE *Rhodians*, notwithstanding this loss, did not renounce their alliance with *Rome*, or their engagement to assist her with all their forces. They immediately fitted out twenty new gallies, and gave the command of them to *Eudamus*, a man indeed less brave and experienced than *Pausistratus*, but more mistrustful and circumspect. *Eudamus* having joined the *Roman* admiral at *Samos*, the confederates sailed from thence together to *Ephesus*, where they not only insulted the *Syrian* fleet under the command of *Polyxenidas*, but even challenged them to an engagement at land. But the challenge not being accepted, they returned to *Samos*, whence *Livius*, after he had resigned his command to his successor *Æmilius*, was detached with part of the fleet to reduce *Patara* in *Lycia*, which place was a great check upon the *Rhodians* while in the enemy's hands. But *Livius* failed in his attempt ; whereupon the *Roman* and *Rhodian* fleets sailing to *Abramvium*, where *Antiochus* was encamped, obliged him to retire to *Sardis*, and then the confederate fleets returned to *Samos*, where they parted. *Eumenes* went to the *Hellepont* to convoy the *Scipios*, who were appointed to carry on the war against *Antiochus*, over into *Asia*. *Eudamus* returned to *Rhodes* with his gallies to receive there new reinforcements ; and *Æmilius* continued at *Samos* to watch the motions of *Polyxenidas* who was still shut up in the port of *Ephesus*².

¹ LIV. I. xxxvii. c. 11. APPIAN p. 101² LIV. ibid.

The Rhodians defeat Hannibal in a sea-fight.
Year of the Flood 2809.
Before Christ 190.

IN the mean time news being brought, that a formidable fleet was coming out of *Syria* under the command of the famous *Hannibal*, *Eudamus*, the *Rhodian* admiral, having reinforced his squadron with seventeen other ships, went out to meet him, in order to prevent his joining *Polyxenidas* in the port of *Ephesus*. *Eudamus* first advanced to the island of *Megiste* near the coasts of *Lycia*, with a design to wait for him there ; but, the heat being excessive and the air there very unwholesome, he sailed from thence to the mouth of the *Eurymedon*, a river of *Pamphylia*, where he was informed by the inhabitants of *Aspendus*, that *Hannibal's* fleet appeared off *Sida* a maritime city on the borders of *Pamphylia*. It consisted of thirty seven large ships, among which were three *septiremes*, four *hexaremes*, and ten *triremes* ; whereas the *Rhodian* fleet consisted only of thirty two *quadriremes*, and four *triremes*. When the *Syrian* fleet discovered the *Rhodians* advancing to attack them, they made a large front and faced the enemy. *Hannibal* commanded the right wing, and *Apollonius*, one of the king's chief favourites, the left. The *Rhodians* sailed on in a line, with *Eudamus* at their head, *Chariclitus* brought up the rear, and *Pamphilidas* commanded in the center. When they came to draw up in line of battle, *Eudamus* sailed out, but did not leave room enough for his galleys to be drawn up with the due distances in one line. This inadvertency caused some disorder in his fleet. However, while they were disentangling themselves in the best manner they could, *Eudamus* with five galleys only attacked *Hannibal's* wing, and the experience of the *Rhodians* soon repaired the fault of their admiral, for the ships widened of themselves, so that each had room enough to turn about and ply their oars. Then the onset began, and not one of the *Rhodian* galleys attacked *Antiochus's* ships without success. The largest ship in the royal navy was by a very small *Rhodian* galley sunk in the very beginning of the engagement, which greatly terrified and disheartened the *Syrians* in the left wing. But *Eudamus* was hard pressed by *Hannibal* in the right wing. The *Carthaginian* had already surrounded the five *Rhodian* galleys, which the others observing hastened to his relief, and attacked *Hannibal* on all sides with such vigour, that he was forced to crowd all the sail he could, and save that part of the squadron by flight. The *Rhodians* after having pursued him some time and taken one of his *hexaremes*, returned to *Rhodes* with the glory indeed of having conquered, but reproaching one another for not having utterly destroyed the *Syrian* fleet. However, they had at least

the advantage of blocking him up in the ports of *Pamphylia* so close, that it was impossible for him to do the king the least service. *Chariclitus* lay at anchor with twenty ships of war off *Patara* and the island of *Megiste*, in order to intercept him in his passage, if he attempted to join *Polyxenidas*. As for *Eudamus* he returned with only seven great ships to join the prætor *Æmilius* at *Samos*. While the *Rhodians* kept *Hannibal* thus blocked up, *Æmilius*, being joined by another *Rhodian* squadron, entirely defeated the fleet of *Antiochus* off the island of *Teos*. In this engagement the *Syrians* lost fifty two of their best ships, and the *Romans* only two. The news of this defeat so dejected *Antiochus*, that he raised the siege of *Colophon*, and retired into *Cappadocia* to his son-in-law *Ariarathes*. He was soon after totally defeated by land in the famous battle which was fought near *Magnesia*, and determined that unhappy prince to accept a peace upon such conditions as it pleased the conqueror to impose. On this occasion king *Eumenes* went in person to *Rome* to congratulate the republic on the success of her arms in the *Levant*, and was received by the senate with all possible marks of honour and gratitude for his services, and pressed to declare what recompence would be most agreeable to him. The king for a long time modestly declined saying any thing in his own praise, or asking any particular reward, referring that matter wholly to the determination of the conscript fathers. But they still insisting that he should give an account of his exploits, and declare what *Rome* could do to shew her gratitude in the most acceptable manner, he at length comply'd ; and having run over his father's services and his own, and answered the objections he foresaw the *Rhodians* would make as republicans against the encrease of his territories, and in favour of the *Asiatic Greeks*, whose liberty and independence they would contend for, he thus concluded : “ As to my desires, since I must declare them, “ they are these. You have confined the king of *Syria* “ within mount *Taurus*, and if *Rome* keeps for herself the “ countries which extend from those parts to the sea, I shall “ lay no claim to them ; it will be both a pleasure to me and “ a security to my dominions to have you for my neigh- “ bours. But if you should despise so distant a conquest, “ and think it will not answer the expence of keeping it, “ I will venture to say, that none of your allies have bet- “ ter deserved it than myself.” The senate received his proposal with approbation, and was disposed to grant him his request, but the *Rhodian* deputies, when they were ad-

The Rhodian deputies oppose at Rome the pretensions of king Eumenes.

mitted to audience, pleaded for the liberty of the *Greek* cities in *Asia*, as *Eumenes* had apprehended. “ Your victories, “ said they to the senate, have made you masters of a great “ many *Greek* colonies on this side *mount Taurus*, and “ shall they alone not partake of that general regard for “ liberty, which has made you the deliverers of *Greece* ? “ Subject as many of the other nations to *Eumenes* as you “ please ; they do not know the value of liberty ; they have “ been so long accustomed to kingly government, that it “ is scarce any burden to them. But the *Greeks* have the “ same spirit as the *Romans* ; they love, nay they adore, “ liberty, and expect to receive from you this inestimable “ present, for which they will be eternally indebted to your “ glorious arms. It may indeed be said, that these *Greek* “ cities declared for *Antiochus*. And so likewise did many “ of the *Greek* cities in *Europe*, which nevertheless you “ restored to their laws and liberties. And this is all we “ ask for the *Asiatic Greeks*. Cannot you deny *Eumenes* “ what you denied yourselves ? This, conscript fathers, is “ our only request. Have not the past services of the “ *Rhodians* deserved your favour for a people, who came “ originally from *Greece* as well as themselves ? Besides, to “ grant our desires is to give the highest instance possible “ of that true magnanimity, which is peculiar to *Roman* “ minds. ”

The Rhodians rewarded by the Romans.

THIS speech made an impression on the minds of the fathers, who at length determined to send ten commissioners into the *Levant* to settle all disputes there, but declared before-hand, that *Lycaonia*, the two *Phrygias* and *Mysia* should for the future be subject to *Eumenes*. *Lycia*, that part of *Caria* which was next to *Rhodes*, and part of *Pisidia* were bestowed on the *Rhodians*, as a reward for their eminent services during the war. However, in both these dispositions those cities were excepted which enjoyed their liberty before the war. The disposal of *Soli* raised a dispute between the *Rhodians* and the ambassadors of king *Antiochus*. *Soli* was a city of *Cilicia* beyond *mount Taurus*, and had been founded by a *Greek* colony from *Argi*. The *Rhodians* therefore thought it should be declared free as well as the other *Greek* cities. But the king's ambassadors claiming it in virtue of the treaty concluded with the *Romans*, the *Rhodians* acquiesced, and *Soli* was allotted to king *Antiochus*¹.

¹ POLYB. legat. 25, 36. DIONOR. SICUL. legat. 10. LIV. l. 37, 38. APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 116.

THE *Rhodians*, tho' such zealous assertors of liberty, yet oppressed, in a most cruel manner, the *Lycians*, who had been subjected to them by the *Roman* senate. The *Lycians*, not able to bear the oppressions they groaned under, sent deputies to *Rome* to complain of their new masters and procure some redress for their calamities. When they were introduced to the senate, they addressed the fathers thus : We were formerly subject to the king of *Syria*, and found his government very mild in comparison of the oppressions we endure under the *Rhodians*. We now undergo all the hardships of slavery. All kinds of severity are used, not only against particular persons, but against the whole nation. The honour of our wives and daughters is not safe ; our estates are at the mercy of our masters ; our lands are pillaged ; in short, we are treated like slaves bought in the market. The senate, touched with compassion, wrote a letter to the *Rhodians*, which was carried by the *Lycian* envoys themselves, to this effect : We never intended to enslave the countries we gave you. None of those people, who were born free, have been reduced to a state of slavery by us. Remember therefore, that the *Lycians* are allies of the people of *Rome*, at the same time that they are your subjects. The *Rhodians*, taking it very much amiss, that their subjects should dare to have recourse to any foreign power, began to treat them with more severity than ever. Whereupon the *Lycians*, at the instigation of *Eumenes*, as is supposed, taking up arms, attempted to shake off the yoke. But the *Rhodians* soon reduced them, and used them in so cruel a manner, that they were obliged to have recourse anew to *Rome*, where they found many patrons, the *Rhodians* having disobliged the *Romans*, by conveying with their fleet *Laodice* the daughter of *Seleucus*, whom *Perfes* had lately married, into *Macedon*. The senate therefore appointed new commissioners to compose matters between the *Lycians* and *Rhodians*, enjoining them to favour the former as much as they could, without wronging the latter. The commissioners were not received at *Rhodes* with the usual marks of friendship and affection ; but, however, the *Rhodians* complied with their injunctions, and treated the *Lycians* thenceforth more like allies than subjects ^m.

ⁿ IN the mean time *Eumenes*, arriving at *Rome*, acquainted the senate with the vast preparations which *Perfes* the son of

^m LIV. l, 41, 42. POLYB. legat. 60, 61, 62. APPIAN. legat. 25.

Year of
the flood,
2822.
Before
Christ,
177.

Philip




The Rhodians suspected by the Romans.

Philip was making, with a design, as he rightly supposed, to kindle a new war in the east, and recover the countries which had been taken from his father by the *Romans*. The *Rhodians* taking it for granted, that *Eumenes* had included their republic in the informations he had given against the king of *Macedon*, sent to *Rome* one of their chief men, named *Satyrus*, to clear them from all suspicion of favouring *Perses*. *Satyrus* was a man of a violent temper, and therefore being, by the help of his friends and patrons, admitted to an audience of the senate together with *Eumenes*, he broke out into reproaches against him. It is you, said he, who have stirred up *Lycia* against the *Rhodian* government. You have done more mischief in *Asia* than ever *Antiochus the Great* did. These invectives were agreeable to the *Asiatics*, who now began to favour *Perses*; but the only effect they had at *Rome* was to render the *Rhodians* suspected, and increase the affection of the *Romans* for *Eumenes*. As the *Romans* were then on the point of engaging in a war with *Perses*, three commissioners were sent to the coasts of *Asia*, to watch the motions and inclinations of the *Rhodians*. *Rhodes* thought herself injured by the *Romans* in her disputes with the *Lycians*, and had given some plain proofs of her affection to *Perses*. She actually had at this time a fleet of forty sail in her ports, and it was not known for what expedition they were designed. But when the commissioners arrived at *Rhodes*, they found the inhabitants better disposed than they expected. *Hegesiochus*, a man entirely addicted to the *Romans*, was then prytanis (F), or the chief magistrate. He had no sooner discovered, that *Rome* intended to carry the war into *Macedon*, but he assembled the people, and addressed himself to them thus: “The *Roman* forces are
“coming once more to exert themselves in the east; what

(F) The chief magistrate in the city of *Rhodes* was called *Prytanis*, which name the *Rhodians*, in all likelihood, borrowed of the *Athenians*. The latter chose annually by lot five hundred senators to govern their state; that is, fifty in each of the ten tribes, of which their republic consisted, as each tribe had its turn of pre-cedency. The fifty senators in office were called *Prytanes*, the place where they used to assemble *Prytaneon*, and the space of time they continued in office *Prytaneia*. The *Prytanis*, among the *Rhodians*, had much the same power and authority as the *Prætor* in the other states of *Greece*, but was chosen every six months, at the end of which his authority expired, unless he was, by a plurality of votes, continued in his office; which, as *Polybius* tells us, sometimes happened, but seldom, the *Rhodians* being, to a great degree, jealous of their liberties.

“ can we do better than join that republic? We are become
 “ rich and powerful by having assisted her in her former
 “ expeditions; what then do we not owe her in point of
 “ gratitude? Besides, our common safety depends upon
 “ our not dividing our interests from hers. Let us not
 “ then be both ungrateful and imprudent; and if it be ne-
 “ cessary for us to declare for *Rome*, let us not delay to
 “ the last minute the succours which she has a right to de-
 “ mand of us. Our galleys lie unemployed in our harbours;
 “ let us equip them, and, by our diligence, anticipate the
 “ expectations of our friends and benefactors. Let *Rome*
 “ find us prepared to serve her.” This proposal of *Hege-
 siochus* had been approved and forty galleys immediately e-
 quipped; so that, upon the arrival of the *Roman* deputies,
 the *Rhodians* offered themselves ready to serve them, and en-
 gage in the war whenever the republic thought fit to call up-
 on themⁿ.

THE *Roman* envoys were scarce reembarked, highly satisf- *Perfes en-*
 fied with the zeal of the *Rhodians*, when ambassadors arriv- *deavours*
 ed at *Rhodes* from *Perfes*. They brought from the king a *to persuade*
 letter to the senate, wherein he gave them an account of his *the Rho-*
 negotiations with the *Romans*, and added, that he hoped all *dians to*
 differences would be soon composed in an amicable manner; *stand neu-*
 but that, at all events, he depended on their affection. The *ter.*
 senate of *Rhodes* assembled to give audience to the *Macedo-* *Year of*
 nian ambassadors, who employed all their eloquence to per- *the Flood,*
 suade the *Rhodians* to stand neuter till war was openly de- *2829.*
 clared. By that means, said they, *Rhodes* will be in a con- *Year be-*
 dition to prevent a war, by interposing her good offices, *fore*
 which will be very acceptable to both parties, so long as *Christ,*
 she sides with neither; but if afterwards *Rome* persists in *170:*
 troubling the repose of the east, it will be then your business 
 to take up arms, and oppose, to the utmost of your power,
 those who are for involving you in new wars. This speech
 was heard with attention; but the senators were already pre-
 possessed in favour of the *Romans*, so that the answer they
 received was not agreeable to the king. The prytanes gave
 it in these words. We entreat *Perfes* to ask nothing of us
 which may be prejudicial to the interests of *Rome*. After this
 the ambassadors withdrew, and returned to *Macedon*, with-
 out any positive answer to their demands^o.

Not long after, war being declared with *Perfes*, the *Rho-*
dians sent some of their galleys to join *Gaius Lucretius* the

ⁿ Liv. ibid. POLYB. legat. 64.
 Liv. ubi supra.

^o POLYB. legat. 65.

The haugh-
ty embassy
of the Rho-
dians to
the Roman
senate.

Roman admiral; but the greatest number of their ships of war they kept in their own harbours, expecting the issue of the first battle between *Perfes* and the *Romans*; for though many of the leading men favoured *Rome*, yet the people was generally inclined to *Perfes*. Hence no sooner was news brought of the defeat of the consul *Licinius* in *Thessaly*, but the *Rhodians* entered into negotiations with *Perfes*, and taking upon them to be mediators between the contending powers, sent ambassadors to *Rome*, commanding, rather than entreating, the senate to put an end to the war. “If *Rome*, (said they, addressing the senate) “was formerly victorious “in the east, to what did she owe her success but to our “arms and fleets? The victories you gained over *Antiochus* “were our victories as much as yours. As for *Macedon*, it “was then at peace with us, and our entering into engage- “ments with *Perfes* could be therefore no just offence to “you. But we at last broke with this prince, merely out “of complaisance to *Rome*. We followed your standards to “the prejudice of our ally, contrary to our own inclinations, “and without any provocation from him. Had he done “any thing which could give us just cause to abandon him? “We have indeed been very justly punished for separating “from him. How many misfortunes have we suffered for “the three years that you made war with him? Our navi- “gation is lost, and our island wants necessaries. We can “no longer sail with safety along the coasts of *Asia*, and “raise our imposts in the tributary cities there. The *Rho- “dian* republic therefore, fatigued with your hostilities, “which all recoil upon her, thought herself obliged to en- “treat the *Macedonian* to make peace with *Rome*. She sent “ambassadors to require it of him; and now she sends others “to the senate to warn them to put an end to the war with “*Perfes*, which, if you refuse to do, we shall find proper “means to bring the obstinate to reason.”

It is easy to judge in what manner so vain and presumptuous a speech was received. Some historians tell us, that the only answer the senate returned was, to order a decree to be read in their presence, whereby the *Lycians* and *Carrians* were declared free. This was touching them to the quick, and mortifying them in the most sensible part. The intrepid chief of the embassy was so struck with this decree, that he fell into a swoon. Others say, the senate answered in few words, that the disposition of the *Rhodians*, and their secret intrigues with *Perfes*, had been long known at *Rome*;

^P LIV. l. 44. POLYB. legat. 86.

that when they should have conquered *Perfes*, which, they hoped, would be very soon, they should, in their turn, find means to reward or punish the good or ill offices they had received during the war. They had ordered the ambassadors, however, the usual presents; but the proud *Rhodians* refused to accept them.

THE ambassadors, upon their return to *Rhodes*, found there deputies from *Perfes* and *Gentius* king of *Illyricum*, sent, by their respective masters, to conclude an alliance with the *Rhodians*, and engage them to turn their arms against *Rome*. The advantages which the *Macedonian* fleet had lately gained over the allies of *Rome*, inclined the *Rhodians* to give a favourable reception to the ambassadors of the confederate kings. They made harangues in the senate and before the people, and were heard with attention. In spite of all the opposition they met with from *Thetetes*, and a few others, who still adhered to the *Romans*, the *Rhodian* senate promised not to lend the *Romans* ships or men and thereby oblige them to finish the war with *Macedon*, by a peace which should be advantageous to the east. Pursuant to this engagement they recalled the ships which they had sent to the assistance of the *Romans*, and soon after sent new ambassadors to *Rome* in favour of *Perfes*. But they, unfortunately for the republic of *Rhodes*, arrived at *Rome* just when the news of the entire defeat of *Perfes* was published; and the senate maliciously chose that very time to give them audience. But the chief of the embassy turned the haughty demands he was ordered to make in favour of the king of *Macedon* into congratulations: “ I came hither, conscript fathers, (said he) “ to represent to you how burdensome the war in the *Le-* “ *vant* was to you, and how prejudicial to us; but your “ prosperity has prevented my representations, and left no- “ thing for me to do, but to rejoice with you upon your “ great success. ” The senate ordered such an answer to be given, as was suitable to the suspicions they entertained of the *Rhodians*: “ Neither the interests of *Greece*, (said they) “ nor your own safety, brought you hither. It was “ your attachment to the *Macedonian* party that induced you “ to cross the seas, in order to intimidate us. Had your “ concern been only for *Greece* or yourselves, you would “ have come and implored the assistance of *Rome* when “ *Perfes* entered *Thessaly*, and threatened both the continent “ and your island with a sudden invasion. On the contra- “ ry, you knew that *Paulus Æmilius* had opened a way “ into *Macedon*; your fears were for that kingdom, and “ therefore you came to treat of peace. Go, perfidious

The Rhodians engage with Perfes to stand neuter.

“ men, and carry back word to your republic, that her
 “ care for the interests of *Perses* is now out of season.”
 This answer so terrified the *Rhodians*, that they returned
 home, and exhorted their countrymen to regain the good-
 will of the senate by all sorts of submission ¹.

The Rhodians endeavour to appease the wrath of the senate.

AMBASSADORS were accordingly sent to appease the wrath of the senate, who, on their arrival at *Rome*, were not only refused audience, but even threatened with war. The senate first decreed, that the *Rhodian* ambassadors should not be treated with the usual hospitality, nor looked upon as friends. *Junius* the consul was charged to acquaint them with this decree. As soon as the consul appeared, the ambassadors, who were waiting in the curia for an answer, advancing some paces towards him, assured him, that they were come only to congratulate the *Romans* on their late victory, and efface the suspicions which the fathers might entertain of their republic. But *Junius*, putting on a grave air, “ We desire
 “ no congratulations, said he, from a people whose fidelity
 “ we suspect. Go and condole with *Perses*. We admit
 “ none within the walls of *Rome*, or into the senate, but the
 “ ambassadors of nations which are our friends; and are you
 “ so? Did you even preserve the appearances of friendship
 “ during the war?” The *Rhodians* were thunder-struck at these words, fell prostrate with tears in their eyes, and entreated the consul to have more regard to the services they had formerly done *Rome*, than to the ill conduct into which they had been seduced for some years. Then they changed their habits, and running from house to house, in the attire of criminals, endeavoured to raise the compassion of the *Roman* citizens. But *Juventius Thalna*, the prætor, moved the tribes to declare war against *Rhodes*, and to send one of the present magistrates to begin hostilities. This motion being opposed by some of the tribunes, and the contest growing warm, the senate was at last obliged to admit the *Rhodian* ambassadors to an audience, and gave them leave to speak in their own vindication. *Astymedes*, who was at the head of the embassy, made a long harangue, wherein he confessed, that vanity was indeed the vice of his countrymen, and that they were very apt to talk arrogantly; but he hoped, that the *Romans* would not think any instance of this national weakness such a crime as to be punished with the total ruin of their country. He urged the many important services which *Rhodes* had formerly rendered the republic, and that tho’ of late she had ceased to assist the *Romans*, yet she had never committed hostilities

¹ POLYB., legat. 88. LIV. l. 45.

against them. He concluded with declaring the entire submission of the *Rhodians* to the good-will and pleasure of *Rome*, and their resolution to make no resistance to her arms in case of an attack. As soon as *Astymedes* had done speaking, the ambassadors and their retinue fell prostrate, and held out branches of olive in their hands, as a token of their suing for peace. Then they withdrew, and the matter was discussed in the senate. Such of the senators as had served in the *Macedonian* war voted warmly against the *Rhodians*, and were for engaging *Rome* in a new war. But *Cato* put an end to the debate by a speech full of spirit and good sense. He reproached the senators with being blinded by prosperity, since nothing else could have made them deliberate, whether they should destroy a republic, against which the only charge was secret thoughts and proud words. “O! ye immortal gods, said he, shall we then usurp your rights? Shall we search into mens thoughts to find enemies? Have we not open and declared enemies enough? I shall readily grant, that the *Rhodians* were heartily grieved for the defeat and captivity of *Perfes*; nay, I shall allow, that compassion for him had not so great a share in their affliction as their own interest; but is it then unlawful to wish for liberty? *Rome* is a powerful state, and capable of swallowing up all the countries of the east. *Macedon*, the only bulwark against her, was destroyed. The inundation was drawing near, and hence their fears and alarms. Did the *Rhodians* hate you? No; but they loved themselves. Are there any among us who would not be uneasy to see a formidable neighbour in possession of lands adjoining to ours? What would we not do to get rid of such a neighbourhood? Any means but violence are lawful. This is the present case. The *Rhodians* wished that *Perfes* might not be ruined, and that the barrier, which separated them from us, might not be thrown down; and what is there criminal in this? Besides, are bare wishes punishable? But it is also said, that the *Rhodians* shewed their pride by words; and indeed one of their ambassadors did drop some very arrogant and haughty expressions; but what can be inferred from thence more than this, that there is a nation in the world more haughty and imperious than ourselves? Is an indiscreet expression so highly criminal, that it ought to be expiated with rivers of blood? What will the consequence of an unjust severity be but insurrections among the timorous nations, and revolts, or at least distrusts, among our allies? Foreign nations will fear us more, but love us less. The *Rhodians*, after all, have not carried their ingratitude to excess. *Per-*

*Cato
speaks in
their fa-
vour.*

ses,

“ *ses*, when in his greatest glory, could not seduce them so
 “ far as to prevail on them to take up arms against us ; I
 “ therefore vote for rejecting the motion of the prætor *Ju-*
 “ *ventius*, and leaving the *Rhodians* in peaceable possession
 “ of their island ”.

*Lycia and
 Caria ta-
 ken from
 the Rho-
 dians.*

THE advice and representations of *Cato* were of such weight with the senate, that war was not declared against the *Rhodians*, which was the main point. The senate only renewed the decree they had formerly made, whereby the *Rhodians* were ordered to withdraw their garisons from *Lycia* and *Caria*, and restore the inhabitants to their antient liberty. After the publication of this decree, *Philocrates*, one of the embassadors, returned to *Rhodes* ; but *Astimesdes* continued at *Rome*, to give his republic notice of what was transacted there. The news which *Philocrates* brought to *Rhodes*, where they were all in the utmost consternation and under great apprehensions of a war with *Rome*, was received with inexpressible joy ; insomuch, that the loss of *Lycia* and *Caria* seemed to them but a slight punishment. They now made it their whole business to regain the affection of the *Romans*. The alliance which they had formerly entered into with *Rome*, was not yet complete. They had reserved to themselves a liberty to make alliances with any king or independent state they pleased, whether in *Europe* or *Asia* ; but now the times were changed. Since the conquest of *Macedon*, there was no power in all the east to be feared or courted, except the *Romans* ; the *Rhodians* therefore were desirous to enter into a more strict alliance with *Rome*, and, in order to gain the affection of the *Roman* citizens, they commanded a crown of gold to be made at *Rhodes* of great value (G), which *Theodotus*, their admiral, was ordered to carry to *Rome*, and there negotiate this new

† LIV. l. 45. POLYB. legat. 93. DIODOR. SICUL. l. 19. & in PHOCII. Biblio. cod. 244.

(G) *Livy* (84) fixes the value of this rich crown at twenty thousand of those pieces of gold, which the *Romans* called *aurei* ; but *Polybius* values it only at ten thousand. The *aureus* among the *Romans* was worth twenty five *Attic drachmæ*, or twenty-five *denarii*, according to *Dio Cassius* (85). It weighed two drams and an half. Supposing therefore, that, in these ages of the republic, the proportion of gold to silver was as ten to one, which we have reason to infer from several passages, this piece of gold could not be worth less than twenty-five drams.

(84) *Liv. l. 45. c. 23:*

(85) *Dio Cass. l. 45.*

alliance

alliance (H). Nevertheless, as the *Rhodians* were vain-glorious, they enjoined *Theodotus* not to offer his petition in writing, lest, in case his request was not granted, it might be conveyed down to posterity, and be a standing monument of reproach to them. The admiral set sail, came to *Rome*, and made his presents, which were accepted; but as for the alliance, *Rome* made his republic solicit it a long time, taking pleasure in humbling the *Rhodian* pride. They were ordered first to evacuate *Caria* and *Lycia*, and also to withdraw their garisons from the two cities of *Caunus* and *Stratonice*, the first of which they had purchased of one of *Ptolemy's* generals with two hundred talents, and the second had been given them by *Antiochus* and *Seleucus*. However, they not only readily gave up both places, but moreover either put to death, or banished, all those, who, during the course of the war, had favoured *Perses*; whereupon the senate complied at last with their request, and admitted them into an alliance with *Rome*.^c

SOME years after, the *Rhodians* gave a signal instance of the great deference they paid to *Rome*. *Calynda*, a famous city of *Caria* being besieged by the inhabitants of *Caunus*, sent ambassadors to the *Rhodians*, imploring their assistance, and offering to surrender to them. Notwithstanding this advantageous offer, the *Rhodians* deliberated some time, whether they should relieve the *Calyndians* or no, without the consent of the *Roman* senate; but as the siege was pursued with vigour, and an answer from *Rome* would come too late, they at last sent succours to the besieged city, and forced the *Caunians* to retire. However, before they took possession of the place, they sent two of their chief citizens, *Lydamis* and *Cleagoras*, to *Rome*, to lay their laurels at the feet of the conscript fathers, and to draw what advantages they could from their submission. Indeed, nothing could be more agreeable to the haughty senators, than to see those *Rhodians*, who a few years before, pretended to give law to *Rome*, now reduced so low, as not to dare to take possession of a city without their leave. The deputies were graciously received, and their re-

And favoured by the senate.

^c POLYB. legat. 93. & 140. LIV. l. 43. APPIAN. Syriac. p. 116.

(H) The negotiating of this new alliance with *Rome* was, according to *Polybius*, committed to the care of another ambassador, whom he calls *Rhadopho* but a little lower he gives him the name of *Theetetes*. He was eighty years of age, and died at *Rome*, before he could put the last hand to the negotiation.

Year of
the Flood
2837.
Before
Christ,
162.



ception encouraged them to desire of the fathers, that the private subjects of *Rhodes* might be restored to the enjoyment of all the lands they had formerly possessed in *Caria* and *Lycia*. Their request was granted, and the ambassadors returned as well satisfied with the senate, as the senate was with them. The *Rhodians*, out of gratitude, desired leave to erect, in the temple of *Minerva* at *Rome*, a statue of that goddess, thirty cubits high. Thus, all jealousies between the two republics were removed, and the good understanding, which had long subsisted between them entirely restored.

FROM this time, to the breaking out of the *Mithridatic* war in *Asia*, the *Rhadians* performed nothing, which historians have thought worth transmitting to posterity. They enjoyed their liberties, while all the other states and colonies of *Greece* were brought under the *Roman* yoke, and became provinces of that republic. They continued to maintain an inviolable attachment to *Rome*, and gave a signal instance of their fidelity in the above-mentioned war; for the *Rhadians* and the little country of *Lydia*, near mount *Sipylus*, were the only allies who remained faithful to the *Romans* on all the coasts of *Asia*, after *Mithridates* had proclaimed war with the republic; *Rhodes* especially served as a sanctuary for all the *Romans*, whom the *Asiatics* drove in great numbers out of their countries: and *Cassius* himself, formerly governor of the province of *Pergamus*, fled thither for refuge. The King of *Pontus* therefore resolved to turn all his forces by sea and land against that island; and the inhabitants chose rather to sustain a siege than renounce their alliance with *Rome*.

Rhodes
besieged by
Mithrida-
tes.

Year of
the Flood,
2911.
Before
Christ,
88.



They put their ports in a state of defence, and covered their ramparts with all sorts of military machines. The *Romans*, who had fled thither, made up the best part of the *Rhodian* army, and the inhabitants, relying upon them and their own skill in maritime affairs, were not at all dismayed at the vast fleets and land-forces, which *Mithridates* was bringing against them. They posted their fleet before their island, and divided it into three squadrons; one, drawn up in a line, covered the entrance of the port, and the other two were placed, like wings, to hinder the enemy's approach. *Mithridates* appeared on board a quinquereinis, at the head of a fleet much more numerous than that of the enemy. He divided it into three squadrons, ordering two of them to invest the wings of the *Rhadians*, whilst he himself attacked the squadron that faced the port. The *Rhadians* therefore, lest they should be overpowered with numbers, retired by degrees, till they came

^c POLYB. legat. 210, 211. LIV. ubi supra.

to the mouth of the harbour, which they entirely stopped up ; and after this, the several engagements that followed, turned to their advantage. *Mithridates* lost many ships, and narrowly escaped himself being made prisoner in his quinqueremis, which was taken.

DURING these sea-engagements, *Mithridates* embarked his numerous army on transports, which being dispersed by a violent storm, and driven to the right and left of the island, the *Rhodians* sent out their fleet, fell on the vessels, which the storm had put in disorder, sunk some, burnt others, and took four hundred men prisoners. Upon this *Mithridates* resolved to attack the city by sea in the night, and ordered a sambuca, built on two galleys, to advance to the walls. He had been informed, that the wall of the city was but of a moderate height on the side of the temple of *Jupiter Atabyrius*, and resolved to storm it there. To this end he embarked his troops silently, furnished them with scaling ladders, and ordered them to wait till a signal was given them, by a person hired for that purpose, from the top of the temple. In the mean time the king himself made a false attack on the side of the port, with great shouts, which caused the besieged to kindle many fires in the city. Those who were to wait for the signal before they began the attack on the side of the temple, mistaking these fires for it, were too hasty in the attempt, and miscarried. Early in the morning the *Rhodians* made a vigorous sally, and drove off the aggressors. The sambuca, after having done some damage, sunk with its own weight ; and *Mithridates*, disheartened at these disappointments, broke up the siege, after having lost a great many men and the best part of his navy^u. The behaviour of the *Rhodians* on this occasion was highly applauded at *Rome*, and orders were sent to *Sylla* to return them thanks in the name of the senate, and renew the antient alliance between the two republics. In the war which *Pompey* made upon the *Cilician* pirates, the *Rhodians* assisted him with all their naval forces, and had a great share in all the victories which he gained, though that proud *Roman* assumed the whole glory of suppressing those robbers to himself^w.

IN the civil war between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, they assisted the latter with a numerous fleet, under the command of one *Euphranor*, who distinguished himself above all the commanders of *Pompey's* navy, and gained very considerable ad-

^u APPIAN in *Mithridat.* DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt. VALLESII, p. 402. LIV. l. 78. MEMN. c. 33. ^w APPIAN. in *Mithridat.* FLORUS. l. 3. c. 5.

The Rhodians defeated in a sea fight by Cassius.

vantages over *Cæsar's* fleets*. After the death of *Pompey*, they sided with *Cæsar*, which drew upon them the resentment of *C. Cassius* who advanced to the island of *Rhodes* with a powerful fleet, after having reduced the greatest part of the continent. The *Rhodians*, terrified at his approach, sent ambassadors, entreating him to make up matters in an amicable manner, and promising to stand neuter, and recal the ships which they had sent to the assistance of the triumviri. *Cassius* insisted upon their delivering up their fleet to him, and putting him in possession both of their harbour and city. This demand the *Rhodians* would, by no means, comply with, and therefore began to put themselves in a condition to stand a siege; but first sent *Archelaus*, who had taught *Cassius* the *Greek* tongue, while he studied at *Rhodes*, to intercede with his disciple in their behalf. *Archelaus* could not, with all his authority, prevail upon him to moderate his demands; wherefore the *Rhodians*, having created one *Alexander*, a bold and enterprising man, their prætor or prytanis, equipped a fleet of three and thirty sail, and sent it out under the command of *Mnaseus*, an experienced sea-officer, to offer *Cassius* battle. Both fleets fought with incredible bravery, and the victory was long doubtful; but the *Rhodians* being at length overpowered with numbers, were forced to return with their fleet to *Rhodes*, two of their ships being sunk, and the rest very much damaged by the heavy ships of the *Romans*. This was the first time, as our author observes, that the *Rhodians* were fairly overcome in a sea-fight†.

Year of the Flood, 2957. Before Christ, 42.

Rhodes taken by Cassius, and plundered.

Cassius, who had beheld this fight from a neighbouring hill, having refitted his fleet, which had been no less damaged than that of the *Rhodians*, repaired to *Loryma*, a strong hold on the continent belonging to the *Rhodians*. This castle he took by assault, and from hence conveyed his land-forces, under the conduct of *Fanius* and *Lentulus*, over into the island. His fleet consisted of fourscore ships of war and above two hundred transports. The *Rhodians* no sooner saw this mighty fleet appear, but they went out again to meet the enemy. This second engagement was far more bloody than the first; many ships were sunk, and great numbers of men killed on both sides. But victory anew declared for the *Romans*, who immediately blocked up the city of *Rhodes* both by sea and land. As the *Rhodians* had not had time to furnish the city with sufficient store of provisions, some of the inhabitants fearing, that if it were taken either by assault or by famine, *Cassius* would put all the inhabitants to the sword, as *Brutus*

* HIRTIUS de Bell. Alexandrin. 630. Dio. l. 47. p. 346.

† APPIAN. l. 4. p. had

had lately done at *Xanthus*, privately opened the gates to him, and put him in possession of the town, which he nevertheless treated as if it had been taken by assault. He commanded fifty of the chief citizens, who were suspected to favour the adverse party, to be brought before him, and sentenced them all to die; others to the number of twenty-five, who had commanded the fleet or army, because they did not appear when summoned, he proscribed. Having thus punished such as had either acted or spoke against him or his party, he commanded the *Rhodians* to deliver up to him all their ships, and whatever money they had in the public treasure. He then plundered the temples, stripping them of all their valuable furniture, vessels, and statues. He is said not to have left one statue in the whole city, except that of the sun, bragging, at his departure, that he had stript the *Rhodians* of all they had, leaving them nothing but the sun. As to private persons, he commanded them, under severe penalties, to bring to him all the gold and silver they had, promising, by a public cryer a tenth part to such as should discover any hidden treasures. The *Rhodians* at first concealed some part of their wealth, imagining, that *Cassius* intended by this proclamation only to terrify them; but when they found that it was in earnest, and saw several wealthy citizens put to death for concealing only a small portion of their riches, they desired, that the time prefixed for the bringing in of their gold and silver might be prolonged. *Cassius* willingly granted them their request, and then, through fear, they dug up what they had hid under ground, and laid at his feet all they were worth in the world. By this means he extorted from private persons above eight thousand talents. He then fined the city in five hundred more, and leaving *L. Varus* there with a strong garison to exact the fine without any abatement, he returned to the continent².

AFTER the death of *Cassius*, *Marc Anthony* restored the *Rhodians* to their antient rights and privileges, bestowing upon them the islands of *Andros*, *Naxos*, *Tenos*, and the city of *Myndus*. But these the *Rhodians* so oppressed and loaded with taxes, that the same *Anthony*, tho' a great friend to the *Rhodian* republic, was obliged to divest her of the sovereignty over those places, which he had a little before so liberally bestowed upon her². From this time, to the reign of the emperor *Claudius*, we find no mention made of the *Rhodians*. That prince, as *Dion* informs us^b, deprived them of their

² PLUT. in BRUTO. APPIAN. p. 631, &c. OROS. l. 6. c. 18. DIO. p. 346. ^a APPIAN. l. 3. de bell. civil. ^b DIO l. 60 p. 681.

liberty, for having crucified some *Roman* citizens. However, he soon restored them to their former condition, as we read in *Suetonius* ^c, and *Tacitus* ^d. The latter adds, that they had been as often deprived of, as restored to, their liberty, by way of punishment, or reward for their different behaviour, as they had obliged the *Romans* with their assistance in foreign wars, or provoked them with their seditions at home. *Pliny*, who wrote in the beginning of *Vespasian's* reign, styles *Rhodes* a beautiful and free town. But this liberty they did not long enjoy, the island being soon after reduced by the same *Vespasian* to a *Roman* province, and obliged to pay a yearly tribute to their new masters ^e. This province was called *the province of the islands*. The *Roman* prætor who governed it, resided at *Rhodes*, as the chief city under his jurisdiction ; and *Rome*, notwithstanding the eminent services rendered her by this republic, thenceforth treated the *Rhodians* not as allies, but vassals.

S E C T. IV.

The History of CRETE.

Names.

THE island of *Crete*, now called *Candia* from its capital, was known to the antients by the names of *Aeria*, *Chthonia*, *Idea*, *Curete*, *Macaris*, &c. It is one of the largest islands in the *Mediterranean*, being, according to *Strabo* ^f, 287 miles in length ; according to *Pliny* ^g, 270, and according to *Scylax*, 312. As to its breadth, it is not, as *Pliny* observes ^h, above 55, where widest. Whence it was stiled, as *Stephanus* informs us *the Long Island*. It lies between the *Archipelago* to the north ; the *African* sea to the south ; the *Carpathian* to the east ; and the *Ionian* to the west. The name of *Crete*, which generally prevailed among the antients, some derive from *Curetes*, who are said to have been the first inhabitants of the island ; others from the nymph *Crete* daughter of *Hesperus*, or from *Cretus* the son of *Jupiter*, who is supposed to have reigned here (I).

THIS

^c SUETON. in Claud. ^d TACIT. Annal. 12. ^e SUE-
TON. in Vespas. EUSEB. in Chron. ORIG. l. 7. c. 9. ^f STRAB.
l. x. ^g PLIN. l. 4. c. 12. ^h Idem ibid.

(I) *Eusebius*, *St. Hieron*, *Marcianus*, *Isidorus*, and *Clement* derive the name of *Crete* from *Cres*, one of the *Curetes*, who brought up *Jupiter*.

This island, as lying between the 34th and 35th degrees of *Climate*, north latitude, was, in antient times, greatly celebrated for *soil*, &c. its fertility. It abounded in all sorts of grain, its plains being covered with a deep rich soil, and plentifully watered by small rivers. The fruits it produced infinitely surpassed, as *Pliny* observed, all of the same kind that were produced in other countries¹. The wines of this island are greatly commended both by the antient and modern writers. Tho' they are, generally speaking, pretty strong, yet *Galen* met with a sort in this place, which was temperate enough to be given in fevers^k. The air was antiently deemed most pure and wholesome, and is to this day, tho' great part of the country lies uncultivated; a misfortune too common in such regions as groan under the *Mohammedan* yoke. From the fruitfulness of its soil, and purity of its air, it had the appellation of *Macaris*, or *the fortunate island*.

In former times there were reckoned in this island an hundred cities, ninety before the *Trojan* war, and ten more after the *Dorians* settled here; and hence sprung the name of *Hecatompolis*. Of these hundred cities forty only were remaining in the time of *Ptolemy*, for so many he enumerates. Those of most note were, *Gnossus*, antiently called *Ceratus*, *Gnossus*. where king *Minos* is said to have fixed his residence. This city was once the capital of the island, and, according to *Strabo*^l, a wealthy and populous place, being thirty furlongs in compass, and full of inhabitants. The said writer places it

¹ PLIN. l. 25. c. 8. ^k COMMENT. 3. in libr. HIPPOCR. de victus ratione in morbis acutis. ^l STRAB. ibid.

Jupiter. *Diodorus Siculus* says it was called *Crete* from *Crete* the daughter of one of the *Curetes*, whom *Jupiter* married, giving her name to the island, which before was named *Idæa* (86). It is at present known by the name of *Candia*, which *Marosini* (87) derives from the *Latin* word *Candidus*, signifying *white*, such being the colour of its soil. Others derive the name of *Candia* from the word *Chandax*, which, in the language of the *Saracens*, signifies, as *Scylitzas* informs us (88), an *intrenchment*. The *Saracens* built a town, as we read in the same author in the place, where, by the advice of a *Greek* monk, they had intrenched themselves in the time of the emperor *Michael* surnamed the *Stammerer*. The town they called *Chandax*, that is, *intrenchment*. In process of time the name of *Chandax* was changed into that of *Candia*, which became common to the city and island.

(86) *Diodor. Sicul.* l. 3.
(88) *Scylitz.* p. 509.

(87) *Marosini Hist. Venet.* l. 12.

Cydonia,
or Cydon.

Gortyna.

twenty furlongs off the *Ægean*, or *Archipelago*, and ninety from the *African* sea. Some of our modern travellers think it stood near the present town of *Castel Pediada*; while others pretend to discover some of its ruins at a small distance from the village of *Cynosa*. From this city *Ariadne*, the daughter of *Minos*, so much celebrated by the poets, had the name of *Gnossis*. The river *Ceratus* washed its walls; whence it is by some antient writers called by the same name. *Cydonia* stood, according to *Strabo*^m, *Pliny*ⁿ, and *Diodorus Siculus*^o, on the coast opposite to the *Lacedemonian* territories in *Peloponnesus*, and was the most powerful and wealthy city of all *Crete*, since, in the civil wars of that island, it withstood the united forces of *Gnossus* and *Gortyna*, after they had reduced the greater part of the island. *Cydonia* was deemed the strongest place in the whole island. It had been often besieged, but never taken till the time of *Metellus*, to whom that glory was reserved, *Cydonia* opening its gates to him after the defeat of *Lasthenes* and *Panares*^p. This city was the most antient in the whole Island, most of the others having been built and peopled by *Cydonian* colonies; and on this account it was commonly called by the *Greeks*, *the mother of cities*. From *Cydonia* the quince tree was first brought into *Italy*, and thence the fruit called by the *Latins*, *malum Cydonium*, or *the Cydonian apple*. *Gortyna* or *Gortyn*, an inland city, being, according to *Strabo*^q, near ninety furlongs distant from the *African* sea. The origin of *Gortyna* is as obscure as that of most of the antient cities, some telling us that it was founded by *Gortyn* the son of *Radamanthus*, and others ascribing that glory to *Taurus*, who carried off *Europa*^r. Be that as it will, *Gortyna* in process of time, eclipsed all the other cities of *Crete*, especially after the island was reduced by the *Romans*, who made it their chief business to humble *Gnossus*, and raise, as it were upon her ruins, her rival *Gortyna*^s. We may judge of the antient splendor and greatness of this city from its ruins, which are still to be seen about six miles from mount *Ida*, at the entrance of the plain of *Messaria*, which is properly the granary of the island. Among these ruins *Tournefort*^t observed one of the gates, which is an arch finely turned, still remaining, with part of the wall joining to it, which he takes to be the wall that *Ptolemy Philopater* is said by *Strabo*^u to have built. Not far from the gate are

^m STRABO, l. 10. ⁿ PLIN. l. 4. c. 12. ^o DIODOR. SICUL. l. 5. ^p FLORUS. l. 3. c. 7. ^q Idem, ibid. ^r CÆ-
DRENUſ Compēd. Hiſt. STRABO. l. 10. ^s STRABO, ibid.
^t TOURNEFORT. Voyage au Levant. &c. ^u STRABO ibid.

two pillars of granate eighteen foot long, and near them divers pedestals ranged two by two, on the same line, for supporting the columns of the frontispiece of some temple. Among the many columns still remaining, there are some of granate, fluted spirally, and wonderfully beautiful. Many of them have been carried away by the *Turks*. Our author observed at a village, not far distant from these ruins, two columns of an extraordinary beauty, with a hurdle between them, serving as a gate to a garden. The inhabitants are unacquainted with the value of these remains of antiquity. Few statues are to be met with, the *Venetians*, who were long masters of the island, having transported the best part of them to *Venice*. The statue, which stands on the fountain of *Candia*, and is deemed a master-piece, was found among these ruins; but is at present without a head, the *Turks* having a superstitious abhorrence to the representation of the heads of living creatures, except upon coins, of which no people are more fond. *Gortyna* was in antient times famous for the temples of *Apollo*, *Diana*, and *Jupiter Hecatombæus*, so called, if we believe *Ptolemæus Hephæstion* as quoted by *Phocius* ^w, because *Menelaus* there sacrificed to *Jupiter* an hundred oxen, when news was brought him of *Helena's* flight. At the further end of the ruins between the north and west, near a brook, without all doubt the river *Lethe*, which, as *Strabo* informs us, washed the walls of *Gortyna* ^x, are to be seen some curious ruins with a piece of painting half effaced, but quite of the *Gothic* taste. These ruins are the remains of some antient church, which the modern *Greeks* would make us believe to have been built by *Titus*, to whom *St. Paul* wrote one of his epistles, and who was the first bishop of *Crete*. *Theophrastus* ^y, *Varro* ^z, and *Pliny* ^a speak of a plane-tree near *Gortyna* which never shed its old leaves till new ones sprouted forth. This seemed so strange to the antient *Greeks*, that they feigned the first conversation between *Jupiter* and *Europa* to have happened under this ever-green plane-tree; and this fabulous adventure probably gave occasion to the inhabitants of *Gortyna* to represent on a medal *Europa* sitting melancholy and thoughtful on a plane-tree, and turning her back to an eagle hovering about her. On the reverse is *Europa*, sitting on a bull, encompassed with a border of bay-leaves ^b. *Pliny* ^c tells us, that endeavours were used to

^w PHOT. in Bibliot. l. v.^x STRAB. l. x. SOLIN c. xi.^y THEOPH. hist. plant. l. i. c. 15. ^z VAR. de re rust. ^a PLIN.l. xii. c. 1. ^b ANTON. AUGUST. Dialog. 1. ^c PLIN. ibid.

multiply

Lychus.

Hierapyt-
na.Eleuthera.
Rithym-
na. Hera-
clea, &c.

multiply in the island this species of plane-tree, but to no effect, since they shed their leaves, when transplanted, in winter like the common plane-trees. *Lychus* was in antient times a city of no small note, and originally a colony of the *Lacedemonians*, as *Polybius* informs us ^d. It was an inland town, and is supposed to have stood where we now find *Paleo Castro*. Some place it near the present town of *Agustini*, and others pretend to discover some of its ruins near *Girapietra*. *Hierapytna*, called also *Cyrrha*, *Pytna*, and *Camyras*, is supposed to be the same place that *Ptolemy* calls *Hiera Petra*, or the sacred rock. *Strabo* tells us, that it stood on a hill, which he calls *Pytna*, and supposes to have been a part of mount *Ida*. The ruins of this city are still to be seen on the coast over-against the rocks called by the antients the *Isles of Affas* ^e. *Hierapytna* was one of the strongest places in the island, when *Metellus* undertook the conquest of *Crete*, but is at present only a village, known by the name of *Girapietra*. *Eleuthera*, called also *Saorus* and *Aorus*, was an inland city, and in the *Roman* times a place well peopled and of great strength. *Rithymna*, *Heraclea*, *Præsos*, *Apteron*, and *Arcadia* were in antient times cities of no small note. *Rithymna*, now *Retimo*, is still a place well peopled, and had formerly a very convenient haven, which is now utterly neglected. *Heraclea* stood, according to *Pliny* ^f, opposite to the island of *Via*, or, as others will have it, *Dia*. It was the sea-port of the *Gnossians*, and is supposed to have stood on the same spot where the town of *Candia*, which gave name to the whole island, was built in after ages. *Præsos* was the capital of the *Eteocrates*, mentioned by *Homer*, and famous for a temple consecrated to *Jupiter Dictæus*. In the civil wars of the island it was razed by the inhabitants of *Hierapytna*. *Apteron* was in *Ptolemy's* time a very considerable place, and stood on a steep rock, at the foot of which, between the town and the sea, lay that famous field, where the *Syrens*, being overcome by the *Muses* in a trial of skill in music, forfeited their wings. From this fable some writers tell us ^g, that the city took its name, the word *Apteron* signifying without wings. *Eusebius* says it was so called from one *Apteras* king of *Crete*, whom he supposes to have been the founder of it ^h. There are some ruins of this antient city still to be seen, but nothing that deserves particular notice. *Arcadia* is mentioned by *Ptolemy*, *Theophrastus*, *Seneca*, *Pliny*, &c. They all tell us, that this town being

^d POLYB. l. iv.^e STRAB. l. io.^f PLIN. l. iv. c. 12^g STEPH. Etym. magn. SUIDAS.^h EUSEB. Chron.

once destroyed, all the springs in that neighbourhood dried up, and began again to run as soon as the city was rebuilt. These were the most considerable cities of *Crete* in antient times.

THE chief mountains of *Crete* are, *Ida*, so much spoke of *Moun-* by the poets, and by many degrees the highest of the whole *tains.* island. From the top of this mountain both seas are clearly discern'd; in all other respects it is inferior to the other hills of the country, being for the greatest part of the year covered with snow, and so barren, that it produces nothing except the *Tragacantha*, a shrub so prickly, that the *Greeks* gave it the name of *Goats Thorn*. *Theophrastus*ⁱ and *Pliny*^k speak of a sort of vine growing here naturally; but our modern travellers have not been able to discover any such thing. *Theophrastus* advances many things upon the report of others, and *Pliny* frequently copies, or rather translates, what he finds in *Theophrastus*, without troubling himself with any further enquiries. It was called *Ida* from the fine prospect it affords, the word *Idein*, signifying in the *Greek* tongue *to see*^l. Nay, *Suidas* tells us, that all places, whence a great extent of country could be seen, were called *Idæ*. *Jupiter* is said to have been secretly nursed here, and thence called *Idæus*. Some of the antients tell us, that the forests on this mountain being burnt by lightning, about seventy three years after the deluge of *Deucalion*, the art of melting iron was first discovered on that occasion by the *Dætyli*^m. *Ida* is now known by the name of *Psiloriti*. *Diète*, now called *Sethia*, and also *Lasthi*, is next in height to mount *Ida*, and covered great part of the year with snow, whence it is called by *Strabo*, *Pliny*, and *Ptolemy*, the white mountain. However, cypress trees, as the same writers assure us, grew there antiently amidst the snow, and throve as well as in the vallies. This mountain was called *Diète* from *Diëtynna*, a nymph of *Crete*, who is supposed to have first found out hunting-nets, and to have had the name of *Diëtynna* from thence, having been called before *Britomartis*. *Leuci*, a long chain of mountains, so called from their whiteness, being like the others covered great part of the year with snow. They are now known by the names of *Madura* and *Spacia*.

RIVERS of note in this island are but very few; the *Nilspotamus*, the *Scafirus*, and the *Epiciidus* are spoke of by the antients, but none of them are at present navigable. This defect is sufficiently supplied by a great many creeks and bays,

ⁱ THEOPH. hist. Plant. l. iii. c. 17.

^k PLIN. l. xiv. c. 3.

HILLAD. apud Phot. in Biblioth.

^m HILLAD. ibid.

The laby-
rinth.

and some capacious and safe harbours. Near mount *Ida* the present inhabitants pretend to shew some remains of the antient labyrinth made by *Dædalus*; but *Bellonius* takes this labyrinth to be nothing but an antient quarry, out of which were dug the stones that served to build the towns of *Gortyna* and *Gnossus*. And indeed *Pliny* tells us, that in his time no footsteps of the antient labyrinth were to be seen in the island.

Inhabi-
tants.

Idæi
Daëtyli.

THE first inhabitants of *Crete*, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, were the *Idæi Daëtyli* who inhabited mount *Ida*: they were, as some authors write, a hundred in number; according to others only ten, being called *Daëtyli*, as they suppose, from *the ten fingers*, to which they were equal in number. The *Idæi Daëtyli* were, if we believe *Ephorus* as quoted by *Diodorus*, originally from mount *Ida* in *Phrygia*, and passed from thence over into *Europe* with king *Minos*. They settled first in *Samothrace*, where they taught the inhabitants sacred and religious rites, instituted sacrifices, and introduced a set form of religious worship. *Orpheus*, who was naturally inclined to music and poetry, is thought to have been their disciple, and the first who carried sacred rites and ceremonies over into *Greece*. The *Daëtyli* are likewise said to have first found out the use of fire, and to have discovered the nature of iron and brass to the inhabitants of the country adjoining to mount *Berecynthus*, and to have taught them the way of working them. For this and many other useful discoveries they were after their death worshipped as gods. One of them, they say, was called *Hercules*, who instituted the *Olympic* games, which were by posterity thought to have been appointed by *Hercules* the son of *Alcmena*.

Curetes.

NEXT to the *Idæi Daëtyli* were the nine *Curetes*, some of them supposed to have sprung from the earth, and others to be descended from the *Idæi Daëtyli*: These dwelt on the mountains, under the shade of thick trees, and in caves and other places, which naturally afforded them a shelter and covering, the building of houses not being then found out. They were very ingenious, and invented many things that proved very useful to mankind: they first taught how to manage flocks, to gather honey, to tame horses, to hunt, to cast darts, &c. They brought men into societies and communities, and shewed them by their example the happiness of a peaceable and orderly life. They are likewise said to have invented swords and helmets, and dancing in armour, and by the noise they made to have prevented *Saturn* from hearing

hearing the cries of *Jupiter* when he was an infant, and by that means to have saved him from being destroy'd by his father.

THE *Titans* were contemporary with the *Curetes*, and dwelt in the country where the city of *Gnossus* was built many ages after. The *Titans* were in number six men and five women, the offspring, as some say, of *Uranus* and *Terra*; according to others, of one of the *Curetes* and *Titæa*, being called *Titans* after the name of their mother. The sons were *Cronus* or *Saturn*, *Hyperion*, *Cæus*, *Iapetus*, *Crius*, and *Oceanus*; the daughters *Rhea*, *Themis*, *Mnemosyne*, *Phæbe*, and *Thetis*. Each of these invented something of great use to mankind, and were on that account placed among the gods. *Saturn* the eldest obtained the kingdom of *Crete*, and brought his subjects from a wild and barbarous to a more polite course of life, persuading them to live according to the strictest rules of honesty, which gave occasion to the many fables of the poets concerning the golden age. *Hyperion* was the first who found out the motions of the sun and moon and other stars, measuring by them the seasons of the year; and hence he was called the father of the planets. *Latona* was the daughter of *Cæus* and *Phæbe*; and *Prometheus*, so famous among the poets, the son of *Iapetus*: he is said to have found out the way of striking fire out of flint, which gave occasion to the poets to feign that he stole fire from the gods, and bestowed it upon men. *Mnemosyne* invented many things conducing to the help of man's memory, whence she had her name, *Mnemosyne* signifying in *Greek* memory. *Themis* taught the art of divination, instructed men in holy rites, and prescribed laws for the worship of the gods, and for the preservation of peace and good government amongst men. *Vesta*, *Ceres*, *Juno*, *Jupiter*, *Neptune*, and *Pluto* are supposed to have been the children of *Saturn* and *Rhea*. *Vesta* invented the building of houses, *Ceres* the use of corn, *Neptune* the art of navigation, and *Pluto* funeral solemnities. Hence the latter was stiled king of the infernal shades, and the former prince of the sea^a.

THE *Curetes*, mentioned here by *Diodorus*, were, according to *Herodotus*^o and *Strabo*^p, originally *Phœnicians*, and accompanied *Cadmus* out of *Phœnicia*, some of them settling in *Phrygia*, where they were called *Coribantes*, some in *Crete*, where they were known by the name of *Idæi*

^a DIONOR. SICUT. l. v.

^o HERODOT. l. v. c. 58.

STRAB. l. 10 p. 414

Pelasgians
and Dori-
ans.

Asterius,
Jupiter,
Minos,
Europa,
Rhada-
manthus,
&c.

Daëtyli, some in *Rhodes*, where they bore the name of *Telchines*, &c. *Clemens Alexandrinus* calls the *Idæi Daëtyli* barbarians, that is *strangers*, and tells us, that they were the first who brought letters into *Greece*, *Phrygia*, and *Crete*; and adds, that by their assistance king *Minos* built a fleet, and gained the sovereignty of the sea ⁹. According to these authors the *Curetes* and *Idæi Daëtyli* were one and the same people, and did not settle in *Crete* till the time of *Minos*. *Bochart* brings the *Curetes* from *Palestine*, induced thereunto by the likeness there is between their name and that of the *Crethim* or *Cerethites*, a people among the *Philistines* ¹. The *Philistines* indeed conquered *Sidon*, and it is not unlikely, that some of them, mixed with the *Phœnicians*, attended *Cadmus* into *Crete* and *Greece*. But long before they settled in *Crete*, a colony of *Pelasgians* had peopled the eastern coast of the island. After the *Pelasgians*, *Teutamus*, the grandfather of *Minos*, carried thither a colony of *Dorians* from *Laconia* and the territory of *Olympia* in *Peloponnesus*. These several colonies spoke different languages, and lived quietly in caves and huts on the spontaneous product of the earth, till the invention of tools in the reign of *Asterius* the son of *Teutamus*. They were at last reduced into one kingdom, and became one people in the reign of *Minos*, who was their first law-giver, built many towns, and introduced plowing and sowing. According to this account, which is vouched by *Strabo*, *Lucian* and *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus*, the two first kings of *Crete*, who reigned after the coming of the *Curetes*, were *Asterius* and *Minos*: *Europa* was wife to *Asterius* and mother of *Minos*, and the *Idæi Daëtyli* came with her and her brother *Alymnus* into *Crete*, where they dwelt in the *Idæan* cave, and there educated *Jupiter*; so that *Asterius*, *Europa*, and *Minos* must be the *Saturn*, *Rhea*, and *Jupiter* of the *Cretans*. *Minos* is usually called the son of *Jupiter*; but the *Phœnicians*, as *Sir Isaac Newton* observes ², upon their first coming into *Greece*, gave the name of *Japater* or *Jupiter* to all kings; and thus both *Minos* and his father *Asterius* were *Jupiters*, that is, *kings*. *Minos*, according to *Echemenes* as quoted by *Athenæus* ³, was the *Jupiter* who became so famous among the *Greeks* for justice and equity, being the greatest king of *Greece* in those days, and the only legislator. *Plutarch* tells us ⁴, that the inhabitants of *Naxos* pretended, that there

⁹ CLEM. ALEX. Stromat. l. i. i. c. 15.

¹ Chron. p. 150.

² PLUT. in Theseo.

³ BOCH. in Canaan l.

⁴ ATHEN. l. 13. p. 601.

were two *Minoses* and two *Ariadnes*, and that the first *Ariadne* married *Bacchus*, and the last was carried away by *Theseus*. But *Homer*, *Hesiod*, *Thucydides*, *Herodotus*, and *Strabo* knew but of one *Minos*, whom *Homer* calls the son of *Jupiter* and *Europa*, the brother of *Rhadamanthus* and *Sarpedon*, the father of *Deucalion* the *Argonaut*, and grandfather of *Idomeneus*, who went to the siege of *Troy*. *Herodotus* ^w makes *Minos* and *Rhadamanthus* the sons of *Europa*, and contemporary with *Ægeus*. *Apollodorus* ^x and *Hyginus* ^y tell us, that *Minos*, the father of *Androgeus*, *Ariadne*, and *Phædra*, was the son of *Jupiter* and *Europa*, and brother to *Rhadamanthus* and *Sarpedon*.

IN the reign of *Minos*, *Rhadamanthus* the king's brother carried several colonies into the neighbouring islands, which he bestowed upon the commanders of his army : The island of *Lemnos* he gave to one *Thoas* or *Theias*, who, as he was a disciple of the *Idæi Daëtyli*, and consequently a worker in metals, is supposed, by *Apollodorus*, *Suidas*, and *Apollonius Rhodius*, to be the *Vulcan* of the *Greeks*. The islands of *Carpathus*, *Syme*, and most of the *Cyclades* were peopled by colonies from *Crete*, *Rhadamanthus* having rewarded the services of his officers, as *Diodorus* informs us ^z, by vesting them with the sovereignty of the neighbouring islands, which gave rise to innumerable petty kingdoms. The *Cretans* did not only people the neighbouring islands, but sent colonies into *Greece*, *Italy*, *Sicily*, *Troas*, &c. The cities of *Delphos* in *Phocis*, *Miletus* in *Ionia*, and many in *Iapygia* having been founded by them. The *Trojans*, if we believe the most antient writers, were originally *Cretans* ; as were also the *Messapii* in *Italy*, and the inhabitants of some of the islands of *Arabia*, &c.

As to the government of the *Cretans*, it is agreed on all hands that it was at first monarchical ; but there is a great disagreement among authors about the beginning of the *Cretan* kingdom. *Diodorus Siculus* supposes *Tectamus* to have been the first who reigned in that island. But *Eusebius* speaks of one *Cretes*, who gave his name to the island, and reigned, according to him, four hundred years before *Tectamus*. From *Cretes* to *Cydon* he reckons three hundred years, from *Cydon* to *Apteras* sixty three, and from *Apteras* to *Lapithas* forty. This opinion, which is also followed by *Clemens Alexandrinus* and most of the antient chronologers, is agreeable to

Govern-
ment.

^w HERODOT. l. i.
FAB. 40, 41, 42, 178.

^x APOLL. l. iii. c. 1.

^y HYGIN.

^z DIOD. SIC. l. v. p. 224.

what we read in *Pausanias* who mentions several king^s reigning before *Tectamus*, and among the rest *Cretes*, *Vulcan*, and *Rhadamanthus*. *Lactantius* and *Berosus* add to these *Milinus* and *Melisseus*, whom they suppose to have reigned before the arrival of the *Pelasgians* or *Dorians*. Before we give an account of the reigns of these kings, we shall subjoin a list of them as we find it transmitted to us by *Eusebius*, *Lactantius*, and *Berosus*.

K I N G S of Crete.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. <i>Cres</i> or <i>Cretes</i> . | 10. <i>Asterius</i> . |
| 2. <i>Talus</i> . | 11. <i>Minos</i> . |
| 3. <i>Vulcanus</i> . | 12. <i>Lycastus</i> . |
| 4. <i>Rhadamanthus</i> . | 13. <i>Minos II</i> . |
| 5. <i>Milinus</i> . | 14. <i>Deucalion</i> . |
| 6. <i>Melisseus</i> . | 15. <i>Creteus</i> . |
| 7. <i>Cydon</i> . | 16. <i>Idomeneus</i> . |
| 8. <i>Apteras</i> . | 17. <i>Meriones</i> . |
| 9. <i>Lapithas</i> . | 18. <i>Etearchus</i> . (K). |

IT

(K) As we have followed chiefly *Eusebius* and *Lactantius* in this series, we shall insert here a succinct account of the *Cretan* kings, according to the order we find them placed in by other writers. The first who reigned in *Crete*, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, was *Jupiter*, the first of that name. He married one *Idea*, who imparted her name to the whole island, and had by her a son named *Cres*, who was one of the *Curetes*, and succeeded his father in the kingdom (89). The *Curetes* were, according to *Euripides* (90), all sons of this *Jupiter*, whence they are stiled by him *Diogenitores*, or the children of *Jupiter*. *Cres*, who reigned after his father *Jupiter*, was according to *Eusebius* contemporary with *Abraham* and his son *Isaac* (91). From him, if we believe *Isidorus* (92), the island was called *Crete*. *Cres* was succeeded by *Ammon*, who had married his daughter *Crete*. *Ammon* first reigned in *Lybia*, where he married *Rhea*, the daughter of *Cælus* and sister of *Saturn*. *Rhea*, falling out with her husband, abandoned him, and married her brother *Saturn*, who, with the other *Titans* his brothers, made war upon *Ammon*, but were by him overthrown in battle. Afterwards *Ammon* leaving *Libya*, where he was greatly straitened for want of corn, passed over into *Crete*, and there married the daughter of *Cres*, and in right of his wife, after the death of his father-in-law, took possession of the island, changing the name of *Idea*

(89) *Diodor. Sicul. l. i. c. 19.*
Bacch. (19, Euseb. in Chron.
xviii. c. 6.

(90) *Euripid in fæd.*
 (92) *Isidor. Origin. l.*

IT were in vain to expect an exact chronology of this kingdom, considering the uncertainty of its beginning; and of

into that of *Crete*, which was the name of his wife. The *Titans* pursued him into *Crete*, and there, tho' formerly conquered, renewed the war. But in the mean time *Bacchus*, returning victorious from *India*, joined *Ammon*, and with the assistance of some *Egyptian* forces utterly defeated and entirely abolished the race of the *Titans* (93). *Melisseus*, according to *Hyginus*, succeeded *Ammon*. *Jupiter*, surnamed *the great*, was born in his reign, and brought up by his two daughters *Amalthea* and *Melissa*, who nourished him with goats milk and honey. Upon the death of *Ammon* and *Bacchus*, *Jupiter* made himself master of the island of *Crete*, and by degrees extended his dominions to the confines of the world. *Cydon* reigned many years after; the names of the intermediate kings, who according to *Diodorus* were many, have not reached us. *Cydon*, as *Athenæus* informs us, had a daughter, by name *Eulimine*, famous for her beauty, and courted by all the chief men of the island; but her father was commanded by the oracle to sacrifice her to the manes of the deceased heroes of the island, which he did accordingly. *Pausanias* (94) and *Stephanus* make mention of another king bearing this name, who was the son of *Mercury* and *Acacallis*, and reigned many years after. *Cydon* was succeeded by *Apterus* or *Apteras*, to whom *Eulimene* had been betrothed. *Eusebius* says, that he began his reign in the eighth year of *Moses*, and sixty years after *Cydon* had begun his *Lapes*, called by *Eusebius* *Lapithas*, began to reign, according to that writer, about the ninth year of *Joshua*. He was succeeded, as *Diodorus* tells us, by *Teutamus* the son of *Dorus*, who arriving in *Crete* with a colony of *Æolians* and *Pelasgians* settled there, and was for his eminent qualities raised to the throne (95). *Asterius*, the son of *Lapes*, came to the throne, vacant by the death of his father. He married *Europa* the daughter of *Agenor*, whom *Jupiter* had carried over from *Sarepta*, a city of *Phœnice*, into *Crete*. *Asterius*, having no children by her, adopted the three sons of *Jupiter*, viz. *Minos*, *Rhadamanthus*, and *Sarpedon*. *Minos* succeeded him in the kingdom, and had by his wife *Iphone*, the daughter of *Lycaeus*, a son called *Lycastes* who, upon the death of his father, was raised to the throne. *Lycastes* built the city of *Lycastos*, and dying left the kingdom to *Minos*, the second of that name, whom he had by *Ida*, the daughter of *Corybas*. *Minos*, being assumed to the throne, equipped a mighty fleet, and made himself master of the *Cyclades*, which he bestowed upon his brothers, after having driven out the *Carians*, who then held most of those islands. This is the *Minos*, according to *Dio-*

(93) *Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra.*(94) *Pausan. in Attic.*(95) *Diodor. Sicul. l. iv.*

of these things there is scarce any thing upon record worth mentioning.

Reigns of the Cretan kings. *Cres* was, according to *Eusebius*^a, the first who reigned in *Crete*. He is also mentioned by *Clemens*^b, *Cedrenus*^c, and *Eustathius*^d. The latter supposes him to be the son of *Jupiter*; wherein he is contradicted by all the antient as well as modern writers. *Talus* and *Vulcan* are only mentioned by *Pausanias* as reigning in *Crete*. This cannot be the *Vulcan* whom other writers suppose to have reigned in *Sicily* or the island of *Lemnos*, and whose skill in discovering mines, and preparing metals, gave rise to the fables of the poets. *Rhadamanthus*, mentioned by *Strabo*^e as the first legislator of the *Cretans*, is supposed by *Apollodorus* to have succeeded *Vulcan*, and to have been famous for his justice. *Aristotle* likewise speaks of him as the first who made laws for the *Cretans* f.

^a EUSEB. Chron. p. 63. ^b CLEM. Stromat. l. i. ^c CEDRENUS, ^d EUSTATH. in Dionys. ^e STRAB. l. x. ^f ARIST. l. v. Eth.

dorus and *Thucydides*, who made war upon the *Athenians*, for having put to death his son *Androgeus* (96). *Minos* had by his wife *Pasiphae* four sons, *Deucalion*, *Catreus*, *Androgeus*, and *Glauclus*. *Deucalion* succeeded his father, and was succeeded by his brother *Catreus*, whom *Eusebius* names *Creteus*. *Deucalion* lived some time in *Attica*, and is supposed to have died there; for *Pausanias* (97) tells us, that his tomb was still to be seen in his time at *Athens*, near the temple of *Jupiter Olympius*. *Catreus* was killed thro' mistake by his own son *Althemenes*, who, thereupon laying violent hands on himself, left the kingdom to *Idomeneus* the son of *Deucalion*, and *Meriones* the son of *Molus*. *Aiolus* was, according to *Apollodorus* the son of *Deucalion*, according to *Diodorus*, the son of *Minos* and brother of *Deucalion*. *Idomeneus* and *Meriones* assisted the *Greeks* in the *Trojan* war with a squadron of fourscore ships. The former is mentioned by *Homer*, and commended as very expert at the bow (98). They were both after their death worshipped by the *Cretans* as heroes or demi-gods. *Virgil* says (99), that *Idomeneus* was driven out of his kingdom after his return from *Troy*, but does not tell us by whom or on what account. Such is the succession of the *Cretan* kings according to *Apollodorus* and *Diodorus Siculus*; but the accounts, which they give us of these princes, are so interwoven with fables, that it is almost beneath the dignity of history to take notice of them.

(96) *Diodor. Sicul. ibid. Thucyd. l. i. Att.* (97) *Pausan. in Att.* (98) *Homer. Odyss. l. iii. lib. 9. 122.* (99) *Virgil. Æneid. l.*

Milinus, according to *Berosus*, reigned in *Crete*, and obtained the sovereignty of the sea, but was at last killed by the *Libyan Hercules*. *Melisseus*, if we believe *Lactantius*, was the first who introduced into the island of *Crete* the worship of the gods and religious ceremonies. The same author adds, that his daughters *Amalthea* and *Melissa* nourished *Jupiter*, when he was an infant, with goats milk, which gave rise to the poetical fables on this subject. His daughter *Melissa* he appointed priestess of *Cybele* the great mother of the gods; and as she was the first who was employed in this ministry, all the priestesses of that goddess were afterwards called *Melissa*. This *Jupiter*, as *Lactantius* observes, was different from the famous *Jupiter* of the *Greeks* and *Latins*, though most authors confound them. *Cydon* succeeded his father *Melisseus*, and reigned, as we read in the chronology of *Eusebius*², about the time of *Cecrops* I. king of *Athens*. *Apteras* succeeded *Cydon*, and is said by the same *Eusebius* to have built a town. *Lapithas*, according to some writers, surnamed *Taurus* and *Jupiter*, carried away *Europa*, the daughter of *Agenor* king of *Sidon*, which gave rise to the fable of *Jupiter's* transforming himself into a bull³. *Eustathius* and *Cedrenus*⁴ tell us, that *Lapithas* built the city of *Gortyna*, that he took the city of *Tyre*, and, after having performed great feats both at home and abroad, died in *Crete*, where his monument was to be seen even in the time of *Eusebius*. *Solinus*⁵, *Theophilus Antiochenus*⁶, and *St. Jerom*⁷, speak of *Jupiter's* sepulchre in *Crete*, which was, in all likelihood, the sepulchre of *Lapithas* surnamed *Jupiter* and *Taurus*, as we have observed above. *Asterius*, according to *Apollodorus*⁸ and *Eusebius*⁹, was brother to *Lapithas*, succeeded him in the kingdom, and married his widow *Europa*. *Asterius* is also mentioned by *Manetho*, who makes him contemporary with *Pandion* king of *Athens*. *Lapithas* had by *Europa* three sons, *Minos*, *Rhadamanthus*, and *Sarpedon*. As *Asterius* died without issue male, the three sons of *Lapithas* raised great disturbances in the kingdom, each of them aspiring to the crown, and forming parties against one another. At last *Minos* prevailed and banished his brothers. *Rhadamanthus* fled first into *Lycia*, and thence into *Beotia*, where he married *Alcmena* the mother of *Hercules*, and set-

Milinus.

Melisseus.

Cydon.

Apteras.

Lapithas.

Asterius.

Minos.

² EUSEB. Chron. lib. i. p. 17.

³ EUSTATH. in Dionys. CEDRE-
nus, p. 17. ⁴ Idem, ibid.

⁵ THEOPH. ANTIOCH. l. ii. tra Jovian.

⁶ SOLINUS, c. xvi.

⁷ HIERONYM. l. ii. con-

⁸ APOLLODOR. l. ii.

⁹ Idem, ibid.

tled at *Haliartus* ^r. *Strabo* and *Pausanias* distinguish two *Rhadamanthuses*, and likewise two *Minoses*. The famous *Rhadamanthus*, who was, according to the poets, judge of the infernal regions, was brother to *Minos* II. But the accounts which the antients give us of these princes are so perplexed, and interwoven with fables, that it is impossible to come at the truth. *Sarpedon*, being defeated by his brother *Minos*, and driven out of the island, with all those who sided with him, settled in *Mylias*; for that was the antient name of the country, which was afterwards called *Lycia*. He was there raised to the throne, and kindly entertained *Lycus* the son of *Pandion*, when he was obliged by his brother *Ægeus* to quit *Athens*. From *Lycus* the inhabitants of the country, called before his arrival *Solyimi*, had the name of *Lycians* ^q.

Evander. *Minos* had one son, by name *Evander*, who succeeded him in the kingdom, and married *Deidamia* the daughter of *Bel-lerophon*, by whom he had a son named *Sarpedon*. *Evander* was succeeded by his son, who went to assist the *Trojans*, and distinguished himself in that war, but was killed at last by *Patroclus*. Most authors confound this *Sarpedon* king of *Crete* with the king of *Lycia* bearing the same name ^r. *Sarpedon* was succeeded by *Lycastes*, the natural son of *Minos* by *Itone*. *Lycastes* had by his wife *Ida* *Minos* II. the greatest king who had reigned in *Crete*, and much spoke of by the antients, especially the poets. *Diodorus*, as we have hinted above, differs in his account of the *Cretan* kings from *Pausanias*, *Pliny*, *Eusebius*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and most of the antient as well as modern historians and chronologers. According to him, *Teetamus*, the son of *Dorus* and grandson of *Deucalion*, arriving in *Crete* with the *Æolians* and *Pelasgians*, reigned there as king, and marrying the daughter of *Cretheus* had by her *Asterius*, in whose reign *Jupiter* carried away *Europa*, and had by her three sons, *Minos*, *Rhadamanthus*, and *Sarpedon*. *Asterius* afterwards married *Europa*, but having no children by her, adopted the sons of *Jupiter*, and left the kingdom to them. *Rhadamanthus* gave laws to the *Cretans*, and *Minos* took upon him the government of the kingdom, married *Itone* the daughter of *Lyctius*, and had by her *Lycastes*, who, coming to the crown, married *Ida* the daughter of *Corybantus*, by whom he had a son called also *Minos*. This *Minos* was the first of the *Grecians* who equipped a fleet, and gained the dominion of the sea. He married *Pasiphae* the daughter of *Sol* and *Crete*,

Minos.

^p APOLLOD. l. iii.
 TAL. COM.

^q HERODOT. l. i.

^r Vide NA-

and had by her *Deucalion*, *Astræa*, *Androgeus*, *Ariadne*, and several other children. *Androgeus*, in the reign of *Ægeus* king of *Athens*, went to that city to see the *Panathenean* solemnities, and on that occasion contracted such an intimacy with *Pallas* the king's brother and his fifty sons, as raised no small jealousy in *Ægeus*, who began to fear, lest *Pallas*, with the assistance of the *Cretan* king, should deprive him of the crown, and place it on his own head. He therefore caused *Androgeus* to be privately murdered, which *Minos* no sooner heard, than he proclaimed war against the *Athenians*. But finding all the attempts to revenge the death of his son prove unsuccessful, he had recourse to the gods, committing the revenge of such an unjust and treacherous murder to them. Hereupon the *Athenians* were grievously afflicted with a pestilence, famine, and several other plagues, and told by the oracle of *Delphos*, that they must not expect any relief till they were reconciled to *Minos*. The *Cretan* king, resolved to make them pay dear for their deliverance, imposed upon them a yearly tribute of seven boys, and as many girls, whom he condemned to be devoured by the *Minotaur*, during the space of seven, or, according to others, of nine years. *Minos* had already, for three years successively, exacted this bloody tribute, when *Theseus*, after having performed many glorious exploits, willingly offered himself to be one of the unhappy victims; and accordingly sailing with the rest to *Crete*, there killed the *Minotaur*, and delivered his country from the bloody *Cretan* tribute, as we have related at length elsewhere^c. The *Minotaur* is feigned by the poets to have been half man half bull, and begot by a bull upon *Pasiphae*¹² the wife of *Minos*, by the contrivance of *Dædalus*. But *Servius*^d tells us, that *Pasiphae*, falling in love with one *Taurus*, secretary to *Minos*, and privately carrying on with him a criminal conversation in the house of *Dædalus*, was brought to bed of two twin-brothers, one of which resembled *Minos* and the other *Taurus*, and that this gave birth to the fable of the *Minotaur*. But of this fabulous monster, so famous among the poets, and some credulous historians, we have spoke already, in the history of the antient kingdom of *Athens*, to which we refer the reader^e. *Minos*, highly incensed against *Dædalus* for being assistant to his queen *Pasiphae* in her unlawful amours, and hearing that he was fled into *Sicily*, and there entertained by *Cocalus* king of the *Siculi*, proclaimed war against that island, rigged out a mighty fleet,

^c Vol. V. p. 473, 474. ^d *Servius* in l. vi. *Æneid*. ^e Vol. V. p. 472, note (I).

and setting sail arrived on the coasts of *Agrigentum*. The place where he landed his men was from him called *Minoa*, which name it retained to the time of *Diodorus* the historian^w. *Minos*, on his arrival, sent messengers to *Cocalus*, entreating him to deliver up *Dædalus* to justice, rather than to draw a war upon himself and his country. Hereupon *Minos* and *Cocalus* came to an interview, wherein *Cocalus* having promised to do all *Minos* required of him, the latter, trusting to the fair promises of that treacherous prince, was prevailed upon to go to his house without guards, where he was privately stifled in a bath. *Cocalus* delivered the body of the king to the *Cretans*, who had attended him in that expedition, giving out, that his death had been occasioned by his slipping accidentally into the hot and scalding baths. His soldiers buried him with great pomp, and erected a magnificent monument to his memory, building near it a temple in honour of *Venus*, which was much resorted to for many ages. In after-times, when *Agrigentum* was built, the bones of *Minos* were discovered, and sent by *Thero* into *Crete*. The *Cretans*, who had followed *Minos* into *Sicily*, upon his death settled in that island, and built the city of *Minoa*, so called from *Minos*. In process of time they possessed themselves of some places in the heart of the country, and built the city of *Engyum*. From *Engyum* they made frequent inroads into the neighbouring countries, and being reinforced with a new colony of *Cretans*, who were driven upon the coasts of *Sicily*, as they were returning home under the conduct of *Merion*, after the destruction of *Troy*, they subdued many of the bordering states, and formed themselves into a republic, which was the most considerable in that part of the island^x.

SOME writers, as we have observed above, acknowledged but one *Minos*; but others maintain, that there were two, and add, that they were both no less famous for the wise laws they published, than for the conquests they made. Be that as it will, the *Minos* we are here speaking of was the father of *Deucalion* the *Argonaut*, the grandfather of *Idomeneus*, and contemporary with *Ægeus* king of *Athens*; and this *Minos* was, according to *Plato*^y and *Aristotle*^z, the author of the laws which are so highly commended by them, and which it will not be improper to give some account of in this place.

The laws
of Minos.

The main scope which *Minos* aimed at in the forming of his laws was, as *Strabo* informs us^a, to procure happiness for

^w DIODOR. SICUL. l. iv.

to, c. leg. l. i.

no, lib. x. p. 480.

^x Idem, ibid.

^z ARISTOT. de Repub. l. ii.

^y PLA-

^a STRA-

his subjects, by rendering them virtuous. . . . To attain this end, he first banished idleness and luxury, the sources, as he calls them, of all vice, from his dominions. He found means to keep all his subjects employed either at home or abroad, not suffering any, however distinguished above the rest, to lead an idle and indolent life; but obliging them either to serve in the army, or apply themselves to agriculture, which he brought into great reputation. In order to establish a kind of equality among his subjects, he decreed, that in each city the children should be brought up together, and early taught the same maxims, exercises, and arts. They were accustomed from their tender years to bear hunger and thirst, to suffer heat and cold, to walk over steep and rugged places, to skirmish with each other in small parties, and to exercise themselves in a kind of dance with their armour, which was afterwards called *the Pyrric*^b. As *Crete* was a mountainous and uneven country, the youth were not taught here, as elsewhere, to ride or wear heavy armour, but to use their bow dexterously; and in this they far excelled all other nations in the world. One of *Minos*'s institutions, which *Aristotle* greatly admires, was, that all his subjects should use the same diet, and frequently take their repasts together, without any distinction between the poor and the rich. This, as *Aristotle* observes^c, introduced a kind of equality among all ranks of people, accustomed them to a frugal and sober life, and cemented friendship and unity between them, by the usual gaiety and mirth of the table. The public defrayed the charges of these meals, one part of the revenues of the state being applied to the uses of religion, and the salaries of the magistrates, and the rest allotted for the public meals. After their repast, the old men discoursed of the actions and virtues of their ancestors, and of such as had distinguished themselves, either by their valour in war, or their wisdom in peace; and the youth, who were present at these entertainments, were exhorted to propose these great persons to themselves, as their models for the forming of their manners and the regulation of their conduct. Another of *Minos*'s institutions, which *Plato* admires the most^d, was, to inspire early into the youth a high respect for the maxims, customs, and laws of their own country, not suffering them to dispute or call in question the wisdom of their constitution, but commanding them to look upon their laws as dictated by the gods themselves. He had the same regard to the magistrates and aged persons, whom he enjoined every one to ho-

^b STRABO, *ibid.*
ubi supra.

^c ARISTOT. *ubi supra.*

^d PLATO,

nour in a peculiar manner ; and that nothing might lessen the respect due to their age, he ordained, that if any defects were observed in them, they should never be mentioned in the presence of the youth. A custom established by *Minos* in *Crete*, and, in after-ages, adopted by the *Romans*, gives us reason to believe, that even the slaves were better treated in *Crete* than any where else ; for in the feasts of *Mercury* the masters waited on the slaves at table, and performed about them the same offices, which they received from them the rest of the year. This was to put men in mind of the primitive world, in which all men were equal, and to signify to the masters, that their servants were of the same condition with themselves. The laws of *Minas* were antiently in so great repute, that *Lycurgus* passed a considerable time in *Crete*, employing himself in the study of the *Cretan* constitution, and forming his laws upon the model of those that then obtained in that island. *Plato* tells us, that *Crete*, under the government of so wise a prince, became the abode of virtue, probity, and justice, and that the laws which he established were so well founded in justice and equity, that they subsisted in their full vigour even in his time, that is, above nine hundred years after they had been first published. It is true, the *Cretans* degenerated by degrees from their antient probity, and at length, by an entire change of manners, became the most vicious nation that was known either to the *Greeks* or *Latins*. *Polybius* writes ^f, that the *Cretans* in his time were avaritious and self-interested to such a degree, as to think no lucre sordid. *Suidas* and *Callimachus* ^g give them the character of lyars and impostors ; and *St. Paul* quotes against them, as truth, the testimony of one of their own poets, perhaps *Epimenides*, who paints them in very disgraceful colours. The impurity of their amours are but too well known, from the accounts given us of them by *Strabo* ^h, *Servius* ⁱ, and *Athenæus* ^k. But this change of manners, in whatever time it happened, does not effect the probity of the antient *Cretans*, nor lessen the glory of their legislator. We cannot help adding here, that when we reflect on the justice, equity, and humanity, of king *Minos*, and the high commendations which the most eminent and judicious writers among the antients have bestowed upon him, we are inclined to believe those authors mistaken, who ascribe to him the imposing of that cruel tribute on the *Athenians*. *Plato*, *Apollodorus*, *Strabo*, *Plutarch*, *Diodorus*

^e *PLATO*, *ibid.* ^f *POLYB.* l. 6. ^g *CALLIM.* Hymn. in *Jov.* ver. 8. ^h *STRABO.* l. 10. ⁱ *SERVIVS* *Æneid.* l. 10. ver. 325. ^k *ATHEN.* *Deipn.* l. 13, &c.

Siculus, &c. are indeed of that opinion¹; but a learned modern proves with a great deal of erudition, that they were mistaken, and confounded the legislator we are speaking of with another *Minos*, who, to avenge the death of his son, made war upon the *Athenians*, and imposed that bloody tribute, to which *Theseus* put an end, by killing *Taurus* the king's general, and entirely defeating the troops under his command¹.

Minos was succeeded by his eldest son *Deucalion*, who, re-
newing the antient alliance between the *Cretans* and *Atheni-
ans*, gave his sister *Phædra* in marriage to *Theseus*, by whom
he had *Acamantes* and *Demophon*. *Phædra* is said to have fal-
len passionately in love with her son-in-law *Hippolytus*, and,
because he would not comply with her unlawful demands, to
have accused him to her husband, as if he had attempted to
ravish her. Hereupon *Theseus*, suspecting the truth of what
she said, summoned *Hippolytus* to answer the accusation.
But *Phædra*, fearing she should be discovered upon the trial
of the cause, laid violent hands on herself^m. *Deucalion*
was, according to *Hyginus*, one of the *Argonauts*. *Plutarch*
tells us out of *Clidemus*, that he was killed by *Theseus* at *Gnos-
sus* in *Crete*ⁿ. After *Deucalion* reigned *Creteus*, or, as *Dio-
dorus* and *Pausanias* call him, *Catreus*. He was brother to
Deucalion, and son of *Minos* by *Pasiphae*, or, as others will
have it, by *Merope*. Being told by the oracle, that he should
be killed by his son *Althemenes*, he banished him his domini-
ons. But, after some years, hearing that he had settled in the
island of *Rhodes*, and being desirous to see him before he di-
ed, he put to sea, and arriving with a few ships in the night,
was taken by the inhabitants for a pirate, and, in the scuf-
fle, accidentally killed by his own son^o. Upon the death
of *Creteus*, the kingdom fell to *Idomeneus* the son of *Deuca-
lion* by *Cleopatra*. He assisted the *Greeks* at the siege of *Troy*
with fourscore ships, and distinguished himself there, if we
may believe the poets, in several single combats. After the
destruction of that city, his ships being in great danger by a
violent storm, he vowed to sacrifice, if he got safe home,
the first person he met. It happened, that his eldest son came
first out to meet him, whom he, pursuant to his vow, either
did, or attempted to, sacrifice. Hereupon, his subjects
refusing to receive him, he sailed into *Italy*, and built there

Deucalion

Creteus.

Idomene-
us.

¹ M. BANIER. Mem. de l'Acad. des Insc. Tom. III. ^m DI-
ODOR. SICUL. l. 4. APOLLODOR. l. 3. POMPON. SABIN. l. 2.

ⁿ PLUT. in Thes. ^o DIODOR. SICUL. l. 5. c. 13. APOLLO-
DOR. l. 3.

the city of *Potilia* near *Salentinum*, a cape of *Calabria*² (L). The famous historian *Diclys*, surnamed *Cretensis*, was his secretary, as *Eustathius* informs us¹. This author is said by *Septimius*, *Cedrenus*, *Suidas*, and *Isaacius Porphyrogenitus*, to have wrote the history of the *Trojan* war in *Greek*, but with *Phœnician* letters. The book which now goes under the name of *Diclys Cretensis* is a spurious piece. Upon the death or banishment of *Idomeneus*, *Meriones*, the son of *Molus* by *Melphis* and grandson of *Minos*, was raised to the throne. He had attended *Idomeneus* to the *Trojan* war, and there signalized himself, as we read in *Homer*, *Virgil*, and the other antient poets. He died after a short reign, and was buried in *Crete*, with great pomp, near the tomb of *Idomeneus*. The monuments of both these princes were itill to be seen in the time of *Diodorus Siculus*, not far from the city of *Gnossus*. On that of *Idomeneus* was the following inscription, *Idomeneus, who was born in Gnossus, lies in this tomb, and hard by him J. Merion the son of Molus*. They were both adored by the *Cretans* as demigods, and invoked in all the wars they undertook³. Many years after the death of *Meriones* or *Merion*, we find *Etearchus* reigning in *Crete*, and residing, not at *Gnossus* the seat of the former kings, but at *Oaxes*. The seats, and even the names, of the intermediate kings, are buried in oblivion. However, it is not improbable, that *Etearchus* was descended from *Minos*, and consequently of the same family with the princes whose reigns we have hitherto described; since *Suidas* tells us, that the race of *Minos* enjoyed the sovereignty of *Crete* to the destruction of that kingdom, that is, till monarchy gave way

¹ VIRGIL. 3 & 11. *Æneid*. ISAAC TZETZES p. 166. ² EUSTATH. in *Iliad*. p. 537. ³ DIODOR. SICUL. l. 5. c. 15.

(L) *Joannes Tzetzes* relates this in a quite different manner; for he tells us, that *Idomeneus*, on his departure for *Troy*, appointed one *Leucos* to govern the kingdom in his absence, promising to give him, on his return, his daughter *Clisibere* in marriage, and make him his heir. *Leucos* governed for some time with great justice and equity; but at last was prevailed upon by *Nauplius* king of *Eubœa* to put to death *Meda* the wife, and *Clisibere* the daughter of *Idomeneus*, and seize the kingdom for himself. *Idomeneus*, finding, on his return, *Leucos* in possession of the crown, attempted to drive out the usurper, but was himself obliged to withdraw from the island, which was entirely addicted to *Leucos*, and seek a new settlement for himself and those who had attended him to *Troy*.

to a republican government. The family of *Minos*, tho' deprived of the sovereign power, continued, even after that change, in great splendor, as *Tzetzes* informs us^f; and *Suetonius* tells us, that the emperor *Sergius Galba* pretended to be descended from *Minos* by the mother's side^g. All we know of *Etearchus*, the last king of *Crete*, is, that, by the wicked contrivances and groundless calumnies of his queen, he was so estranged from *Phronima* his daughter by his first wife, that he delivered her up to one *Themison* a merchant of *Thera*, enjoining him to drown her in the sea. *Themison*, though he had bound himself by an oath to do whatever *Etearchus* should command him, yet could not prevail upon himself to put this barbarous command in execution; having therefore, to comply with the obligation of his oath, let her down into the sea by a rope, he drew her up again unhurt, and carried her to *Thera*, his native country, where she was admitted among the concubines of *Polymnestus*, by whom she had *Battus* the founder of *Cyrene*^h.

MONARCHICAL government being abolished, in what manner, or on what account, we find no where recorded, the chief power was lodged in the senate, which was composed of thirty senators, and is called by *Aristotle*^w the public council of the nation. In that assembly affairs of the greatest consequence were examined, and resolutions taken, which, however, were of no force till the people had confirmed them by their suffrages. Next in authority to the senate were the *Cosmi*, so called from the *Greek* word *Cosmos*, signifying order; these magistrates being appointed for the maintaining of good order in the state. They had much the same power as the *Ephori* at *Sparta*, were ten in number, and chosen, like the *Ephori*, out of the body of the people, the meanest of the populace having an equal right to this dignity with the most illustrious families of the republic. They were, in a certain manner, the balance between the people and the senate, and a check upon both; for, without their approbation, no decree was of any force. Out of their body the senators were chosen, none being admitted into the senate, who had not before given some proofs of their prudence, equity, and disinterestedness in the college of the *Cosmi*. In time of war they commanded the armies of the republic with an absolute and unbounded power; but were afterwards liable to be called to an account; whereas the senators were not accountable to any for their administration. In this condition

The republican government introduced.

^f TZETZES p. 67. ^g SULT. in Galba. ^h HERODOT. l. iii.

^w ARISTOT. de Repub. l. ii. c. 10.

The Ro-
mans
quarrel
with the
Cretans.
Year of
the Flood
2931.
Before
Christ
68.

on continued the island of *Crete* for many ages. The inhabitants were ever at war among themselves, each city aspiring to the sovereignty of the whole island; but as the authors, who wrote the history of *Crete*, have not reached us, we are quite in the dark as to the particulars of those civil commotions. All we know is, that in the time of *Philip* the father of *Perses*, the *Gnossians* and *Gortynians* had reduced all the other cities of the island, and divided their conquests; so that the *Cretans* were no longer free, but subject to one of these cities, and obliged to acknowledge their subjection by an annual tribute *. These domestic troubles raged in *Crete* for many ages, and gave the inhabitants an opportunity of perfecting themselves in all the arts of war; whence they were in such repute among other nations, that most of the states and princes then at war took care to have always in their armies some bodies of *Cretan* bowmen and slingers, the *Cretans* having been in all ages, as *Pausanias* observes †, remarkable for their skill and experience at the sling and bow. They were a great help, as *Xenophon* informs us, in the retreat of the ten thousand ‡. Many of *Alexander's* victories, if we believe *Arrian*, were owing to the *Cretan* auxiliaries †. *Livy* has not forgot the advantages which *Eumenes* and the consul *Manlius* gained by means of the archers and slingers of *Crete*, the one over *Antiochus*, the other over the *Gauls*, in the famous battle fought near mount *Olympus* *. After the *Romans* once became acquainted with *Crete*, they employed the inhabitants in all their expeditions, keeping constantly in their pay numerous bodies of *Cretan* auxiliaries, which, generally speaking, behaved with great gallantry. In the war of *Antiochus*, they entered into an alliance with *Rome*, having been induced thereunto by *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus*. But notwithstanding the treaty of friendship subsisting between the two republics, the *Cretans* entered into measures with other potentates, without consulting the *Roman* senate. In the war which the *Romans* carried on against *Mithridates*, they were said to maintain a private correspondence with that prince, and likewise to have assisted the pirates, who infested the *Mediterranean*, and committed great ravages on the coasts of *Italy* itself. This gave the *Romans* a specious pretence of enslaving an island, which had, to that time, been free from all foreign subjection; but the true motive that prompted them to undertake this war was, as *Florus* informs

* POLYB. l. iv.

† PAUSAN. in Atticis.

‡ XENOPH. l. ix.

† ARRIAN. de expedit. Alex.

* LIV. xxviii. c. 41. & l. xxxviii.

c. 21.

us †, a desire of conquering that island. The *Romans*, who were so fond of their own liberties, made it their chief business to deprive all other nations of theirs. This expedition being resolved on, it fell to the lot of *Q. Hortensius* to command the troops that were to be employed in it; but as he had spent his whole life in peaceable employments, and was altogether unqualified for military expeditions, he readily resigned the command of the troops to his colleague *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, who postponed setting sail till the time of his consulship was expired. In the mean time the *Cretans* sent an embassy to *Rome*, consisting of thirty of the most illustrious men of the island, who, by their earnest solicitations and humble supplications, moved the senate to compassion; insomuch, that they were ready to renew with them their antient treaties. But *P. Lentulus Spinther* alone opposed the good-will of the senate towards the *Cretans*, by representing, that *Rome* could never be mistress of the seas, nor keep them clear of pirates, till *Crete* was reduced to the state of a province. His opposition made the fathers change their minds, and so many and hard conditions were then demanded of the suppliants, that they chose rather to maintain a war than comply with them. The ambassadors being dismissed, *Metellus* set sail with three legions, and, arriving on the coast of *Crete*, landed his men without opposition. The *Cretan* republic was then governed by two chiefs, *Lasthenes* and *Panares*. The former had greatly contributed to the victory which the pirates had gained the year before over *Antonius*, and therefore not doubting but the *Romans* would make it a preliminary, that he should be given up to their vengeance, encouraged the people to take up arms, and raised forces in all parts of the island. In a short time four and twenty thousand men were armed and brought into the field. *Metellus*, in order to draw them to a battle, advanced towards *Cydonia*, at that time the capital of the island, as if he designed to besiege it. *Lasthenes* to prevent the siege met the *Roman* general on his march, gave him battle, but was entirely defeated, and obliged to save himself by flight to *Gnossus*. *Metellus*, being master of the field, laid siege to *Cydonia*, which *Panares* after a faint defence delivered up to the conqueror, upon a promise that both he and the inhabitants should be spared. From thence *Metellus* advanced to *Gnossus*, where *Lasthenes* had shut himself up. But the cowardly general, instead of putting the city into a condition to hold out a siege, set fire to it and retired. The city of *Lychus*,

† FLOR. I. iii. c. 7.

though well fortified, surrendered as soon as the *Roman* army approached the walls. Thus *Metellus* in one campaign possessed himself of the best part of the island, though defended by the *Cilician* pirates as well as by its own inhabitants ^a.

THE next year early in the spring *Metellus* took the field, and having defeated the united forces of the *Cretans* and *Cilician* pirates, drove the latter from the castles which they had built on the rocks near the sea, and the former from most of their strong holds in the centre of the country. But as he treated both the inhabitants and the pirates with the utmost severity, they sent an embassy to *Pompey*, who had been lately appointed proconsul of the seas with an unbounded authority, entreating him to come and put the last hand to the reduction of *Crete*, and offering to surrender to him, without making the least resistance. *Pompey*, who was always ready to undertake the work of other generals, heard the ambassadors with pleasure, and promised to come and conclude an advantageous peace with them. Accordingly, having received hostages, he sent from *Pamphylia*, where he then resided, *L. Octavius*, one of his lieutenants, with orders to proclaim all over the island, that *Pompey* had the sole right of making treaties in all the places of his proconsulate; and that *Metellus* had no right to assume the title of general in a country which was within the province the senate had given to *Pompey* ^b. This shameful claim of *Pompey* caused a kind of civil war in the island, the *Romans* disputing with one another who should give the last stroke to the *Cretans*. *Octavius* joined the pirates and people of the island to oppose *Metellus's* conquests; and he, on the other hand, not fearing the additional forces which *Pompey* had sent against him, pursued his conquests with resolution. He besieged *Eleuthera*, and having gained over one of the chief citizens, who for several nights together poured down upon one of the towers so many barrels of vinegar as softened it, made himself master of the town by beating it down. From *Eleuthera* he turned towards *Lappa*, a strong city, which *Octavius* in person undertook to defend. But though *Octavius* made a vigorous defence, yet the place was at last taken by assault, and all the *Cretans* and *Cilicians* found in it put to the sword. As for *Octavius* and the *Romans*, *Metellus* dismissed them without their arms amidst the hilts of his soldiers. *Pompey* therefore sent new supplies to *Octavius*, and ordered

^a APPIAN. *legat.* 30. LIV. l. xcix. FLOR. l. iii. c. 7

^b FLOR. *ubi supra*. CIC. *pro lege Manilia*. PLUT. in *Pomp.*

Sisenna to sail from the coast of *Achaia* to *Crete*. But *Sisenna* dying soon after his arrival, *Octavius* took upon him the command of his troops, and in conjunction with the pirates and *Cretans* endeavoured to stop the career of *Metellus's* conquests. But that brave commander having taken *Hierapytna*, the strongest place then in the island, obliged *Octavius* to save himself on board his ships, and abandon the island. Upon his departure *Lasthenes* and *Panares* laid down their arms, and all the inhabitants of the island submitted to the yoke. *Metellus* changed their form of government, obliged them to live according to the laws of *Rome*, imposed an annual tribute upon the whole island, and thereby reduced it to a *Roman* province, after it had enjoyed its liberties for a series of many ages. *Orosius* tells us, that *Metellus* reduced the island in two years time ^d. But *Velleius Paterculus* ^e, *Eutropius* ^f, and others write, that the *Romans* spent three whole years in that undertaking, having to do with men no less brave than themselves. *Metellus* was honoured with a triumph, and the surname of *Creticus* or *the Cretan*, which *Plutarch* gives to *Antonius* the father of the famous *Mark Anthony*, who began indeed this expedition, but lost in it both his fleet and his life.

S E C T. V.

The History of Cyprus.

THE island which we are now to write of, was known *Names.* to the antients by the following names; *Acamis*, *Cerastis*, *Aspalia*, *Amathus*, *Macaria*, *Cryptos*, *Colinia*, *Sphacia Paphia*, *Salaminia*, *Ærofa*, and finally *Cyprus*. It was called *Acamis* from one of its promontories; *Amathus*, *Paphia*, and *Salaminia* from three of its antient cities; *Macaria* from the fruitfulness of its soil; *Ærofa* from its copper mines; *Colinia* or *Collinia* from its many hills; *Sphacia* from its antient inhabitants the *Sphaces*; *Cerastis* from the many promontories which, like so many horns, as the *Greek* word intimates, shoot into the sea. Whence it borrowed the name of *Aspalia* we know not; some etymologists have changed the name of *Aspalia* into that of *Asperia*, and pretend, that the island was so called from the unevenness of its ground: were we allowed in this manner to throw out, put in, and change, let-

^e APPIAN. legat. 30. LIV. l. 100. VELL. PATERC l. ii. c. 38. ^d OROSIUS, l. vi. c. 4. ^f VELL. PATIRCUL. ibid. ^f EUTROP. l. vi.

ters as we please, it would be no difficult matter to give etymologies. As to the name which it is now generally known by, some authors derive it from the *Greek* word *Cryptos*, signifying *hidden*, this island being often hid, say they, by the waves from the eye of the sailor; others will have it called *Cyprus* from *Cyrus*, who is said to have founded here the city of *Aphrodisia*. But this etymology is still worse than the former, the island having been known by the name of *Cyprus* in *Homer's* time, that is, six hundred years before the birth of *Cyrus*. *Isidorus* thinks it was called *Cyprus* from a city of that name ^a. But the most common opinion is, that it borrowed its name from a shrub, called by the *Greeks* *Cypros*, which, though very scarce in other countries, grew here in great plenty. What kind of shrub this was is still matter of dispute among authors. With the flower of this shrub the antient inhabitants made a very sweet oil, which is much commended by *Pliny* ^b. The name of *Cerastis*, as we have observed above, was given it from the great number of its promontories; and this appellation is founded on truth, no island that we know of, having more promontories than *Cyprus*. On the west it has the promontories of *Acamas*, now *Capo S. Pifano*, *Drepanum*, now *Trepano*, *Zephyrum*, now *Capo Calidoni* or *Punta Malota*; on the south, *Phrurium*, now *Capo Bianco*, *Curias*, or *Capo delle Gatte*, *Gades*, or *Capo Chiti*, *Throni*, or *Capo Pila*; on the east, *Pendalium*, now *Capo di Greco*, *Clides*, now *Capo di S. Andrea*; on the north, *Coronyon*, now *Capo Cronochiette*, and besides a great many others of less note. *Androcles*, as quoted by *Tzetzes*, tells us, that the island was antiently called *Cerastis*, because inhabited by men with horns; which opinion has been followed by the poets, namely by *Ovid* ^c.

Cities.

Arsinoe.
Soli or
Selæ.

THE cities of most note in *Cyprus* were, according to *Ptolemy* and *Strabo* ^d on the north side of the island; *Arsinoe*, so called from a queen of *Egypt*, the island of *Cyprus* having been long subject to the kings of that country. *Solæ* or *Soli*, which borrowed its name from *Solon* the famous lawgiver of the *Athenians*, who, during his banishment having visited the petty king of *Epea*, advised him to remove his city from a mountainous and barren country into a fruitful and pleasant plain. The king followed his advice, and was so pleased with the new situation of his metropolis, that out of gratitude to *Solon*, who had given him such good advice, he called it *Solæ* or *Soli* from his name ^e. *Strabo*

^a ISIDOR. l. xiv.
Metam l. x. v. 222.
P. 93.

^b PLIN. l. xii. c. 24.
^c STRAB. l. xiv.

^d OVID.
^e PLUT. in Solon.

Notice of a famous temple in this city consecrated to *Venus* and *Isis* ^m. *Lapathus* or *Lapithus*, on the banks of a small river bearing the same name. This city was in former times of so great note, that it gave the name of *Lapithia* to the neighbouring country. The two cities of *Aphrodisias* and *Carpasia* are likewise placed by *Strabo* and *Ptolemy* on the same coast, and mentioned by most of the antient geographers. Here also stood the cities of *Cerines* and *Tremitus*. *Cerines*, in former ages called *Ceurania*, is said to have been built by *Cerines*. *Cyrus the Great*, when he first subdued the nine kings of this island, and united the whole country to the crown of *Persia*, *Tremitus* is often mentioned by *Sozomenus* in the account he gives us of the miracles, which he supposes to have been wrought by the bishop *Spiridion*, a native of that city ⁿ. On the eastern coast stood the following cities: *Salamis*, built by *Teucer* the son of *Telamon*, who being, on his return from the siege of *Troy*, banished by his father *Telamon*, for not revenging on *Ulysses* the death of his brother *Ajax*, retired to *Cyprus*, and there built a city which he called *Salamis* after the name of his whole country ^o. This city was in after-ages called *Constantia*, and some are of opinion that *Famagosta*, the present metropolis of the island, was built on its ruins (M). On this side of the island, over-against the promontory called by *Pliny* *Dinaretum*, are the small islands named *Clides*, two in number according to *Strabo*, and three, according to *Pliny*. On the south coast the antients place *Throni*, a town so called from the promontory on which it stood; *Citium*, the birth-place of *Zeno* the famous stoic. Here *Cimon* the *Atbenian* died, after having reduced great part of the island ^p. *Pla-*

^m STRAB. l. xiv.
HORAT. l. i. Od. 7.

ⁿ SOZOM. l. i. c. 10.
^p CORN. NEPOS. in ejus vita.

^o Vide

(M) This city is stiled by *Diodorus* (100) the first of all the *Cyprian* cities, and said to have once excelled most of the *Greek* cities in power and riches. *Tacitus* (1) speaks of a magnificent temple built here in honour of *Jupiter Salaminus*, and *Ammianus Marcellinus* of three other temples dedicated to *Pallas*, *Agraulos*, and *Diomedes*. In that of *Agraulos* was yearly offered an human sacrifice, till that cruel ceremony was abolished by *Diphilus* king of *Cyprus* (2) *Salamis* in *Cyprus* is called by *Lucan*, *Seneca*, and *Manilius*, the other *Salamis*, to distinguish it from another city of the same name in an island adjacent to *Elcusis* called also *Salamis*.

(100) *Diodor. Sicul. l. xiv.*
(2) *Porphyre de Abst. l. ii.*

(1) *Tacit. Annal. l. iii.*

tarch tells us, that he died at the siege of this place ^q; and *Diodorus*, that he took it before his death ^r. *Josephus* is of opinion, that this city was built by *Cittim* the son of *Javan*, and from him called *Citium*, or, as *Pliny* will have it, *Cetium*. *Malum*. *Malum*, which was likewise taken by *Cimon*, as *Diodorus* informs us ^s. *Ptolemæus Lagi* ruined this city and transplanted the inhabitants to *Paphus* ^t. *Amathus* so called from its founder *Amathus* the son of *Aerias*. *Tacitus* tells us, that *Cyprus* was famous for three temples; one, and the most antient of all, was dedicated to *Venus Paphia* by *Aerias*, the next in point of antiquity was consecrated to *Venus Amathusia* by *Amathus* the son of *Aerias*, and the third to *Jupiter Salaminus* by *Teucer* the son of *Telamon* ^u. The city of *Amathus*, as most others in this island was consecrated to *Venus*, as appears from *Virgil* ^w and the other antient poets. *Ovid* speaks of copper mines in the neighbourhood of this city ^x, and *Pausanias* mentions a famous temple here consecrated to *Venus* and *Adonis* ^y. On the west side of the island were the cities, *Palæpaphos* or *Old Paphos*, about ten furlongs from the shore. Here *Venus* is said to have first appeared after she was formed out of the froth of the sea; and hence the city was in a peculiar manner sacred to that goddess. The young women here used to prostitute themselves to such strangers as came ashore in order to raise money for their portions. About sixty furlongs from *Palæpaphos* stood *Neapaphos* or *New Paphos*, built, according to *Strabo* ^z, by *Agapenor* nephew to *Lycurgus*, and famous for its harbour and a stately temple dedicated to *Venus*. For both these cities were under the peculiar protection of *Venus*, whence they are often confounded by the antient writers, especially the poets. *New Paphos* was utterly ruined by an earthquake, but rebuilt by *Augustus* and thence called *Augusta*, a name which it did not long retain ^a. As to the inland towns, *Ptolemy* mentions only three, viz. *Chybrus*, *Trimethus*, and *Tamassus* or *Tamascus*, to which *Strabo* adds a fourth, viz. *Limenia*; but these were places of small note, though *Ovid* calls the territory of *Tamascus*, the most fruitful spot in *Cyprus* ^b. The copper, that was found in the mines adjoyning to this city, was deemed the best in the world. The following cities are mentioned by *Pliny*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Pausanias*, *Stephanus*, and others. But we are quite at

^q PLUT. in Cimon.^r DIODOR. l. xiv. c. 79.^s Idem. ibid.^t Idem ibid.^u TACIT. l. iii. Annal. c. 62.^w VIRGIL.*Æneid*. l. x. v. 51.^x OVID. *Metamorph.* l. x. v. 220.^y PAUSAN. in *Æcot.* cap. ult.^z STRAB. l. xiv..^a DIO.

l. iv. p. 557.

^b OVID. *Metam* l. x. v. 643.

a loss as to their situation, *Cingria*, *Marium*, *Golgi*, *Epida-rum*, *Cresium*, *Erythea*, *Lacedemonia*, *Tegessus*, *Mefina*, *Hyle*, *Tembro*, *Ledrum*, or *Leuteon*. *Diodorus* tells us, that *Marium* was governed by a king of its own. *Golgi* was a small but very antient town, for the *Cyprians*, as *Pausanias* informs us ^d, worshipped *Venus* in the small town of *Golgi*, before *Agapenor* settled with his colony at *Paphus*. This city is mentioned by *Catullus* ^e, *Lycophron* ^f, and *Theocritus* ^g, who speak of it as a place consecrated in a special manner to *Venus*.

BESIDES the cities we have mentioned, *Meursius* places in *Cyprus* those of *Berytus*, *Cnidus*, and *Cythera* ^h, being led into this mistake by misunderstanding the antient writers, whom he quotes. To prove that *Berytus* stood in *Cyprus*, he produces a passage out of *Strabo* ⁱ, wherein that author, after having spoke of *Citium*, and told us, that it was the birth-place of *Zeno*, adds, that it is fifteen hundred furlongs, that is a hundred and eighty seven miles and a half distant from *Berytus*; and hence *Meursius*, in other respects a most accurate writer, concludes, that *Berytus* is reckoned by *Strabo* among the cities of *Cyprus*. But he ought to have inferred from these very words of *Strabo*, that *Berytus* could not stand in *Cyprus*, since no two places in the whole island, if we stand to the measures laid down by that geographer, can be at so great a distance from each other, the island being, according to him, but fourteen hundred furlongs long. Besides, it is very plain from the context, that *Strabo* in the abovementioned passage speaks of *Berytus* in *Syria*; and not of any city bearing that name in *Cyprus*. The city of *Cnidus* *Meursius* places in *Cyprus*, being induced thereunto by a passage in *Joannes Tzetzes*, where that writer, speaking of the country of *Ctesias* the historian, tells us, that he was a native of the *Cyprian Cnidus*, from which epithet our author concludes that *Cnidus* stood in *Cyprus*. But it is very plain both from *Pliny* ^k and *Pausanias* ^l, that the epithet of *Cyprian* was given to the city of *Cnidus*, because *Venus*, the *Cyprian* goddess as she is stiled by the poets, was the tutelary deity of the place, and no less religiously worshipped there than in *Cyprus*. But granting *Tzetzes* to have placed *Cnidus* in *Cyprus*, the authority of *Strabo* ought to have been of more weight with *Meursi-*

^c DIODOR. SICUL. l. xix. c. 59. ^d PAUSAN. Arcad. c. 5.

^e CATULL. Carmin. 37. de Vener. ^f LYCOPHR. in Alexandr. v. 588. ^g THEOCRIT. Idyll. 15. v. 100. ^h MEURSIUS in libro de Cypro.

ⁱ STRAB. l. xiv. p. 469. ^k PLIN. l. xxxvi. c. 5.

^l PAUSAN. Attic. c. 1.

us than that of the writer he quotes; that antient geographer tells us in express words, that *Ctesias*, the physician and historian, was born in *Cnidus* a city of *Caria* ^m; wherein he is followed by all the writers both antient and modern who speak of that historian. As to *Cythera*, our author, in reckoning it among the cities of *Cyprus*, quotes in favour of his opinion two passages out of *Virgil*; in the first that poet joins together *Cythera* and the *Idalian* forest, which was without all doubt in *Cyprus* ⁿ; in the other he joins the city of *Cythera* with *Amathus* and *Paphos*; both cities of great note in this island ^o. But *Venus*, whom *Virgil* introduces in both places speaking of the cities that were consecrated to her, does not confine herself to the cities of *Cyprus* alone. She mentions, as is evident from the context, such places as were peculiarly addicted to her worship, whether in *Cyprus* or elsewhere. Now the island of *Cythera* and its metropolis, bearing the same name, were both consecrated to *Venus*, who had there a famous temple much resorted to by all the nations of *Greece*, as we read in *Pausanias* ^p. 'Tis true, the scholiast of *Hesiod* places *Cythera* in *Cyprus*; but herein he contradicts, which is often the case, the author whom he pretends to explain. For that poet speaking of the froth from which *Venus* is supposed to have sprung says, that it was first carried to *Cythera*, and from thence to the island of *Cyprus* ^q. From these words it is manifest, that *Cythera* was not, according to *Hesiod* a city of *Cyprus*.

Division.

Cyprus was by the antient geographers divided into four districts or provinces, viz. *Paphia* to the west, *Amathusia* to the south, *Lapytha* to the north, and *Salaminia* to the east. In after-ages it was divided into twelve provinces by the princes of the *Eusignan* family, who were put in possession of it by *Richard I.* of *England*, and held it for seventeen generations. The names of these twelve divisions were, *Nicosia*, *Famagusta*, *Paphia*, *Audima*, *Limissa*, *Masorum*, *Salines*, *Mesforia*, *Crusocus*, *Pentalia*, *Carpassus*, and *Gerines*. These were so denominated from the chief cities of each district; besides which cities and several others of less note, there were no fewer than eight hundred villages. This island, even under the tyrannical yoke of the *Turks*, is so considerable as to be governed by a *beglerbeg*, who has seven *sangi*-acks under him.

Extent,
climate,
&c.

Cyprus extends from east to west along the coast of *Cilicia*

^m STRAB. l. xiv. p. 451.

ⁿ VIRGIL. *Æneid*. i. v. 680.

^o Idem *Æneid*. io. v. 51.

^p PAUSAN. *Lacon*. c. 23.

^q HE-

SIOD. ad *Theogon*. v. 192.

about an hundred and eighty miles, being but forty-five broad. It lies between the 34th and 35th degrees of north latitude, and was antiently deemed one of the most fruitful islands of the *Mediterranean*; but is at present in great part uncultivated, and the air in most places very unwholesome by reason of the fens and marshes. The honey of *Cyprus* is much commended by the antients, and likewise the wine, oil, wool, &c. but above all the copper, of which we have spoke already. Among the rarities of *Cyprus* we may reckon a certain kind of insects, which, as *Aristotle*¹ informs us, were produced and lived in the fire, but died when taken out of the flames. This, in our opinion, is no less improbable than what *Pliny* tells us of the earth of *Cyprus*, which never failed, if that author may be credited, to throw up in the night the dead bodies that were committed to it in the day-time².

THIS island was first discovered by the *Phœnicians*, as *Eratoſthenes* informs us³, about two or three generations, according to Sir *Isaac Newton*'s computation⁴, before the days of *Asterius* and *Minos* kings of *Crete*, that is, about one thousand and six years before the christian æra. It was, says *Eratoſthenes*, when first discovered, so overgrown with wood, that it could not be tilled, and the *Phœnicians* first cut down the wood for the melting of copper; and afterwards when they began to sail without fear on the *Mediterranean*, (that is presently after the *Trojan* war) they made use of that wood to build ships and even great navies. But not being able thus to destroy the wood, they gave every man leave to cut down what trees he pleased, and to possess all the ground he could clear. Thus far *Eratoſthenes*. *Herodotus* likewise supposes the *Phœnicians* to have been the first who peopled the island. But *Josephus* tells us, that the descendants of *Cittim*, the son of *Javan* and grandson of *Japhet*, were the original inhabitants of *Cyprus*. According to his account *Cittim*, seeing his brother *Tarſiſh* settled in *Cilicia*, where he built the city of *Tarsus*, settled with his followers in this opposite island, and either he or his descendants laid the foundations of the city of *Citium*, which, according to *Ptolemy*, was the most antient in the island. As *Cyprus* was too narrow to contain the great numbers of those who attended him and their descendants, he left here so many as might serve in time to plant the country, and with the rest passed over into *Macedon*, as we shall relate in the history of that antient kingdom. In process of time other nations, invited by the fertility of the soil, came

¹ ARISTOT. *Histor. Animal.* ² PLIN. l. iv. c. 7. ³ Apud Strabonem, l. xiv. p. 684. ⁴ SIR ISAAC NEWTON. *Chron.* p. 183. and

and settled here, namely *Phœnicians*, *Athenians*, *Salaminians*, *Arcadians*, and *Æthiopians*; for *Herodotus* ^a says, that *Cyprus* was inhabited by colonies from these different countries.

Govern-
ment and
Kings.

THE government of *Cyprus* was without all doubt monarchical; for we find kings reigning here in the earliest ages. The first king we read of in history is *Cinyras*, the grandson of *Pygmalion* and father of *Adonis*. He was the son of *Paphus*, who is supposed to have been the first that introduced into the island the worship of *Venus*, and is said to have built the city which bears his name ^w. He had *Adonis* by his own daughter *Myrrha*. His father *Paphus* is feigned by the poets to have been the son of *Pygmalion*, by a woman who had been before an ivory statue. *Pygmalion*, say they, coming into the island of *Cyprus*, and seeing all the women living there very licentiously, resolved never to marry. Afterwards, as he was a famous statuary, he made an ivory statue of such perfection, that falling in love with it, he prayed the goddess *Venus* to procure him a wife as beautiful as the statue he had made. The goddess heard his prayer, and changed the statue into a fair damsel, by whom he had *Paphus*, the father of *Cinyras* and first king of *Cyprus* ^x. *Cinyras* is said to have possessed immense riches, insomuch, that *the wealth of Cinyras* became a proverb ^y, to express an overgrown estate. As the worship of *Venus* was first established in *Cyprus* by *Paphus*, the father of *Cinyras*, both he and his descendants were buried in the temple of *Venus*, at *Paphus*; an honour which was granted to no other family. The priesthood of *Venus* was likewise entailed, we may say, on their race, a dignity which they maintained for many ages after the throne was seized by others; nay, we read of one of this family, by name *Sofratus*, enjoying the priesthood of *Venus* in the reign of *Vespasian*, and greatly favoured by that prince and his son *Titus*, who often consulted him about future events ^z. *Belus* one of the successors of *Cinyras*, is said to have reigned in *Cyprus* at the arrival of *Teucer* the son of *Telamon*, and to have assisted him in laying the foundations of *Salamis*, which in process of time became the metropolis of the whole island. *Cinyras* and his successors, whose names have not reached us, were not kings of the whole country, but only of *Paphos* and the adjoining province. Besides the kingdom of *Paphos* we find eight other kingdoms mentioned by the antients. Of the kings of *Salamis* we shall have occasion to speak at length hereafter. The

^a HERODOT. l. iv.

^w ARNOB. l. iv. & seq. TACITUS, l. xviii.

^x Ovid. Metamorph. l. io. ARNOB. l. vi.

^y ERAASM. Chiliad.

^z TACITUS. Annal. l. ii.

names of the others that have been transmitted to us are ; *Philecyprus* king of *Solr*, contemporary with *Solon*, as *Plutarch* informs us ^a ; *Aristocyprus* son of the former, mentioned by *Herodotus* ^b ; *Pascerates* or *Pasicyprus*, said by *Athenæus* to have succeeded *Aristocyprus* ^c. *Timonax*, *Pygmalion*, *Praxippus*, *Stasioecus*, *Idomeneus*, *Moschion*, *Dipbilus*, *Solon*, and *Themison* are spoke of by the antients as reigning in *Cyprus*, but what kingdoms they held is what we find no where recorded. The kingdom of *Salamis* was by far the most powerful in *Cyprus*, the *Salaminian* princes having in process of time subdued the whole island, as we shall see in the sequel of this history.

THE island of *Cyprus* was parcelled out, as we have observ- History of
ed already, among several petty kings, each of them reign- Cyprus.
ing with an uncontrolled authority till the time of *Cyrus the Great*, who subdued them by his lieutenants, but left them at the same time in possession of their respective kingdoms, obliging them only to pay an annual tribute to him and his successors, and to send supplies of men, money, and ships, when required. The *Cyprian* princes lived thus subject to the *Persians* till the reign of *Darius* the son of *Hystaspes*, when they attempted to shake off the yoke, being encouraged thereunto by *Onesilus* king of *Salamis*. But as from this period the history of *Cyprus*, as transmitted to us, is no other than that of the kingdom of *Salamis* ; before we relate the event of this war we shall give an account of that kingdom and of the princes, who reigned there before the accession of *Onesilus* to the throne.

THE first king of *Salamis* and founder of that kingdom Kings of
was *Teucer* the son of *Telamon*, who signalized himself at the *Salamis*
siege of *Troy*, if we may believe the poets. Upon his return and history
being banished his country he retired to *Cyprus*, where he of that
built the city of *Salamis* and founded a new kingdom, about kingdom.
895 years before the christian æra. *Justin* tells us, that be- Teucer.
fore he settled in *Cyprus* he went into *Spain* and left some of his retinue in that country, where in after-ages *New-Carthage* was built ; and *Philostratus* speaks of *Teucer's* belt, which was to be seen many ages after in the temple of *Hercules* at *Gades* now *Cadix*. *Virgil* ^d makes *Teucer* contemporary with *Belus*, the father of *Dido*, which is a great mistake in point of chronology ; since *Carthage* was built by *Dido*, only sixty years before *Romulus* laid the foundations of *Rome* ^e. *Lactan-*

^a PLUT. in Solone. ^b HERODOT. l. iv. ^c ATHENÆUS
l. iv. c. 20. ^d VIRGIL. Æneid. l. i. v. 625. ^e VELLEI.
PATERCUL. l. i.

Nicocre-
on.
Year of
the Flood,
2474.
Year be-
fore
Christ,
525.

Euelthon.

thus^f tells us, that *Teucer* introduced into the island of *Cyprus* the barbarous custom of offering human sacrifices to *Jupiter*, which continued till the reign of the emperor *Adrian*. *Ajax*, the son of *Teucer*, is said to have built a stately temple at *Olbus* in *Cilicia*, and to have transmitted the priesthood to his posterity, a dignity greatly valued in antient times, the chief priest of *Olbus* being lord of that part of *Cilicia*, which was known to the *Greeks* by the name of *Tracbeotis*. After the descendants of *Ajax* were deprived both of the priesthood and the sovereignty annexed to it, the name of *Ajax* was still retained, and given to all those who enjoyed that dignity though no-ways related to the *Teucrian* family. As to the immediate successors of *Teucer* in the kingdom of *Salamis* we are quite in the dark. Many years after him reigned *Nicocreon*; but did nothing which authors have thought worth transmitting to posterity. His daughter *Arfinoe* is mentioned by *Ovid*^g. The next king we find reigning in *Salamis* is *Euelthon*, who as we read in *Herodotus*^h, first submitted to the *Egyptians*, and afterwards to the *Persians*, assisting *Cambyses* in his expeditions with men, money, and ships. In his reign *Pheretima*, queen of the *Cyrenæans*, being driven out of her kingdom with her son *Arcefilaus*, fled to *Salamis*, and being there kindly entertained, solicited *Euelthon* to assist her with an army, in order to re-establish her family in *Cyrene*. But the king, not caring to engage in a war, made her rich presents, hoping to content her by that means and redeem himself from her importunities. The queen accepted the presents, and seemed to be highly pleased with them, but always added, that though they were very valuable, yet an army would be far more acceptable to her. At length *Euelthon* presented her with a reel and distaff of gold, and finding she repeated her acknowledgment in the same terms, told her plainly, that these were more proper presents for women than armiesⁱ. He sent a censer of great value and most curious workmanship to the temple of *Delphos*, which was to be seen in *Herodotus*'s time in the treasury of the *Corinthians*^k.

Siromus.
Cherfis.
Gorgus.

Siromus and *Cherfis* are mentioned by *Herodotus* as reigning at *Salamis*^l; but performed nothing which that writer has thought worth relating. The latter left three sons, *Gorgus*, *Onesilus*, and *Philaon*. *Gorgus* succeeded his father, but was soon driven out by his brother *Onesilus* in the following manner. *Onesilus*, having often solicited the king to shake off

^f LACTAN. l. i. c. 21.

^g OVID. Metamorph. l. xiv.

^h HE-

RODOT. l. iii.

ⁱ HERODOT. ibid.

^k Idem. ibid.

^l Idem

l. v.

the *Persian* yoke, and finding that he could not prevail upon him to revolt, resolved to possess himself of the crown, not doubting, but, as he was a declared enemy to the *Persians*, all the *Cyprians* would join him; the island being then grievously oppressed by the *Persian* governors. He had scarce taken this resolution when news was brought him of the *Ionian* revolt. Whereupon he renewed his instances with greater earnestness than ever, and did all that lay in his power to persuade his brother to join the rebels; but finding him inviolably attached to the *Persian* interest, he gained a considerable party among the *Salaminians*, and with their assistance, while *Gorgus* was one day out of the city, he seized on the gates and caused himself to be proclaimed king. *Gorgus*, being thus excluded, fled to the *Persians*, and *Onesilus*, sending ambassadors to all the cities and princes of the island, prevailed upon them to take up arms and drive out the *Persian* garisons. The city of *Amathus* alone refused to come into his measures; whereupon he closely besieged it; but the inhabitants making a vigorous defence, before he could reduce the place, the *Persians*, having drawn together all the forces they had in *Cilicia* and the neighbouring provinces, passed over into *Cyprus*, and having landed their men marched strait to *Salamis*. *Onesilus*, not finding himself in a condition to make head against so numerous an army, sent messengers to the *Ionians* soliciting their assistance, and inviting them to join against the common enemy. The *Ionians* with all possible expedition equipped a fleet and set sail for *Cyprus*. Upon their arrival the *Cyprian* kings, having summoned a council of war, invited to it all the commanders of the *Ionian* fleet, and spoke to them thus: "Men of *Ionis*, we give you the choice either to engage the *Persians* by land, or the *Phœnicians*, who are cruizing with their fleet off the island, by sea. If you chuse to fight the *Persians*, bring your men ashore, that we may go on board your ships and fight the *Phœnicians*. But if you had rather try your strength against the *Phœnicians*, do as you think best, for we are ready either to engage the *Persians* by land, or the *Phœnicians* by sea, being determined at all events to preserve the liberties of *Cyprus* and *Ionis*." The *Ionians* answered, "that they were sent by the general council of *Ionis* to defend the island by sea, and not to deliver their ships to the *Cyprians* in order to fight the *Persians* by land; and that they would endeavour to do their duty according to the instructions they had received." The council was scarce

Onesilus
usurps the
throne and
revolts
from the
Persians.
Year of
the Flood
2499.
Before
Christ
500.



dismissed, when the *Persian* army appeared in the plains of *Salamis* ; upon which the confederate kings of *Cyprus*, drawing up their forces in order of battle, placed the flower of their army, consisting of *Salaminians* and *Solians*, against the front of the *Persians*, and the rest of the *Cyprians* against the enemy's auxiliaries. *Onesilus* took upon him to engage *Artybius* commander in chief of the *Persian* forces, who was mounted on a horse, as our historian tells us, that had been taught to stand upright and tread under his feet the person he was pushed against. *Onesilus* therefore charged one of his officers, a man of great boldness and well experienced in military affairs, to mind nothing but the general's horse, and to prevent him from doing any mischief in the time of the engagement. As the armies drew near, the king of *Salamis* advanced against *Artybius*, whose horse beginning to rear, the officer struck him with a scythe and cut off both his feet at one blow ; *Onesilus* having at the same time wounded *Artybius*, both the horse and the rider fell to the ground. But the *Persians*, not at all disheartened at the death of their leader, charged the *Cyprians* with incredible vigour ; and the *Cyprians* on the other hand exerting themselves in imitation of their general, the victory was long doubtful, many falling on both sides. But at length, *Stesenor* king of *Curium* revolting to the enemy with all the forces under his command, and the *Salaminians*, who fought in chariots, soon after following his example, the *Cyprians* were put to flight with great slaughter. Among others *Onesilus*, who had been the occasion of this war, was killed in the flight, and with him *Aristocyprus* king of *Soli*, and son of that *Philocyprus*, whom *Solon* commended above all other kings in the verses he made during his stay in *Cyprus*. The *Amathusians*, to be revenged on *Onesilus* for having besieged their city, cut off his head and placed it over one of the gates of *Amathus*, where a swarm of bees having filled the scull with honey, the *Amathusians*, consulting on that occasion the oracle, were told, that if they interred the head and sacrificed yearly to *Onesilus*, as a hero, their affairs should prosper. The *Amathusians* obeyed the oracle, and continued to offer sacrifices to *Onesilus* to the time of our historian. The *Persians*, having thus gained a complete victory over the *Cyprians*, soon reduced all the cities that had revolted, except *Soli*, which held out for six months against the whole power of *Persia*, but at last, the walls being undermined by the enemy, was obliged to surrender. The *Salaminians* no sooner heard of the death of *Onesilus*, but they recalled *Gorgus* and placed him again on the throne.

†

Thus

Thus the *Cyprians*, having enjoyed their liberty during the space of one year, were reduced to their former state of slavery ^m.

Gorgus was succeeded in the kingdom of *Salamis* by his eldest son *Nicocrates*, and he by his brother *Timarchus*. But all we know of them is, that the former made a curious collection of books, which he purchased at a great rate, as *Athenæus* informs us ⁿ; and that the latter had, as we read in *Pliny* ^o, a double row of teeth. This writer seems to insinuate, that *Timarchus* was not only king of *Salamis*, but also of *Paphos*. In the reign of one of these princes, of which precisely we cannot tell, the *Greeks*, having settled their affairs at home, resolved to drive the *Persians* out of all the *Greek* cities of *Asia* and the neighbouring islands. With this view they equipped a powerful fleet, which sailing to *Cyprus* under the command of *Pausanias* admiral of the *Lacedæmonians* and *Aristides* the *Athenian*, drove from many cities in that island the *Persian* garisons, and restored the inhabitants to their former liberty ^p.

Timarchus was succeeded by *Evagoras* I. the son of *Nicocrates*, in whose reign the *Athenians* having equipped a fleet of two hundred sail, gave the command of it to *Cimon*, enjoining him to drive the *Persians* from the island of *Cyprus*. *Cimon* pursuant to his orders landed his men in *Cyprus*, took *Malum* and several other cities of that island, and from thence, to make a diversion, sent sixty sail to the assistance of the *Egyptians*, who had revolted from the *Persians*. As *Artabazus*, commander in chief of the *Persian* forces in those parts, lay off of *Cyprus* with a fleet of three hundred ships, *Cimon*, as soon as his squadron returned from *Egypt*, fell upon him, took a hundred of his ships, destroyed many others, and pursued the rest to the coasts of *Phœnicia*. Being flushed with this success, on his return he landed his men in *Cilicia*, where he found *Megabyzus* with an army of three hundred thousand men, marched against him, and having cut in pieces a numberless multitude of his men, returned to *Cyprus* with a double triumph, and laid siege to *Citium*, the strongest city in the whole island.

Evagoras, notwithstanding the great advantages gained by *Cimon*, still adhered to the *Persians*, and, having raised a considerable army and prevailed upon several other petty princes of *Cyprus* to join him, marched to the relief of *Citium*, but was worsted by the *Athenians*, and obliged to retire

^m HERODOT. l. v. c. 108—116. ⁿ ATHENÆUS, l. i.

^o PLIN. l. xi. c. 37. ^p DIONOR. SECL. l. xi.

Protago-
ras.

Nico-
creon,
Year of
the Flood,
2612.
Before
Christ,
387.
Nicocles.

to *Salamis*. Hereupon *Artaxerxes*, tired with a war in which he had sustained so great losses, resolved to put an end to so many calamities by coming to an accommodation with the enemy. Accordingly he sent orders to his generals, who were charged with the management of the *Cyprian* war, to conclude a peace with the *Athenians* on the best terms they could. Hereupon *Megabyzus* and *Artabazus* sent ambassadors to *Athens* to propose an accommodation, which was agreed upon by the deputies of both sides on the following conditions: 1. That all the *Greek* cities of *Asia* should be made free, and allowed to live according to their own laws; 2. That no *Persian* ships of war should enter those seas that lie between the *Cyanean* and *Chelidonian* islands, that is from the *Euxine* sea to the coasts of *Pamphylia*; 3. That no *Persian* general should come by land within three days march of those seas; 4. That the *Athenians* should not commit any hostilities in the territories of the king of *Persia*. Pursuant to these articles, the *Persians* withdrew all their garisons from *Cyprus*, leaving the several kings, among whom the island was parcelled out, to govern their respective kingdoms without any dependence on the kings of *Persia*¹. Not long after the conclusion of this peace *Evagoras* died, if we believe *Diodorus Siculus*, in banishment, having been driven out of his kingdom by his nephew *Protagoras*², who held it for some years, but performed nothing worth relating. The island of *Cyprus* continued free from any foreign yoke from the conclusion of the peace we have spoke of till the 18th year of the reign of *Artaxerxes Mnemon* king of *Persia*, when by the famous treaty concluded by *Antalcidas* the *Lacedemonian*, with *Tiribazus* general of the *Persian* forces in *Asia Minor*, that island was again subjected to the *Persians* with all the *Greek* cities in *Asia*. At this time reigned at *Salamis* *Niccreon* son of the usurper *Protagoras*, famous for his cruelty, of which the following instance is related by *Laertius*, *Philo*, *Valerius Maximus*, and *Pliny*. Taking offence at a satirical saying of the philosopher *Anaxarchus*, he caused him to be put into a great mortar made for that purpose, and to be pounded to death with iron pestles³. Upon the death of *Nicocreon*, *Nicocles* the son of *Timarchus* was raised to the throne. During his reign a stranger from *Phœnicia*, called by some authors *Abdymon*, coming to *Sa-*

¹ PLUT. in Cim. THUCYD. l. i DIODOR. SICUL. l. xi. p. 73. ² DIODOR. SICUL. l. xii ³ LAERT. in vit. Philosoph. PLIN. l. 7. c. 23. NONUS in orat. 47, &c.

lamis, and being kindly entertained by *Nicoles*, requited the favours he received at the king's hands by driving him, with the assistance of the *Persians*, from the throne. Under this tyrant *Evagoras* II. was born, a prince of great merit and extraordinary virtue. He was the son of *Nicoles*, and, being brought up by his parents with great care, gave early proofs of those virtues, which, if *Isocrates* may be credited, made him the perfect model of a good king¹. He was distinguished, as the same author tells us, among the youth by the beauty of his aspect, the vigour of his body, and most of all by the modesty and innocence of his behaviour, which are the greatest ornaments of that age. He came into the world with the most happy dispositions; a great fund of genius, an easy conception, a most lively penetration, which nothing escaped, &c. qualities, which might have exempted him from all study and application; and nevertheless he spent great part of his time in improving his mind by reading, as if he had been quite destitute of talents, and obliged to supply by study what nature had denied him. As he advanced in years his virtues became so conspicuous as to give no small jealousy to the tyrant then on the throne, who was well apprized that so shining a merit could not continue in the obscurity of a private life. And indeed *Evagoras*, after the death of his father, waited only for an opportunity of recovering the crown which was due to him by his birth. But in the mean time, one of the principal citizens, having murdered the tyrant, seized on it for himself, and being supported by the *Persians* put all to the sword who attempted to oppose him. On this occasion *Evagoras* was obliged to save himself by abandoning the island and retiring to the continent. Having spent some time at *Soli* in *Cilicia*, and hearing there that his countrymen were grievously oppressed by the new usurper, he resolved at all events to rescue them from the calamities they groaned under; and accordingly, being attended only by fifty followers, he passed over into *Cyprus*, and expelled the usurper, the *Persians* not being able to make head against the *Cyprians*, who joined him all to a man. Being thus, by his own valour and the affection of his subjects, restored to the throne of his ancestors, he soon rendered his small kingdom the most flourishing of the whole island. *Artaxerxes*, king of *Persia*, attempted to drive him out, and place anew on the throne the usurper, who was greatly attached to the *Persians*; but

Evagoras
II.

¹ ISOCRAT. in *Evag.*

that prince being diverted by the *Greek* war, and finding *Evagoras* determined to hold out to the last, put off the enterprize to a more proper season. In the mean time, *Conon* by means of *Ctesias* the *Cnidian*, who was chief physician to *Artaxerxes*, made up all differences between *Evagoras* and that prince, the latter promising not to molest him in the possession of his small kingdom. *Conon* after his defeat at *Ægospotamos* had taken refuge with *Evagoras*, and being kindly entertained by him had ever after sought for all opportunities of requiting the favours, which he and his countrymen the *Athenians* had received at the king's hands in their distress. But *Evagoras*, who was every way qualified for great undertakings, could not content himself with the kingdom of *Salamis* alone. He extended his dominions, and by degrees made himself master almost of the whole island. The *Amathusians*, the *Solians*, and the *Citians*, alone of all those islanders, held out against him. These had recourse to the king of *Persia*, who, being alarmed at the rapid progress of *Evagoras*, promised them an immediate and powerful support, which, however, he could not afford them so soon as he expected, being employed elsewhere in more important affairs. But having at last concluded a peace with the *Greeks*, he bent all his force against *Evagoras*, being determined to drive him quite out of the island. The *Athenians* notwithstanding their alliance with the *Persians*, and the many favours they had lately received from the king of *Persia*, could not deny their assistance to *Evagoras*, who had befriended them on all occasions, especially after their overthrow at *Ægospotamos*. Having therefore with the utmost expedition equipped ten ships of war, they sent them under the command of *Philocrates* to his assistance. But a fleet which the *Lacedæmonians* had at sea, commanded by *Teleutias* the brother of *Agésilas*, falling in with them near the island of *Rhodes*, surrounded them so that not one ship could escape *. The *Athenians*, determined to assist their old ally at all adventures, sent *Chabrias* with another fleet and a considerable number of land-forces on board to join him. This new supply arrived safe, and in a short time the whole island was obliged to submit to *Evagoras*, which greatly redounded to the honour of *Chabrias* and the *Athenian* arms. But the *Athenians* being forced by a new treaty of peace, concluded between *Artaxerxes* and the states of *Greece*, to recal *Chabrias*, the *Persians* attacked with all their forces the island of *Cyprus*, not doubt-

* XENOPH. Hellen. l. iv. DIODOR. SICUL. l. xv. p. 459.

ing but they should soon reduce it, since no new supplies could be sent thither from Greece. The Persian army consisted of three hundred thousand men, and the fleet of three hundred ships of war, besides a great number of transports. The land-forces were commanded by *Orontes* son-in-law to *Artaxerxes*, and the fleet by *Gaus* the son of *Tamus*. *Tiribazus* was commander in chief both of the sea and land-forces. *Evagoras*, seeing himself threatened with so dreadful a war, had recourse to all those princes, who were at enmity with the Persians, receiving supplies of men and money from the Egyptians, Libyans, Arabians, Tyrians, and other nations. Besides, as he was a wealthy prince, he hired a great many mercenaries of various nations, equipped a fleet of fourscore and ten galleys, and armed a great number of small vessels, which by intercepting the enemy's convoys reduced them, after they had landed in the island, to such straits, that they began to mutiny and killed several of their officers. But the whole Persian fleet putting to sea, the army was again plentifully supplied with provisions from the continent. At the same time *Evagoras* likewise received a great supply of corn and fifty ships from Egypt. Upon the arrival of the Egyptian squadron he resolved to attack the Persians at the same time by sea and land. His land-forces falling upon a great detachment of the Persian army put them to flight with great slaughter. But the sea-fight was not attended with the like success. At first he had the advantage, and took or sunk a great many of the enemy's ships. But the Persians, being animated by the example and warm remonstrances of *Gaus* their admiral, resumed courage, and returned to the charge with such vigour, that *Evagoras*, after a most obstinate resistance, was obliged to retire into the harbour of *Salamis*, where he was closely besieged both by sea and land. After this victory *Tiribazus* went in person to acquaint the king with the success that attended his arms in Cyprus, and having obtained two thousand talents for the use of the army, he returned with that new supply to carry on the war more vigorously than ever. During his absence, *Evagoras*, leaving the defence of the city to his son *Pythagoras*, got through the enemy's fleet, in the dead of the night with ten ships, and sailed for Egypt, in hopes of engaging *Achoris* king of that country to join him with all his forces. But not obtaining from him the aid he expected, and finding on his return the city reduced to the utmost extremity, he was obliged to capitulate. The terms offered him were, that he should abandon all the cities of Cyprus, except *Salamis*, and that he should hold this city of
the

the king of *Persia*, as a servant of his lord, and pay an annual tribute. The extremity to which he was reduced, obliged him to comply with the first article, hard as it was; but he could not by any means be brought to consent to the second, declaring, that he would hold his kingdom no otherwise than as a king under a king. *Tiribazus*, who commanded in chief, would not make the least alteration, nor abate any thing of his pretensions; whereupon *Evagoras*, being determined to die sword in hand rather than to yield to such terms, broke off the conference, and applied himself entirely to the defence of the city ^w.

IN the mean time *Orontes*, who commanded the land-forces, not being able to brook the superiority which *Tiribazus* had over him, as being intrusted with the whole management of the war, and jealous of the success that attended him, wrote secretly to court, accusing him of holding a private correspondence with the *Lacedæmonians*, and spinning out the siege of *Salamis*, in order to bring about some change in the government with the assistance of *Evagoras*, a sworn enemy to the *Persians*. Upon the receipt of this letter, *Artaxerxes* immediately dispatched letters to *Orontes*, enjoining him to seize *Tiribazus*, and send him prisoner to court. *Orontes*, without delay, put the king's orders in execution, and was rewarded for his supposed zeal with the chief command of all the *Persian* forces in *Cyprus*; but the army being greatly dissatisfied with the change, some left the service, and others refused to obey their new commander. This obliged *Orontes* to resume the negotiations of peace with *Evagoras*, and to conclude them upon the very terms which *Tiribazus* had rejected; for he consented that *Evagoras* should hold *Salamis* as king of that city, paying only a small tribute to the king of *Persia*. Thus the siege was raised, and an end put to the war, after it had cost the *Persians* 50,000 talents, that is, near ten millions of our money ^x.

Niccles II. NOT long after the conclusion of this peace, *Evagoras* was murdered by one of his eunuchs, named *Thrasidæus*, and succeeded in the kingdom of *Salamis* by his son *Niccles*. *Diodorus*, confounding the name of his son who succeeded him with that of the eunuch by whom he was murdered, tells us, that he was treacherously put to death by the eunuch *Niccles*, and that, upon his death, the eunuch seized on the kingdom ^y. That he was murdered by an eunuch, we are

^w DIODOR. *ibid.* ^x ISOCRAT. in *Evag.* DIODOR. l. xv. p. 462. ^y DIODOR. SICUL. l. xv.

told also by *Aristotle*^a; but the eunuch's name was *Thrasidæus*, as we read in *Theopompus*, who adds, that *Nicocles* the son of *Evagoras*, upon the death of his father, took quiet possession of the kingdom of *Salamis*^a. *Nicocles* celebrated the funeral of his father with the utmost pomp and magnificence. The discourse, intitled *Evagoras*, served for his funeral oration. It was composed by *Isocrates*, to inspire the young king with a desire of treading in the steps of his father. The same philosopher wrote two other orations addressed to *Nicocles*, whose name they still bear. In the first of these *Isocrates* shews the duty of a king to his subjects; and, in the second, the duty of subjects to their king. *Nicocles* rewarded the author with twenty talents, as *Plutarch* informs us in the life of that philosopher^b. *Nicocles* seems to have reigned but a few years; for we find his son *Evagoras* in possession of the throne before the revolt of *Cyprus*, which happened in the very beginning of the reign of *Ochus*, who succeeded *Artaxerxes Mnemon*. It is surprizing that most authors should confound this *Nicocles* with another of the same name who reigned at *Salamis* in the time of *Ptolemy* the son of *Lagus*, and revolted from him to *Antigonus*. *Nicocles*, the son of that *Evagoras*, of whom we have spoke above, was succeeded by his son named also *Evagoras*, which has occasioned great confusion among those who have wrote of the affairs of *Cyprus*. *Evagoras* II. was, according to *Evagoras* the learned bishop *Usher*^c, succeeded by his son *Nicocles*, and ras II. *Nicocles* again by his son *Evagoras*, who was driven out by his *Evagoras* uncle *Protagoras*. While the latter was in possession of the ras III. throne, the *Cyprians*, being ill used by their *Persian* gover- Cyprians nors, attempted to shake off the yoke, by joining the *Egyptians* and *Phœnicians*, who had already revolted. Hereupon *from the* *Ochus* dispatched his orders to *Idrieus* king of *Caria*, enjoining *Persians*. him to invade the island of *Cyprus*, and make war upon the Year of the Flood inhabitants. *Idrieus*, in compliance with his command, hav- 2648. ingequipped a fleet, sent it with eight thousand *Greek* mer- Year Be- cenaries, under the conduct of *Phocion* the *Athenian*, and *E- fore* *vagoras*, to make a descent in the island. This *Evagoras* was *Christ*, the son of *Nicocles*, as we have hinted above, and having 351. been driven out by his uncle *Protagoras*, he gladly joined the *Persians*, in hopes of recovering his crown. His knowledge of the country, and the party he might still have in the island, made him a very proper person to command in this expediti-

^a ARISTOT. l. v. POLYB. i. 10.
num. 176. ^b PLUT. in Isocrat.
3630.

^a Apud PHOT. in Biblioth.
^c USHER. ad annum mundi

on. *Cyprus* had still nine kings, but subject and tributary to the king of *Persia*. They all joined in this confederacy, with a design to shake off the *Persian* yoke, and make themselves each independent in his own city. The troops under the command of *Phocion* and *Evagoras* landed in *Cyprus* without any opposition, and being reinforced with numerous bodies of volunteers from *Syria* and *Cilicia*, enticed hither with the hopes of enriching themselves with the spoils of so wealthy an island, they began with the siege of *Salamis*, which they invested by sea and land. But *Protagoras* making a vigorous defence, *Ochus*, who was entirely bent on the reduction of *Egypt*, compounded with him and the other *Cyprian* princes, redressing all their grievances, and confirming them in the government of their respective territories^d. The greatest difficulty which *Ochus* met with in bringing about this accommodation, was the contenting of *Evagoras*, who laid claim to the kingdom of *Salamis*; but he being convicted before *Ochus* of having committed the most flagrant oppressions during his reign, *Protagoras* was confirmed in the kingdom of *Salamis*, and amends was made *Evagoras*, by conferring on him the government of another place; but he, being guilty there of the same misdemeanours, was obliged to save himself by flight into the island of *Cyprus*, where he was seized, and put to death by *Protagoras*.

Cyprus
falls to
Antigonus, but
taken from
him by
Ptolemy.

FROM this time, to the reign of *Ptolemy*, the first of that name who reigned in *Egypt*, we find no mention made of the *Cyprian* kings. They submitted, without all doubt, to *Alexander*, upon the same terms which had been granted them by the *Persian* monarchs, as *Arrian* seems to insinuate^e. Upon the death of that conqueror, his generals divided the conquests he had made among them, in which division *Cyprus* fell to *Antigonus*. But while that prince was engaged in *Asia Minor* with *Cassander*, *Ptolemy* the son of *Lagus*, having invaded *Cyprus* with a powerful fleet, reduced most part of the island, and obliged the kings who reigned there to do him homage. Among these *Nicocles*, king of *Paphos*, being accused of holding underhand a correspondence with *Antigonus*, *Ptolemy* sent two of his intimate friends, *Argaus* and *Pallistrates*, into *Cyprus*, with instructions to dispatch *Nicocles*, lest, by his insinuations, the other princes should revolt and join *Antigonus*. These arriving in *Cyprus*, unexpectedly surrounded the house of *Nicocles* with a body of men sent them for that purpose by *Menelaus*, who commanded in *Cyprus* for

^d DIODOR. SICUL. l. xvi. p. 504.
Alexand. p. 34.

^e ARRIAN. de expedit.

Ptolemy. *Nicocles* finding no means to escape, attempted first to clear himself of what was laid to his charge; but seeing no one hearkened to what he said, he drew his sword, and slew himself on the spot. *Axiothea*, his wife, hearing of her husband's death, first killed all her daughters, lest they should fall into the enemy's hands, and then laid violent hands on herself. The news of such a dreadful massacre so affected the brothers of *Nicocles*, that, retiring each of them to their own habitations, they set fire to their houses, and perished with their whole families in the flames^f. This *Nicocles* is supposed to have been the last of the *Teucrian* family, and to have possessed not only the kingdom of *Paphos*, but that also of *Salamis*. Be that as it will, the kings of *Cyprus* from this time deserve rather the title of governors than kings, being subjects and mere vassals to the kings of *Egypt*.

Ptolemy had not been long in possession of *Cyprus*, when *Demetrius Antigonus*, bent upon the recovery of that rich and fruitful island, ordered his son *Demetrius* to transport thither what forces he could, in order to drive out *Ptolemy's* generals. *Demetrius*, in compliance with his father's commands, left *Greece*, where he then was, and sailed over into *Caria*, whence he sent ambassadors to *Rhodes*, inviting the *Rhodians* to join him against *Ptolemy*. But the *Rhodians*, refusing to comply with his request, and protesting that they would maintain a strict neutrality, he passed into *Cilicia*, highly dissatisfied with their conduct, and determined to make them feel in due time the effects of his resentment. In *Cilicia* he raised an army of fifteen thousand foot and four hundred horse, which he embarked on a great number of transports, and conveyed over into *Cyprus*, under the convoy of one hundred and sixty three ships of war. Being landed without the least opposition, he encamped near the shore, in the neighbourhood of *Carpasia*, where he drew his ships to land, and surrounded them with a deep ditch and a double rampart. Having thus secured his navy, he advanced first to the cities of *Urania* and *Carpasia*, which he took by storm, and then, leaving a sufficient guard to defend his trenches, he marched to *Salamis*, with a design to lay siege to that important place^g. *Menelaus*, *Ptolemy's* brother, who was then in *Salamis*, upon intelligence of the enemy's approach, drew out of the neighbouring garisons a body of twelve thousand foot and eight hundred horse, with a design to divert him from

^f DIODOR. I. XX. POLYÆNUS Stratag. I. viii.
Demetrio. DIODOR. SICUL. I. XX. JUSTIN. I. XV.

^g P. T. in

besieging the city; but *Demetrius* falling upon him, put his army to flight, and, pursuing him to the very gates of the city, took three thousand of his men prisoners, and killed about a thousand in the flight and the pursuit. The prisoners he treated with great humanity, and incorporated them among his own troops; but finding they were ready on all occasions to abandon him, and fly over to *Menelaus*, he put them on board his transports, and sent them all to his father *Antigonus*^h.

Menelaus being fully persuaded that *Demetrius*, elated with his success, would lay siege to *Salamis*, made the due preparations on his side for a vigorous defence, and at the same time dispatched three messengers to *Ptolemy*, acquainting him with the state of affairs in *Cyprus*, and soliciting him to send what succours he could with all possible expedition. In the mean time *Demetrius*, having viewed the situation and fortifications of the place, began to prepare the necessary engines for the reduction of it, which, he foresaw, would cost him dear, the garison being very numerous, and *Menelaus* resolved to hold out to the last extremity. Having sent for workmen out of *Asia*, and brought from thence a great quantity of iron, timber, and other materials, he made an immense number of warlike engines of an extraordinary bigness, and, amongst others, the famous *Helepolis*, of which we have spoke in the history of *Rhodes*. When the engines were ready, *Demetrius* began to batter the walls with such fury, that in a few days several breaches were opened; but when he thought himself already master of the place, *Menelaus* found means to set fire to his engines, which was so violent, that, notwithstanding the endeavours of *Demetrius's* men to extinguish the flames, they consumed in a short time all the machines, together with the *Helepolis*, and the men that were in it. This obliged *Demetrius* to suspend his attacks; and in the mean time *Ptolemy*, upon the intelligence he received of his brother's ill success in the action against *Demetrius*, set sail from *Egypt* with a fleet of an hundred and forty ships of war, and two hundred transports, carrying ten thousand men for the land-service. With this fleet he arrived at *Citium*, about two hundred furlongs from *Salamis*, and from thence dispatched messengers by land to *Menelaus*, desiring him to send the ships, which, to the number of sixty, were in the port of *Salamis*, to join the fleet. But *Demetrius*, foreseeing that *Ptolemy's* design was to venture an

^h DIODOR. SICUL. PLUT. *ibid.*

engagement by sea, had the precaution to leave ten of his ships in the mouth of the harbour, which was very narrow, to prevent *Menelaus's* Squadron from sailing out. The rest he drew up in line of battle, and having commanded the cavalry to keep near the sea-side, that they might be ready, in case of any misfortune, to assist those who should swim to land, he advanced towards the enemy with an hundred and eight sail. The two fleets engaged with the utmost fury and resolution; that of *Demetrius*, consisting mostly of *Phœnicians*, *Samians*, and *Athenians*, soon put *Ptolemy's* left wing in confusion, and drove most of the ships ashore. On the other hand, *Ptolemy*, who commanded in the right wing, gained the like advantage over the enemy's left, took several of their best gallies, and obliged the rest to save themselves by flight; but having pursued them too eagerly, he was attacked on his return, while his men were tired, by *Demetrius*, and, after an obstinate resistance, put to flight. *Demetrius* chased him with his ships in line of battle, and took seventy of his gallies, with all his transports, on board of which were all his provisions, arms, money, military engines, and eight thousand land-forces. After this overthrow *Ptolemy* returned to *Egypt*, with eight gallies only, the rest of his numerous fleet being either broken or destroyed. Upon his retreat the whole island of *Cyprus*, with all the forces, shipping, and magazines, which *Ptolemy* had there, fell into the hands of *Demetrius*. The prisoners at land amounted to about seventeen thousand men, besides the mariners taken on board the fleet. *Menelaus* the brother, and *Lentius* the son, of *Ptolemy*, were among the captives; but *Demetrius* sent them both home with their friends and dependants, without ransom, to requite the like kindness shewn him by *Ptolemy* after the battle of *Gaza*. All the rest he incorporated into his own forces, and thereby greatly reinforced both his fleet and army *.

Ptolemy
over-
thrown in
a sea fight.

Cyprus
submits to
Deme-
trius.

Demetrius, immediately after this victory, dispatched *Aristodemus* the *Milesian* with the news of it to his father *Antigonus*. When he arrived at court, and was brought in to *Antigonus*, he stood silent for some time, keeping him in suspense, and then, as in a transport of joy, he uttered aloud these words, Prosperity and happiness to king *Antigonus*; we have overthrown king *Ptolemy* at sea; *Cyprus* is ours; we have taken sixteen thousand eight hundred men prisoners. *Antigonus* answered, Prosperity and happiness to thee too; never-

* PLUT. in Demetrio. DIOGOR. SICUL. l. x. JUSTIN l. xv. cap. 2.

Cyprus
recovered
by Ptole-
my.

theless, because thou hast kept me so long in suspense, thou shalt in some degree be punished, and wait in thy turn for thy reward¹. *Antigenus* was so elated with this victory, that thenceforth he assumed the title of king, and gave it likewise to his son *Demetrius*; which the *Egyptians* hearing of, honoured *Ptolemy* with the same title, that he might, though defeated, be upon the same level with the conqueror. This example was followed by *Lyfimachus*, *Cassander*, and *Seleucus*, who, from that time, in all their letters, orders, decrees, and other writings, stiled themselves kings.² *Antigenus*, and, after his death, *Demetrius*, held the island of *Cyprus* for the space of eleven years, at the end of which *Ptolemy* recovered it, while *Demetrius* was engaged against the *Athenians* and *Lacedemonians*. He equipped a numerous fleet, and, landing in *Cyprus*, over-ran the whole island before *Demetrius* had the least notice of his design. The city of *Salamis* alone held out some time against him, but was at length obliged to surrender, and open its gates to the conqueror. In this city he found the mother, wife, and children of *Demetrius*, whom he generously set at liberty, with all their friends and domestics, loading them with rich presents, and appointing a squadron of his best ships to convey them, with whatever belonged to them, into *Greece*, where *Demetrius* then was³.

Cyprus
unjustly
seized by
the Ro-
mans.
Year of
the Flood,
2941.
Before
Christ,
58.

FROM this time *Cyprus*, according to what we read in profane writers, continued subject to the kings of *Egypt*, till they were, with the utmost injustice, deprived of it by the *Romans*; but from the book of the *Maccabees*⁴, where *Ptolemeus Macron* and *Nicanor* are mentioned as governing that island under *Antiochus Epiphanes*, it is plain, that *Cyprus* was again, at least for some time, brought under subjection to the kings of *Syria*. Be that as it will, the seizing of it by the *Romans* is reckoned the most flagrant piece of injustice their republic was ever guilty of. We shall, in a few words, give a distinct account of this memorable event, which will for ever reflect ignominy and disgrace on the *Roman* name. *Ptolemy Lathurus*, king of *Egypt*, left two sons, who divided their father's dominions between them. One known by the name of *Ptolemy Aulctes*, that is, the *Flute-player*, had for his share the kingdom of *Egypt*. The other called *Ptolemy*, without any surname, had the island of *Cyprus*. While the latter reigned in *Cyprus*, *Publius Clodius*, a young *Roman*

¹ PLUT. in Demetrio. ² PLUT. ibid. DIODOR. SICUL. JUSTIN ubi supra. MACCAB. I. i. c. 1. ver. 9. ³ PLUT. ibid. ⁴ MACCAB. I. ii. c. 10. & 12.

nobleman, of a very bold and enterprizing genius, being taken by the pyrates on the coasts of *Cilicia*, sent to *Ptolemy* king of *Cyprus*, entreating him to send him a sum of money wherewithal to pay his ransom. As *Ptolemy* was a prince of a sordid and covetous temper, he sent him only two talents, which the pyrates despising, they chose rather to release him without ransom than to accept of so small a sum. Some years after *Clodius* being adopted by a plebeian, and chosen tribune of the people, he employed all his power and authority, which were very great, against the king of *Cyprus*, representing him as a most wicked man, and one who was unworthy to wear a crown. He was indeed a vicious prince, but what right had *Rome* to reform the manners of independent kings? However, as *Ptolemy* possessed immense riches, the people were easily prevailed upon to concur with the revengeful *Clodius* to his ruin, and pass a decree, declaring, that *Ptolemy* had forfeited his throne by his ill conduct, and that his dominions were fallen to the *Roman* peopleⁿ. The senate did not oppose this unjust decree, for they had long sought for some pretence to strip that wealthy prince of his treasures, and the only shew of justice they could find for it was, that *Alexander* the late king of *Egypt*, dying at *Tyre*, had left the *Roman* people his heirs, and, that therefore the kingdom of *Egypt*, and with it *Cyprus*, which was then deemed a part of the kingdom of *Egypt*, had in virtue of that donation, passed to the *Romans*. This will had been insisted on at *Rome* soon after the death of *Alexander*, and motions had been there made for the seizing both of *Egypt* and *Cyprus*; but as they had some years before taken possession of *Bithynia*, by virtue of the will of *Nicomedes*, and of *Cyrene* and *Libya*, by the like will of *Apion*, and reduced them to *Roman* provinces, the senate thought it would bring them under the imputation of being too desirous of grasping all foreign dominions, should they, on this pretence, make themselves masters likewise of *Egypt* and *Cyprus*; wherefore, dropping at that time their claim to the deceased king's dominions, they only sent to *Tyre*, for the effects he had left there at his death^o. But now this claim as to *Cyprus* was revived, and, to gratify the revenge of *Clodius*, and the insatiable avarice of the people of *Rome*, a decree passed for the seizing of *Cyprus*, tho' the king then

ⁿ PLUT. in Cat. Uticensi. DION. CASSIUS l. xxxviii. l. FLORUS l. iii. c. 9 STRABO l. xiv, p. 684. ^o VILLETIUS PATERCUL. l. c. 45. CIC. in Orat. 1 & 2 in Rullum.

on the throne had been declared a friend and ally of *Rome*, and had never done any thing to incur the displeasure of that haughty and imperious republic ^P.

THE decree for the dispossessing of *Ptolemy* being passed, *Clodius*'s next care was to find out a proper person to put it in execution. *Cato* was then using his utmost endeavours to guard the republic against the attempts of *Clodius*; so that his presence was not at all agreeable to the factious tribune, who therefore resolved to get rid of so troublesome a censor, by sending him out of the way on this expedition. He paid him a visit, and acquainted him, that the people had honoured him with a commission, which was very reputable for him, and necessary for the good of the public. Vice reigns, said he, in *Cyprus*, and the throne is debased by it. *Rome* has therefore made choice of a man of spotless probity to establish virtue there. Go then, *Cato*, and make the purity of the *Roman* laws be revered in an island, which is infamous for its vices. *Cato*, who was well apprized of the snare, replied, That he could not leave his country, when it was threatened with far greater and nearer dangers. Well then, replied *Clodius*, I will compel you to do what you refuse to the request of your friends; and accordingly having assembled the comitia, he procured an order for *Cato* to set out without delay for *Cyprus*, and dethrone the king. Thus the virtuous *Romans*, by the most unjust, and iniquitous decree possible, ordered a friend and ally of theirs to be deprived of his dominions; and the rigid *Cato* had so little sense of justice as to obey and execute those wicked orders. The tribune, after the decree was passed, pressed *Cato* to depart immediately, but did not provide so much as a ship to carry him to *Cyprus*. He was commissioned to drive the king from his throne, but was not allowed either men or money to execute the enterprize, or even a guard to protect him against the insults of a provoked enemy. He therefore went on board the first ship he met with bound for *Cyprus*, and, being attended only with a few domestics, arrived at *Rhodes*, whence he sent one *Canidius* into *Cyprus*, charging him, to try whether he could prevail upon *Ptolemy*, by fair means, to give up his dominions to the republic. *Canidius* offered him, in *Cato*'s name, the high-priesthood of *Venus* at *Paphos*, on the revenues of which he might have lived in a state of plenty and honour. This offer *Ptolemy* rejected; but, on the other hand, not having courage enough to engage in a war with *Rome*, he resolved to put

^P PLUT. in CATONE. VE L. PATE CUL. ubi supra.

an end to his life and reign at the same time. Accordingly having put his beloved treasures, which he had been accumulating for many years, on board one of his largest ships, he sailed out of the harbour, with a design to sink the vessel, and perish together with his riches; but when he came to the execution of his design, he could not find in his heart to destroy his treasure, tho' he persisted in the resolution of destroying himself; he therefore returned ashore, and having laid up all his wealth again in the treasury, poisoned himself, not being able to survive his disgrace, tho' he could not bear that his wealth should be lost. Upon the king's death, *Cato*, without opposition, took possession of the island in the name of the republic, and seized the treasures, which had been the chief cause of that unfortunate prince's ruin. They amounted to 7000 talents, that is, 1,356,250 *l. Sterl.* and were the next year carried to *Rome* by *Cato*, and lodged there in the public treasury⁹. This wicked and unjust proceeding of the *Romans* is generally ascribed to the tribune *Clodius*; but the senate was no less to blame than the tribune, for they not only approved of the decree, depriving *Ptolemy* of his kingdom, but conferred extraordinary honours upon *Cato*, for having put it in execution. *Cato* himself, notwithstanding his boasted virtue, shewed no more integrity on this occasion, than the wicked *Clodius*; for he not only accepted of that commission, but, after his return, gave a plain instance of his approving whatever had been done. As soon as *Clodius* ended his tribuneship, *Cicero* accused him before the senate, and endeavoured to persuade the fathers to annul all the laws he had made during his authority. But on this occasion *Cato* declared in favour of his greatest enemy, against his best friend, saying, that if the acts of *Clodius* were annulled, the treasures brought from *Cyprus* ought to be restored to the inhabitants of that island; and to prevent this, the virtuous *Cato* prevailed upon the senate to confirm such acts of *Clodius*, as regarded the deposing of the king, and the seizing of his moveable riches and dominions^r.

⁹ PLUT. in *Catone*. VAL. MAX. l. ix. c. 4. DION CASSIUS. l. xxxix. p. 101. FLORUS, l. iii. c. 2. STRABO, l. xiv. p. 684. APPIAN de Bell. Civil. l. ii. AMMIAN. MARCELL. l. xiv. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 45. VELLIUS PATERCUL. ibi supra.

S E C T. VI.

The History of SAMOS.

Name.

THE name of *Samos* was in antient times common to three islands, viz. *Cephalenia*, *Samothracia*, and this which we are now to write of. *Cephalenia* had the name of *Samos* from its metropolis *Sama*, as *Thucydides* informs us ^f, and *Samothracia* from a colony of *Samians*, who, being driven out of their own island by their domestic tyrants, settled in that ⁱ. The island still known by the name of *Samos* was in former ages distinguished from the other two by the epithet of *Ionian*, being inhabited chiefly by the *Iones*, to whose confederacy it belonged. It had also the following names, *Parthenia*, according to *Aristotle* the most antient of all ^u, *Dryusa*, *Anthemusa*, *Melamphyllus*, *Cyparissia*, *Parthenoarusa*, *Stephane* ^w, *Anthemus*, and *Parthenias* ^x. Whence it had the name of *Samos*, which in process of time prevailed over all the rest, is uncertain: Some writers, quoted by *Strabo* ^y, are of opinion, that it was so called from the *Sææ*, a people of *Thrace*, who settled in the island; but *Strabo* himself seems to insinuate, that it borrowed this name from some hero, a native of the country. As this island is full of eminences and precipices, it is not unlikely, that the name of *Samos* was given it on that account, since the word *Samos* was used by the antient *Greeks*, as *Constantine Porphyrogenitus* informs us, to signify any high place or eminence.

Situation.

Samos lies between the continent of *Asia*, and the island of *Icaria*, being divided from the former by a streight, according to *Strabo* 875, but in reality above a thousand paces broad, and from the latter by another which is eight miles over. The streight, which parts *Samos* from the continent of *Asia*, is called by the *Turks* the little *Bogazi*, that word signifying in their language a canal or streight, and the other which separates it from the island of *Icaria*, the great *Bogazi*: As all the vessels, trading from *Constantinople* to *Syria* and *Egypt*, pass through one of these streights, the course by *Mycone* and *Naxia* being too long, they are still frequented by pyrates as they were in *Strabo's* time. In the middle of the little streight stands a rock, between which and

^f THUCYD. l. ii. ⁱ SUIDAS verbo Σαμοθράκη.
^u PLIN. l. v. c. 31. ^w PLIN. ibid. ^x STRAB. l. x.
 ibid.

^y Apud.
 Idem.

the island of *Samos* lies the small island of *Nartecis* mentioned by *Strabo*^a, who places it over-against the cape *Posidium* in *Samos*, famous for a stately temple built there by the *Samians* in honour of *Neptune*, whence it had the name of *Posidium*, or *Neptune's* cape. The island of *Samos* lies between the 38th and 39th degrees of north latitude, and is about eighty-seven miles in circumference.

THE metropolis of *Samos*, and the only city in the country mentioned by the antients, bore the same name as the island. It stood on the south coast, partly in the plain and partly on the hills, being divided into the upper and lower town. The former took up the hills about the present city of *Cora*, which is near three miles from the sea, and the latter the plain which extends from the present port of *Tigani* to the cape of *Juno*^a. *Strabo* tells us, that this city was built by *Tembrio* and *Procles*, or, as some read it, *Patrocles*, who settled here with a colony of *Ionians*. But *Vitruvius*^b is of opinion, that *Samos* and the twelve towns of the *Ionian* confederacy were all built by *Ion* the *Athenian*, who gave his name to the country of *Ionian*. The city of *Samos* was in the flourishing times of *Greece* very populous, wealthy, and well fortified. We may judge of the antient splendor and greatness of this city, from the ruins of it, which are still to be seen, and are fully described by a modern traveller^c. *Herodotus*^d takes notice of three things very remarkable at *Samos*; the first was a way opened through a mountain, seven furlongs in length, eight foot in height, and as many in breadth. A canal twenty cubits deep, and three foot broad was carried along the side of the aperture, and served to convey, through various pipes, the water of a plentiful spring into the city. *Eupalinus* of *Megara*, the son of *Naustrophus*, was the contriver and director of this work. A modern traveller is of opinion, that the spring, which tempted the *Samians* to undertake so great a work, was that which is still to be seen at *Metelinous*; for that spring is by far the best of the island, and the bored mountain stands between the small town of *Metelinous* and the ruins of antient *Samos*^e. The entrance of the opening, which was carried quite through the mountain, is to be seen to this day, but the other parts have been long since filled up. The second thing, which *Herodotus* observed at *Samos*, was a mole or pier, a hundred and twenty foot high, which formed the

Three remarkable things at Samos.

^a STRABO. l. xiv.

^a Idem. ibid.

^b VITRUVIUS Archit.

l. iv. c. i.

^c TOURNEFORT, Voyage au Levant, &c. Vol. I.

^d HERODOTUS. l. iii.

^e TOURNEFORT, ibid.

VOL. VII.

harbour and advanced above two furlongs into the sea. Such an extraordinary work in those early times shews, that the *Samians* were among the first of the *Greeks*, who applied themselves to navigation; and indeed we find them employing *Aminocles*, the *Corinthian*, the ablest ship-builder of his time, near three hundred years before the *Peloponnesian* war ^f. The third thing, counted by *Herodotus* among the wonders of *Samos*, was the famous temple of *Juno*, the most spacious, as that historian affirms, which he ever saw ^g. The ruins of this edifice are still to be seen about half a mile from the sea, and the like distance from the river *Imbrasus*. A modern traveller gives us a distinct account of them, which it would be too long to insert here ^h. *Menodorus* the *Samian*, who wrote a treatise on the curiosities of that island, tells us, that this temple was built by *Caricus*, and certain nymphs ⁱ; for he supposes the island to have been first possessed by the *Carians*, so called, from *Caricus* their leader. *Pausanias* writes, that it was the work of the *Argonauts*, who brought from *Argos* to *Samos* a statue of the goddess, and placed it in a magnificent temple built by them in this island, which was in a peculiar manner sacred to *Juno*, who was supposed to have been born here on the banks of the river *Imbrasus*, under one of those trees which we call *Agnus Castus*. The stump of this tree was shewn, as the same author informs us, for many ages in the temple, and no less honoured than *Juno* herself ^k. The statue of the goddess, as the same *Pausanias* tells us, was the work of *Smilis*, a famous sculptor of *Ægina*, and contemporary with *Dædalus*. *Clemenes Alexandrinus* ^l speaks of this temple, as one of the most stately buildings of antiquity, and adds out of *Æthilius*, a very antient author, that the *Samians* at first worshipped only the stump of a tree, which was afterwards formed into a statue. The *Tyrrhenian* pirates, if we believe *Menodotus* ^m, having attempted to carry away this statue, and put it already on board one of their ships, were kept in the harbour with contrary winds till they carried it back to the temple; the fame of this pretended miracle drew crowds of votaries from all parts, and greatly increased the worship which was paid to the *Samian Juno*.

THE *Heræan* games which were instituted by the *Greeks* in honour of *Juno*, whom they called *Here*, were celebrated

^f THUCYD. l. i.

^g HERODOT. *ibid.*

^h TOURNE-

FORT, *ubi supra*.

ⁱ Apud ATHENÆUM, l. iii.

^k PAU-

SAN. in *Arcad.*

^l CLEM. ALEXAND. *Stromat.* l. i.

^m MENO-

DOTUS apud ATHEN, *ibid.*

in this island with the utmost magnificence. The fabulous opinion, which prevailed in *Samos*, that *Juno* had lived there from her earliest infancy, till she became marriageable, and that *Jupiter* had married her there, gave rise to the solemnity which they annually celebrated in honour of that goddess. The *Samians* then renewed the nuptial rejoycings in her temple, where was amongst other statues one of this their tutelary goddess, under the figure of a new-married woman, to perpetuate the memory of her marriage with *Jupiter*. We have still remaining, in the antient monuments, several traces of the zealous worship the *Samians* paid to *Juno*. Most of the *Samian* medals are stamped with the figure of this goddess, holding a sceptre in her hand, to shew her dominion over the island, and have on the reverse a peacock her favourite bird. The temple of *Juno*, where the *Heræan* solemnities were performed, was one of the most antient of *Greece*, having been built, if we believe *Herodotus*ⁿ, by one *Rhæcus* the son of *Phileus*, a native of *Samos*, soon after the *Ionians* settled in the island. This antient temple was burnt down to the ground by the *Persians*, but soon after rebuilt, and so enriched with gifts that there was no room for statues and pictures^o. *Verres* on his return from *Asia*, notwithstanding the miracle which had saved the goddess from the *Tyrrhenians*, did not scruple to rifle the temple, and strip it of all its rich immoveables, as appears from *Tully*, who upbraids him with this piety^p. The pirates shewed no more respect to the goddess and her temple in *Pompey's* time. In a court adjoining to the temple was an immense number of statues, done by the most famous statuaries of *Greece*, and amongst others three of a colossean size, all on the same base, representing *Jupiter*, *Minerva*, and *Hercules*. They were the work of *Myron*, who made the brazen cow so much celebrated by the *Greek* wits of those days in their epigrams, which have been translated by *Ausonius* into *Latin*. *Mark Anthony* carried these three statues to *Rome*; but *Augustus* restored those of *Minerva* and *Hercules* to the *Samians*; that of *Jupiter* he kept at *Rome*, and placed it in a little temple which he caused to be built on the capitol. The amours of *Jupiter* and *Juno* were painted on the cieling of the temple, and represented so naturally, that *Origen* reproaches the gentiles with exposing them to the eyes of the multitude^q.

THE fruitfulness of its soil is highly commended by the *Sam.* antients, namely by *Strabo*, who seems to prefer it in this

ⁿ HERODOT. l. iii.^o PAUSAN. ubi supra.^p CIC.^q A. 3. in Verr.^q ORIGEN. l. iv. contra Celsum.

respect to the most fertile countries in *Asia*. Here the trees, if we believe *Æthlius* as quoted by *Athenæus*,^f yielded fruit twice a yearⁱ. *Pliny* takes notice of the pomgranates of *Samos*, some of which had red grains, others white^l. The only thing which *Strabo* did not admire in *Samos* was the wine, which was but very indifferent in his time, though all the neighbouring islands were famous on account of their excellent wines.

Arts, &c.

THE *Samians* applied themselves very early to trade and navigation; for *Herodotus* speaks of them as trading to *Egypt*, *Thera*, and *Spain*, before any of the other *Greeks*, except *Sostratus* of *Ægina*, were acquainted with those countries. They are said by *Pliny* to have been the first contrivers of vessels fit for the transporting of cavalry^c. *Samos* was in former ages famed for earthen ware, which, if we believe *Gellius*^u, was first made in this island, and in great request among the antients, who used the *Samian* earthen ware in their most splendid entertainments^w. The earth about the present village of *Bavonda* is still deemed very proper for potter's ware; but no-body in the island now follows that profession, the inhabitants being supplied with that ware from *Ancona* and *Scio*.

Inhabitants and government.

THE island of *Samos* was first peopled, according to *Strabo*^x and other antient writers, by the *Carians*, and afterwards by colonies from *Ithaca* and *Cephalenia*. Some ages after the *Ionians*, having seized part of *Caria*, passed over into the island of *Samos*, and settling there under the conduct of *Tembrio* and *Procles*, united the city of *Samos* to the *Ionian* confederacy. This happened, as *Eusebius* informs us^y, in the twelfth year of the reign of *Rehoboam* king of *Hierusalem*. *Heraclides*^z tells us, that this island lay desolate till the time of *Macareus*, the son of *Æolus*, who, having killed the wild beasts that infested it, settled there, and continued in possession of the island till the arrival of the *Carians*. But whoever were the first inhabitants, it is certain, that the city of *Samos* in after-ages held a considerable rank among the twelve cities of the *Ionian* confederacy, being celebrated by the antients, as no-way inferior either to *Miletus* or *Ephesus*, which were the chief cities of the *Ionians*.

THE *Samians* were first governed by kings; for *Herodotus*^a names one *Amphicrates* reigning at *Samos*; but how long

^f ATHEN. Deipn. l. xiv. ^l PLIN. l. xiii. c. 10. ⁱ Idem, ibid. ^u GELL. Noct. Attic. l. v. ^w PLIN. l. xxxv. c. 16. ^c CIC. in Verr. ^x STRAB. l. xiv. ^y EUSEB. in Chron. ^z HERACLID, de Polit. ^a HERODOT, l. iii.

this kind of government continued, or on what account it was abolished, is what we find no-where recorded. From the kings the administration passed into the hands of the *Geomori*, who formed a kind of senate and had much the same power as the ephori of *Sparta*. This form of government gave room to a democracy, and the democracy to an oligarchy. The *Samians* continued for many ages free from all foreign subjection, but were often reduced to a state of slavery by their domestic tyrants, as we shall relate in their history.

THE first enterprize of the *Samians*, mentioned in history, *History of* is their sailing to *Egypt*, and planting a colony there in the *Samos*. city of *Oasis*, which, as *Herodotus* informs us ^b, was inhabited by *Samians* of the *Æschrionian* tribe. But as to the time of this expedition we are quite in the dark, as also of their first voyage to *Tartessus* in *Spain*, which is related by *Herodotus* thus : A *Samian* vessel, bound homeward from *Egypt*, under the command of one *Colæus*, was by stress of weather driven into the harbour of *Platea*, an island of *Libya*. From thence *Colæus* set sail with a design to recover the coasts of *Egypt*, but had scarce left the island, when a violent easterly wind arising carried him, in spite of all his endeavours, beyond the pillars of *Hercules*, nor did it ever cease or abate till he arrived at *Tartessus*. As no foreign traders had ever before touched at that port, the inhabitants flocking to the shore bought their commodities at such prices as they were pleased to set upon them ; whence the profits they made were so considerable, that upon their return to *Samos* they made with the tenth part of their gain, amounting to six talents, a basin of brass, surrounded with the heads of griffins inclining to each other, and placed it in the temple of *Juno*, supported by three statues of brass in a kneeling posture seven foot high ^c. In the reign of their king *Amphicrates* they made war upon the inhabitants of *Ægina* ; but all we know of this expedition is, that it reduced both parties to great extremities ^d. This war happened before the reign of *Cambyfes* king of *Persia*, for in his time the *Æginates*, entering into an alliance with the *Cretans*, revenged themselves on the *Samians* for the evils they had suffered on this occasion, as we shall see anon. The *Samians*, as the same *Herodotus* informs us ^e, maintained their liberties both against *Cræsus* and *Cyrus*, after those princes had reduced the other *Ionian* states on the continent. They were expert mariners, and had a considerable fleet, which protected

^b HERODOT. I. iii.

^c Idem ibid.

^d Idem ibid.

^e Idem I. i.

Syloson ty-
rant of
Samos.

them against any foreign invasion. However, they were very early brought under subjection by their own tyrants. Among these we may reckon the *Geomori*, that is, the nobility of *Samos*, so called from their dividing the lands among themselves, after they had entirely suppressed the popular faction. During the usurpation of the *Geomori*, the inhabitants of *Megara* having attacked the city of *Perinthus*, which the *Samians* had built and peopled, a war was kindled between these two nations. The *Geomori*, who then governed with an absolute sway, commanded thirty ships of war to be equipped, and committed the management of the war to nine commanders, each of which had an equal power. These falling upon the *Megarenses* routed them with great slaughter, and took six hundred prisoners. Being elated with this victory they resolved to try whether they should be attended with the same success against their domestic enemies; for these commanders were all of the popular faction. Accordingly having armed the six hundred *Megarenses*, whom they had taken prisoners, on their return they attacked the *Geomori* while they were assembled in council, put most of them to the sword, and restored the democracy. Not long after a war breaking out between the *Samians* and *Æolians*, the former chose one *Syloson* to command their forces, who, as he was an ambitious man, instead of attacking the enemy, remained at *Samos* under various pretences, till such time, as he had gained both the officers and soldiers over to his party, and then made himself master of the city in the following manner. The *Samians* used annually to perform with great solemnity certain ceremonies in honour of *Juno* in the temple of that goddess, which stood without the walls of the city. As they were then ready to engage in a war, *Syloson* under pretence of piety prevailed upon the citizens to march all at once in procession from the market-place to the temple. This procession he led himself, but stealing away as soon as the crowd got into the temple, he returned to the city, and, by means of the soldiers he had left on board the fleet in the harbour, possessed himself of all the important posts; so that the citizens on their returning home were forced to submit to their new tyrant, having neither courage nor arms to oppose him ⁸.

Year of
the Flood
2383.
Before
Christ,
616.

ABOUT this time the *Samians*, by disobliging the *Corinthians*, sowed the seeds of those animosities, which broke out between the two nations in the following age. The matter is thus related by *Herodotus* ^h: *Periander* tyrant of *Corinth*, to

^f PLUT. in Problemat.

⁸ POLYÆNUS.

^h HERODOT.

l. iii.

revenge the death of his son on the *Corcyraeans*, by whom he had been murdered, seized three hundred youths of the chief families of *Corcyra*, and put them on board certain *Corinthian* ships in order to send them to *Sardis*, where they were to be made eunuchs, and as such serve *Alyattes* king of *Lydia*. But the ships that transported them touching at *Samos*, the *Samians* advised the *Corcyraean* youths to take sanctuary in the temple of *Diana*, and would not suffer the *Corinthians* to remove them from thence, saying, that they were under the protection of the goddess. The *Corinthians* beset the temple in order to prevent any provisions from being conveyed to them, and by that means oblige them to abandon their asylum. But the *Samians* assembling their youth of both sexes, under colour of celebrating a festival in honour of *Diana*, ordered them to dance round the temple with cakes of flour and honey in their hands, to the end that the *Corcyraeans* might snatch them from them, and by that means sustain themselves. This practice they continued till the *Corinthians*, after having waited a long time, thought fit to leave the island; when the *Samians*, putting the youths of *Corcyra* on board their ships of war, conveyed them safe to their native country. This the *Corinthians* remembered, and many years after joined the *Lacedemonians* in the war which they made upon the *Samians*, as we shall relate in the sequel of this history.

THE *Samians* after the death of *Syloson* enjoyed their liberty for some time, but were again brought under subjection by one of their chief citizens named *Æaces*, of whom mention is made by *Herodotus*¹. *Æaces* had three sons, *Polycrates*, *Pantagnotus*, and *Syloson*. *Polycrates* in his father's life-time formed a design of seizing on the government, but could not put it in execution till some years after his death, the *Samians* guarding themselves with great care against any attempts of that nature. However, he at length compassed his design in the following manner. As his father had left an immense treasure, he gained the affection of the populace by living in a most splendid and elegant manner. He made frequent entertainments, inviting to them even those of the lowest rank among the people. He provided at a vast expence the richest furniture that had ever been seen till his time in the island, and was ever willing to lend his silver and gold plate or stately beds to such as were to solemnize marriages or make entertainments. Being by this means become the darling of the people, he imparted his design of making himself absolute to his brothers, promising to share with them the island and such

Æaces.

Polycrates.

Year of
the Flood,
2471.
Before
Christ,
528.

¹ Idem ibid.

other acquisitions as he might make. They readily came into his measures ; whereupon it was agreed, that they should fall upon the people with a body of armed men, whom *Polycrates* had gained with large promises, while they were celebrating a feast in honour of *Juno*, and that *Polycrates* should at the same time possess himself of the city. The antients tell us, that *Polycrates* in this undertaking was assisted by fifteen men only, not venturing to admit others into the conspiracy for fear of being betrayed ; so universally did the love of liberty prevail among the *Samians* *. With this small body he made himself master of the most important places of the city, reduced the citadel called *Astipalæa*, and maintained himself in it against the utmost efforts of the *Samians*, till he was relieved by a body of *Naxians*, sent him by *Lygdamis* tyrant of *Naxus*. With this reinforcement he settled himself on the throne, after having either banished or put to death all those who had declared against him. Having thus got rid of his enemies, he amply rewarded his friends by conferring upon them the chief employments of his new kingdom ; he divided the island, pursuant to his promise, with his two brothers ; but soon after repenting of what he had done caused *Pantagnostus* to be put to death, and banished *Syloson*. By this means being master of the whole island, he began to entertain thoughts of enlarging his dominions, and that he might not be diverted by the king of *Egypt*, he entered into an alliance with *Amasis*, who then reigned there. The friendship between these two princes was cultivated with mutual presents : amongst others *Amasis* sent to *Samos* two statues of himself curiously carved in wood, which were still to be seen in the time of *Herodotus*, standing behind the gates of the temple of *Juno*. Having nothing to fear on the side of *Egypt*, which was then a powerful kingdom, he equipped a fleet of an hundred gallies, and putting on board a thousand chosen archers and other land-forces, he fell upon the neighbouring islands, being in all his enterprizes attended with such success, that he attacked no place without mastering it. He did not spare even his friends and allies, saying that they would be more obliged to him if he restored to them what he had taken, than if he had left them in the quiet possession of their lands and dominions. After he had reduced most of the islands he landed his forces on the continent of *Asia*, and made himself master of many cities on the coast ; insomuch, that embassadors were sent to him from all the neighbouring states, offering to submit upon what terms he was pleased to impose.

* Idem ibid. STRAB. l. xiv. PAUSAN. in Attic. POLYÆNU. l. i. ATHENÆUS, l. xii. c. 9. DION. Chryst. Orat 17.

The *Lesbians* alone opposed him, but were entirely defeated in a sea-fight, in which he took a great many prisoners, and condemning them all to the chain employed them in surrounding the city of *Samos* with a deep and wide ditch. When news was brought to *Amasis* of the success that attended him in all his expeditions, he is said to have wrote to him in the following terms. *Amasis* to *Polycrates*: I have heard with pleasure the fortunate successes that attend the enterprizes of a friend and ally. But the unusual greatness of your prosperity alarms me, being well apprised that the gods are envious. As for me, I would rather chuse that my affairs and those of my friends should be alternately attended with good and bad fortune through the whole course of my life, than be always accompanied with an uninterrupted felicity. For I do not remember to have ever heard of a man, who having been always happy did not at last perish by some signal calamity. Be advised therefore by me, and guard yourself against the bad consequences of good fortune in this manner: consider what you value most, and would be greatly concerned to lose, and of that, be it what it will, deprive yourself. If your prosperity still continues without any vicissitude, repeat the same remedy. *Polycrates*, having read the letter, approved of the advice given him by his friend, and after deliberating with himself what thing he would be most unwilling to part with, came at last to this resolution. He had a seal cut in an emerald, and set in gold by one *Theodorus* a *Samian*. This he valued above all his treasures, and therefore to counterbalance his good fortune, going on board a galley of fifty oars, and advancing far into the deep, in the presence of all those who attended him, he threw the emerald into the sea. He then commanded them to sail back, and on his return was greatly grieved for the loss of such an inestimable treasure. But a few days after a fisherman having taken a fish of an extraordinary size, and thinking it a present worthy of *Polycrates*, carried it to the palace. *Polycrates* was highly pleased with it, and, having invited the fisherman to dine with him, ordered it to be dressed that very day. When the servants opened the belly of the fish they found, to their great surprize, the emerald lodged there, and immediately carried it to *Polycrates*, who being persuaded, that such an extraordinary event could not be imputed to chance, but to a particular providence of the gods, acquainted *Amasis* with his throwing the signet into the sea, and the manner in which he had recovered it. *Amasis*, having read his letter, and not doubting but some great misfortune would soon or late befall him, immediately dispatched an herald to *Samos*, enjoining

him to renounce in his name the friendship of *Polycrates*, and dissolve all the obligations of hospitality, that had been contracted between them; lest the calamities, which threatened *Polycrates*, should affect him with that grief which a friend owes to the misfortunes of a friend¹.

Polycrates, being no longer under any engagements with the king of *Egypt*, sent ambassadors to *Cambyfes* king of *Persia*, enjoining them to conclude an alliance with that prince, and offer him what forces he required for the expedition he was meditating against *Egypt*. *Cambyfes* readily accepted of the offer made him by the ambassadors, and at the same time acquainted *Polycrates* that he stood in no need of land-forces, but wanted a fleet to convey his troops into *Egypt*. Hereupon *Polycrates* having equipped forty gallies sent them to *Cambyfes*, with all those *Samians* on board, whom he suspected of seditious designs, requesting him not to suffer them ever to return to their native country. Some writers affirm that these *Samians* never arrived in *Egypt*, but in their passage having called a council of war resolved not to proceed farther than the *Carpathian* sea. Others tell us, that they arrived in *Egypt*, but finding themselves there carefully watched by the *Persians*, laid hold of the first opportunity to make their escape, and on their return to *Samos* met the fleet of *Polycrates*, which they defeated, and landed safe in their own country, where they fought an unsuccessful battle at land, and afterwards set sail for *Lacedæmon*. Some writers say, that in this action too they carried the day; but this opinion, as *Herodotus* rightly observes, is quite groundless; for they would not have been obliged to implore the assistance of the *Lacedæmonians*, if they had found themselves in a condition to make head against the forces of the tyrant. Besides, it is very improbable, that one, who had a numerous army of mercenaries, and a chosen body of *Samian* bowmen in constant pay, should be overcome by so unequal a number as those were who returned from *Egypt*, especially if we consider, that *Polycrates*, as *Herodotus* informs us, to prevent any treachery had shut up the wives and children of all the *Samians* in the arsenal, resolving to burn them together with the naval stores, if he found himself betrayed to the exiles².

THESE *Samians*, thus expelled by *Polycrates*, had recourse to the *Lacedæmonians*, by whom they were at first received

¹ HERODOT. l. iii. PLIN. l. xxxiii. c. 1. & l. xxxvii. c. 1. SOLIN. c. 35. VAL. MAX. l. vi. c. 11. LUCIAN. in Caronte. ² HERODOT. ibid. STRAB. l. xiv. ÆLIAN. Var. Histor. l. ix. c. 4. MAX. TYRIUS, Serm. 21.

but very indifferently ; for having made a long speech setting forth the calamities they had suffered, the *Lacedæmonians* gave them no other answer, than that they had forgot the first part of their speech, and therefore did not understand the last. The *Samians* being a second time admitted into the assembly brought with them an empty basket, and shewing it, only said, *It is empty*, signifying thereby that they wanted bread. The *Lacedæmonians* answered, that the basket alone sufficiently declared their wants, and immediately decreed to assist them. The *Samian* writers, quoted by *Herodotus*, tell us, that the *Lacedæmonians* undertook the defence of the exiles, in requital of the assistance they had formerly received from them in a war with the *Messenians* ; but the *Lacedæmonians* say, that they espoused their cause not out of any good will to the exiles, but to be revenged on the *Samians* for having formerly intercepted a curious bason, which they had sent as a present to *Cræsus* king of *Lydia*, and robbed them the year before of a rich present, which the king of *Egypt* had sent them. But whatever was the motive that prompted them to assist the banished *Samians*, they equipped a powerful fleet, and being joined by the *Corinthians*, whom the *Samians* had formerly disobliged as we have related above, set sail for *Samos* and laid siege to the capital of the island. *Polycrates* made a vigorous defence, and frequently sallying out cut great numbers of the aggressors in pieces. In one of these sallies the *Samians* being entirely routed were pursued with great slaughter to the very gates of their city, which the *Lacedæmonians* would have taken had they followed the example of their leaders *Archias* and *Lycopes*. For these two entered the city together with the flying *Samians*, and finding their retreat cut off, died valiantly fighting within the walls. The *Lacedæmonians* continued before the place for the space of forty days ; but finding they could not master it, raised the siege and returned to *Lacedæmon*. Some writers tell us that *Polycrates*, having agreed to pay them on their departure a large sum of money, caused a great many pieces of led to be coined and gilt, and with these purchased a peace, without lessening his treasures or enriching the enemyⁿ.

AFTER their departure, those *Samians*, who had brought the war upon *Polycrates*, finding themselves abandoned, set sail for the island of *Siphnus*, which is one of the *Cyclades*. The affairs of the *Siphnians* were then in a flourishing condition, and their riches immense ; that island to be mining in mines of gold and silver, that the tenth of the money they

ⁿ HERODOT. l. iii.

coined being sent yearly to *Delphos* equalled the greatest treasure there ; for they divided once a year the riches which they drew from their mines, sending the tenth part of the whole as a present to *Apollo*. One year, after having made the usual offering, they consulted the oracle to know whether their prosperity should continue long and received this answer from the *Pythian*. When the public structures shall be cloathed in white, let the wise men beware of a wooden force and red embassadors. The prytanean court and porticoes at *Siphnus* were then adorned with white *Parian* marble ; and yet the *Siphnians* did not understand the meaning of the oracle even upon the landing of the *Samians*, though they sent immediately one of their ships, which according to the *Samian* fashion was painted red, with embassadors to the city of *Siphnus*. The *Samians*, being admitted to an audience, desired a loan of ten talents ; but receiving a denial returned to their companions and ravaged the territories of *Siphnus*. Whereupon the *Siphnians* drawing together all their forces engaged the *Samians*, but were defeated and many of them taken prisoners, for whose ransom the *Samians* received an hundred talents. With this supply they repaired their ships and sailed to *Hermione*, the inhabitants of which place, through fear of being treated by them as the *Siphnians* had been, gave them the island of *Thyrea*, situate near *Peloponnesus*, which they committed to the care of the *Træzenians*, and pursued their course to the island of *Crete*, where they founded the city of *Cydonia*, after having driven out of that part of the island the *Zacynthians*. They continued in this settlement five years, and built the temple of *Dietyrna* with several others, which were still standing in the time of our historian. But in the sixth year they were entirely defeated together with the *Cretans* in a sea-fight by the inhabitants of *Ægina*, who took off the prows of their ships and placed them in the temple of *Minerva*. Thus the *Æginates* revenged themselves on the *Samians*, for having formerly made war upon them without any provocation, under the conduct of their king *Amphicrates*, as we have hinted above *. The *Samians*, being driven from *Crete*, sailed, if we believe *Eusebius* †, to *Italy*, and there founded the city of *Dicæarchia*, called afterwards *Puteoli*, and at present *Puzzoli*.

BUT to return to *Polycrates* ; upon the departure of the *Lacedæmonians* and *Samian* exiles, he began to entertain thoughts of subduing all *Ionia*, together with the *Asiatic* islands, an enterprize, as *Herodotus* observes, which no one

* HERCOT. I. iii.

† EUSEB. in Chron,

before

before him had ever attempted. He raised a numerous army, equipped the greatest fleet that had been seen in those seas till that time, and made all the other necessary preparations for so difficult an undertaking. But before he could accomplish his design, he was cut off by an untimely death, which is thus related by *Herodotus*. *Oroetes* a *Persian*, who had been appointed governor of *Sardis* by *Cyrus*, and another of the same nation, by name *Mitrobates* governor of *Dascylium*, falling one day out, *Mitrobates* upbraided *Oroetes* for not having reduced the island of *Samos*, which lay so near his government, and had been brought under subjection by *Polycrates*, with the assistance only of fifteen men. This reproach left a deep impression on the mind of *Oroetes*, who from that time watched all opportunities of being revenged, not on *Mitrobates*, who had affronted him, but on *Polycrates*, as the cause of the affront, though he had never seen him or been any ways injured by him. Other antient writers say, that *Oroetes* sent a messenger to *Polycrates* about some private affairs, and that *Polycrates* happening on the arrival of the messenger to be lying on a couch, *Anacreon* of *Tees*, the famous lyric poet, sitting by him, he did not condescend to give the messenger any answer, or even to look at him, continuing the whole time he delivered his message with his face towards the wall. This, they say, was what provoked the haughty *Persian*, and prompted him to put *Polycrates* treacherously to death. *Oroetes* resided at that time in the city of *Magnesia*, whence he sent one *Myrsus* the son of *Gyges*, a *Lydian*, to *Samos*, enjoining him to acquaint *Polycrates*, that he had heard what great things he had in view, but had been at the same time informed that he wanted money to put his projects in execution. Wherefore he designed to assist him with great treasures, provided he would engage to protect him against *Cambyfes*, who was determined, according to the private intelligence he had received, to take away his life. The messenger was ordered to add, that if *Polycrates* questioned the truth of what he said concerning the treasures, he might easily satisfy himself in that particular, by sending one of the most trusty persons he had about him to see them. *Polycrates* received this proposal with joy, and immediately sent his secretary *Mammas* to take a view of the treasures. When *Oroetes* heard he was coming with this design, he caused eight chests to be filled with stones, which he covered with some pieces of gold, and by that means deceived *Mammas*, upon whose information *Polycrates* resolved to go in person to *Oroetes*, tho' he was earnestly dissuaded by his friends.

and, if we believe *Herodotus*, by the gods themselves (N). But he despising their advice set out with divers of his friends, among whom was *Democedes* the *Crotonian*, the most skilful physician of his time. When he arrived at *Magnesia*, the treacherous *Oroetes* caused him to be seized and crucified, a death, as *Herodotus* observes, unworthy of a man, who far excelled in all respects the greatest heroes of his age^p. *Valerius Maximus*^q and *Tully*^r tell us, that he was crucified by *Orontes*, for so they call him, governor under *Darius Hystaspes*, upon the top of mount *Mycale*, which is a promontory of *Ionia* over-against *Samos*. But it is very plain from all the antients, that *Darius* was then only one of *Cambyfes*'s guards, and that *Polycrates* came to this tragical end while *Cambyfes* was delirious in *Egypt*. *Pliny*^t in this agrees with *Herodotus*; for according to him *Polycrates* was put to death in the 230th year of *Rome*, which, if we follow *Varro*, fell upon the sixty-fourth olympiad. Thus died *Polycrates*, a prince, who to the hour of his death had never felt the least shock of adverse fortune, being attended during the whole course of his life, in every thing he undertook, with all the success and prosperity he could have wished for. All the antients speak of his prosperity as miraculous, and amongst others *Valerius Maximus*, who tells us, that he never formed a design, which he did not with great ease put in execution, nor

^p HERODOT. *ibid.* STRAB. l. xiv. PAUSAN. in Atticis. ^q VAL. MAX. l. vi. cap. ult. ^r CIC. l. iii. de Finibus. ^t PLIN. l. xxxiii. c. i.

(N) *Herodotus* tells us, that his daughter dreamt she saw her father elevated in the air, and anointed by the sun, and that, being deeply affected with her dream, she endeavoured by all means to divert him from his intended voyage, accompanying him even to the sea-side, and assuring him that nothing but misfortunes could attend his enterprize. But *Polycrates* rejecting all advice embarked on a gallei of fifty oars, threatening his daughter, who left no stone unturned to prevent his journey, that if he returned safe, she should long continue unmarried. Upon his arrival at *Magnesia* being seized by *Oroetes* and crucified, the dream of his daughter, says *Herodotus*, was accomplished; for as he hung on the cross exposed to the rays of the sun, he was first all covered over with the sweat of his body, and afterwards, a violent shower happening to fall, washed, we may say, by *Jupiter*, who sent it (3). By the help of such distorted interpretations there is no dream, but what may be easily fulfilled.

(3) *Herodot. l. iii.*

earnest.

earnestly wish for a thing which he did not obtain, as if fortune had been wholly employed in waiting upon him ^t. He was, without all doubt, a man of most extraordinary parts, and, if we believe *Herodotus* ^u, superior in wisdom, greatness of mind, and other princely qualities, to all the *Greek* tyrants, not even those of *Syracuse* excepted. He took great delight in the conversation of learned men, and used to spend great part of his time, when at leisure from public affairs, with *Anacreon* and *Pythagoras*. The former he once presented with five talents, and the latter he recommended in a very obliging manner to *Amasis* king of *Egypt*, when that philosopher undertook for his improvement a journey into that kingdom. He embellished the city of *Samos* with many magnificent and stately buildings, which, as *Aristotle* informs us ^w, were still standing in his time; nay great part of the palace, which he built for himself, was remaining in the time of the *Roman* emperors; for *Caligula*, as we read in *Suetonius* ^x, had some thoughts of repairing that noble fabric, which was a subject of admiration even in those days. As to his character there is no small disagreement among authors, some painting him as a cruel tyrant, and others representing him as a prince of great humanity and moderation. *Diodorus Siculus* ^y tells us, that he oppressed his own subjects in a most tyrannical manner, and with no less cruelty treated such strangers as happened to come into his country; which so shocked *Amasis* king of *Egypt*, that, after having advised him in vain to rule with more humanity and moderation, he at last renounced the friendship which he had contracted with him, saying, that he foresaw the miserable fall that would soon overtake one who governed so tyrannically. This, as we have seen above, is related in a very different manner by *Herodotus*, who seems to have entertained a far better opinion of *Polycrates*; for he commends him as a prince of great generosity, and speaking of his unhappy end says, that he was put to death in a manner unworthy of a man of his dignity and grandeur, and not to be mentioned without indignation ^z. But *Diogenes Laertius*, *Porphyrius*, *Jamblichus*, *Gellius*, and *Eusebius* seem to agree with *Diodorus*, for they are all unanimous in telling us, that *Pythagoras* (O) abandoned his native

^t VAL. MAX. l. vi. c. 11. ^u HERODOT. ibid. ^w ARIST. l. v. Polit. c. 11. ^x SUET. in Calig. ^y DIODOR. SICUL. l. i. c. 5. ^z HERODOT. ubi supra.

(O) This celebrated philosopher was a native of *Samos*, and for some time a great favourite of *Polycrates*; but on his return from *Egypt*,

native country, because he could not endure the tyranny of *Polycrates*.

Polycrates

Egypt, *Phœnice*, and *Chaldæa*, whither he had travelled for his improvement, not being able to endure the tyranny of *Polycrates*, he retired to that part of *Italy*, which was called *Magna Græcia*, and founded there a famous sect of philosophers. Most writers acknowledge him to be the inventor of arithmetic, which *Plato* (4) ascribes to the *Egyptian Mercury*, and some others to *Palamedes* (5). *St. Austin* (6) speaks of a goddess *Numeria*, whom the *Pagans* worshipped as the goddess of numbers, believing they had been first introduced by her. *Pythagoras* is said to have been the first who taught the immortality of the soul. As to the transmigration of souls, which was the principal part of his philosophy, some writers endeavour to excuse him, saying, that he meant only the sensitive soul or vital principle of the animal. We are told, he was never seen to weep or laugh. *Diogenes Laertius*, *Porphyrus*, *Jamblichus*, and others, who have wrote his life, greatly vary among themselves as to the particulars and circumstances of his death; some saying he was assassinated, others that he died suddenly, &c. He died, according to *Eusebius* (7), in the fourth year of the seventieth olympiad, and eightieth or ninetieth of his life. *Cedrenus* tells us, that he wrote an account of the war which *Cyrus* made upon the *Samians*, and relates from him that *Cyrus* was killed in this war. But that writer was certainly mistaken, since *Plutarch*, *Lucian*, and *Porphyrus* assure us, that *Pythagoras* resolved to leave nothing in writing. *Josephus* likewise (8) informs us, that in his time no one piece ascribed to this philosopher was allowed to be genuine; and *Rufinus*, in his answer to *S. Hierom*, who had quoted *Pythagoras*, urges, that there were no genuine writings of that philosopher remaining; to which *Hierom* replied, that what he had said of him was not meant of his writings, but of his opinions, which he had learnt from *Cicero*, *Brutus*, and *Seneca*. However, *Diogenes Laertius* in his life mentions three books written by him, namely of instruction, politics, and natural philosophy. The book of verses, which bears his name, and is a collection of the opinions and maxims of the *Pythagorean* philosophers, was not written by him, but by one *Lysis*, if we believe *Laertius*, a *Pythagorean* of *Sarepta*, who retired from *Thebes*, and was preceptor to *Epaninondas*. Others ascribe this book to *Philolaus*, some to *Epicharmus*, and some to *Empedocles*.

Pythagoras was not the only great man this island produced; *Chærilus*, *Coron*, *Cacephylus*, *Pythagoras* the statuary, &c were natives of *Samos*, and are mentioned by *Strabo* and other ancient

(4) *Plato in Præd.* (5) *Vid. Bedam in lib. de Computo & Idor l. iii.* (6) *Augustin. de Civit. Dei. l. iv.* (7) *Euseb. in Chron.* (8) *Joseph. Antiq. l. ii.* (9) *Strab. l. vi.*

Polycrates was succeeded in the tyranny by *Mæandrus* his secretary, whom upon his departure for *Magnesia* he had appointed

Mæandrus.
Year of
the Flood,
2476.
Before
Christ,
523.

writers as the ornaments of the ages they lived in (9). *Chærilus* wrote in verse the actions of *Xerxes* and *Darius* kings of *Persia*, and of *Archelaus* king of *Macedon*. *Josephus* quotes some of his verses on the expedition of *Xerxes* into *Greece*, wherein he speaks of a nation serving under that prince come from *Phænice* using an unknown language, and dwelling on the mountains of *Solyma* near a great lake; which, in the opinion of *Josephus*, is plainly meant of the *Jews*, the mountains of *Solyma* and the lake of *Asphaltites* being in their country. *Suidas* and *Strabo* (10) cite other verses from the same poem, and *Hesychius* tells us, that the *Athenians* gave him a stater of gold for each verse of the poem he wrote on the victory obtained by the *Greeks* over *Xerxes*. Some writers have confounded *Chærilus* the *Samian* with another poet bearing the same name, who lived in the time of *Alexander*. The latter was a wretched writer, as appears from what *Horace* says of him in the following verses:

*Gratus Alexandro regi Magno fuit ille
Chærilus, incultis qui versibus & male natis*

Retulit acceptos, regale numisma, Philippos (11). And else-
where (12),

*Sit Chærilus ille,
Quem bis terque bonum cum risu miror, &c.*

Chærilus the *Samian* lived before *Alexander*, and withdrew from *Samos* to the court of *Archelaus*, where he died. Some of his verses, which have been transmitted to us by *Aristotle* (13) and *Tatian*, shew that he was no contemptible poet.

Canon was a famous mathematician, and is said to have wrote seven books of astronomy. He lived in an intimate friendship with *Archimedes*, and taught him, as *Pomponius Mela* informs us, the first rudiments of mathematics. It was he who gave out, that the hair of *Berenice*, the wife of *Ptolemy Euergetes*, was taken up into heaven, and there transformed into seven stars called from thence *Coma Berenices*. He is mentioned by *Strabo* (14), *Virgil* (15), and others. *Creophylus* was an excellent poet, and contemporary with *Homer*, who presented him, as we read in *Strabo* (16), with a poem on the taking of the city of *Oechalia*. This poem is mentioned also by *Pausanias* (17) and *Callimachus*; but both these writers make *Creophylus*, and not *Homer*, the author of it. *Creophylus* entertain-

(9) *STRAB.* l. 6. (10) *Idem*, l. vii. (11) *Horat.* l. ii. *epist.* 2. v. 232.

(12) *Idem de Art. Poetic.* (13) *Aristot.* *Rhetor.* (14) *Strab.* l. xiv. (15) *Virgil.* *Eclog.* 3. v. 40. (16) *Strab.* l. xiv.

(17) *Pausan.* in *Messen*

pointed to govern during his absence. When *Mæandrus* heard of his death, he took the whole power into his own hands, *Syloson* the late king's brother being then in banishment. *Mæandrus* was a man of great probity, and therefore no sooner saw himself invested with the sovereign power, but he resolved to resign it, and restore his countrymen to their former liberty. Having therefore erected an altar to *Jupiter the Deliverer*, and marked out the ground for a temple, he summoned a general assembly of the citizens, and addressed them thus: "You know that I was entrusted
 " with the sceptre and all the power of *Polycrates*, and that
 " the government is wholly in my hands. But I will not
 " be guilty of a crime, which I should condemn in another.
 " The arbitrary power assumed by *Polycrates* over men equal
 " to himself was never approved of by me ; neither shall I
 " ever approve of it in any other person. Now that the de-
 " cree of the gods has been fulfilled in him, I surrender the
 " government into your hands, and proclaim an equal liberty
 " to all. Only I desire you would grant me six talents out
 " of the treasures of *Polycrates*, and confer upon me and
 " my descendants for ever the priesthood of the temple of
 " *Jupiter the Deliverer*, as a just reward of the benefits you
 " are to receive by my means." Having thus spoke, one *Telearchus*, a leading man among the *Samians*, bitterly inveighing against him, insisted upon his giving an account of the public money he had spent, during the short time he had governed. *Mæandrus* perceiving by the tenor of this speech that, if he divested himself of the power, he could be no longer safe in his own country, and that some other would soon usurp it, resolved to keep possession of the government ; and accordingly retiring to the citadel, and sending for the citizens under colour of giving them an account of the public treasures, he seized their persons and kept them under close confinement to prevent insurrections in the city. In the mean time *Mæandrus* falling sick, his brother *Lycaretus*, imagining he could not recover, put all the prisoners to death, that he might with more ease usurp the sovereignty. But *Mæandrus* recovered and ruled quietly in *Samos* till he was driven out by the *Persians*, who placed *Syloson*, the brother of *Polycrates*, in his room. This event is

ed *Homer* in his house, and is said by some to have been his matter, and to have had great share in the composing of the divine work, as *Cicero* styles it, which passes under the name of that inimitable poet. *Hierophyle*, one of the Sybils, was likewise a native of *Samos*, and is commonly known by the name of the *Samian Sybil*.

related

related by *Herodotus* ^a in the following manner. *Syloson* being banished by his brother, as we have related above, retired into *Egypt*, where *Cambyfes* was at that time making war upon *Amasis* king of that country. While he resided at *Memphis*, *Darius*, who was one of *Cambyfes*'s guards and made then no great figure, was greatly taken with a scarlet cloak which *Syloson* wore, and asked him whether he would sell it. *Syloson*, perceiving him to be passionately fond of the garment, answered, that he would not part with it for any riches, but would willingly give it him, if he cared to receive it as a present. *Darius* accepted the offer, and *Syloson*, who was then but in very indifferent circumstances, thought himself a loser by his forward generosity. But when he heard that *Darius*, after the death of *Cambyfes* and destruction of the mages, was advanced to the throne, he hastened to *Susa*, and desired audience of the king, telling the guards that he had been a benefactor to him ; which when *Darius* heard, he answered with surprize ; What *Grecian* is this who pretends to have conferred benefits upon me, and to be respected on that account ? I have but lately taken possession of the kingdom, and have seen here few or none of that country ; neither can I remember that I am at all obliged to any *Grecian*. However, bring in the man that I may hear what he says from his own mouth. *Syloson* was immediately introduced, and asked by the interpreters who he was, and what he meant by saying that he had been a benefactor to the king. Then *Syloson* related what had passed in *Egypt* between *Darius* and himself, which the king remembering answered : O thou most generous man ! art thou then the person from whose hands I received that present, which though small in itself, yet at that time when I had no power, was of more value to me than any thing that can be offered me at present ? I will reward thee plentifully with gold and silver, that thou mayest not repent thy kindness to *Darius* the son of *Hystaspes*. *Syloson* replied, that he neither asked gold nor silver, but only that he would save his country, which ever since the death of his brother *Polycrates* had been possessed by one who had no claim to it. Give me, said he, *Samos* without blood, and without expelling my countrymen. *Darius* having heard his request, immediately sent an army under the conduct of *Otanes*, one of the seven, to *Samos*, ordering him to act agreeable to the directions of *Syloson*. *Otanes* arriving on the coast of *Samos* landed his forces without the least opposition. As they drew near the city,

^a HERODOT. l. iii.

Mæandrus with those of his party offered to depart the island under a promise of indemnity and protection. *Otanes* readily agreed to the proposal, and a truce was concluded on both sides. But in the mean time *Charilaus*, another brother of *Mæandrus*, who had been shut up in a dungeon for several crimes he was guilty of, having overheard what was doing, and from an aperture of his prison observed the *Persians* sitting before the castle without the least apprehension, demanded to speak with his brother. He was accordingly brought into his presence, when he began with most opprobrious and reviling language to stir him up against the *Persians*, calling him a coward for parting so tamely with a kingdom, and demanding leave to do for him what he had not courage enough to do for himself. He engaged, if he would but trust him with the command of his forces for a few days, not only to make the *Persians* repent their coming, but to drive them out of the island. *Mæandrus* accepted the offer, not that he imagined his troops able to cope with the *Persians*, but out of envy to *Syloson*, and in order to weaken the power of the *Samians* before he took possession of the island. For he knew, that the *Persians* would not fail to take a severe revenge on the *Samians* for the outrages they should suffer; and as for himself, he could make his escape out of the island when he pleased, having made a private passage under-ground, leading from the castle to the sea. *Charilaus* no sooner saw himself at the head of the troops, but sallying out of the citadel upon the *Persians*, who expected no hostilities, every thing having been already agreed on, he surprized and killed the chief men among them. But the rest of the army, taking the alarm, came in to their relief, and repulsed the *Samians* into the castle. *Otanes*, being provoked at the great loss he had sustained, commanded his army, notwithstanding the orders given him by *Darius* not to kill or take any *Samian* prisoner, to put all they met to the sword without distinction of sex or age. So that while one part of his forces was employed in besieging the castle, the rest were busied in plundering the houses and murdering the inhabitants, without sparing even such as had taken sanctuary in the temples. *Mæandrus* made his escape by sea, and fled to *Lacedæmon*, where soon after his arrival having commanded his slaves to take out and cleanse his gold and silver plate, he conducted *Cleomenes*, the son of *Anaxandrides*, then king of *Sparta*, to his house, hoping he might take a fancy to some of his rich moveables, and thereby give him an opportunity of gaining him over to his views. The king was greatly surprized at the workmanship of some
cups,

cups, which *Mæandrus* perceiving pressed him to take whatever he pleased, and repeated his offer several times. But *Cleomenes* constantly refused to accept of any thing; and being afterwards informed that other citizens had received his presents, he went immediately to complain of him to the ephori, who, fearing lest he should introduce luxury among them, commanded him to depart *Peloponnesus* that very day ^b.

THE *Persians*, upon the flight of *Mæandrus*, put *Samos*, Syloson. plundered and depopulated as it was, into the hands of *Syloson*. *Otanes*, the *Persian* general, is said to have repeopled it upon a vision he saw in a dream, and a distemper with which he was seized. *Syloson*, seeing himself in possession of the island and supported by the *Persians*, oppressed his subjects to such a degree, that most of them, abandoning their native country, settled either in the neighbouring islands or on the continent, so that *Samos* became again almost quite destitute of inhabitants, the lands lying every-where untilled, and the whole country resembling a desert ^c.

Syloson after a short reign was succeeded by his son *Æaces*, Æaces. who attended *Darius* in his expedition into *Scythia*, and is counted by *Herodotus* among the *Ionian* tyrants, who had no small share in the esteem of *Darius*. *Æaces* being driven out, as well as the other tyrants of *Ionian*, by *Aristagoras* the *Milesian*, the *Samians* openly declared against *Darius*, and joined the other *Ionians* in the revolt. But when the two fleets, the *Ionian* consisting of three hundred and sixty three ships, and the *Persian* of six hundred, were ready to engage near *Lade*, a small island over-against *Miletus*, *Æaces*, who served on board the *Persian* fleet, sent a messenger to the *Samians*, exhorting them to abandon the confederacy, since they could not possibly prevail against the king, who, if that fleet were destroyed, could fit out another five times as powerful. The *Samians* hearkened to this message, and in the heat of the engagement hoisting sail abandoned their confederates, and returned with fifty ships to *Samos*. However, eleven of the *Samian* ships refused to obey their leaders, and together with the *Chians* fought till they were quite disabled. The commanders of these were rewarded by the community of *Samos* with an inscription on a pillar, declaring their names and families, in order to transmit their memory to posterity, and

^b HERODOT. I. iii. PLUT. in Apophtheg. ÆLIAN. Var. Hist. I. iv. c. 5. EUSEB. in Chron. JULIAN. in epist. VAL. MAX. I. v. c. 2. ^c PLUT. I. xiv. EUSTATH. in Dionys

this monument was still standing in *Herodotus's* time ^d. The example of the *Samians*, who retired in the beginning of the fight, being followed by the *Lesbians* and all the confederates except the *Chians*, the *Persians* gained a complete victory, took *Miletus*, and were preparing to invade *Samos*, in order to replace *Æaces*, to whom they were chiefly indebted for their success, on the throne of *Samos*. But many of the *Samians*, chusing rather to abandon their country than to live in subjection to him and the *Persians*, set sail for *Sicily*, being invited thither by the *Zanclæans*, who were desirous to have in their territory a city inhabited by the *Ionians*, and had allotted for that purpose a place on the coast which faces the *Tyrrhenian* sea, and was then called the *Beautiful Coast*. Upon their arrival in *Sicily* they found the city of *Zancle* quite abandoned, the *Zanclæans* being with their king *Scythes* employed in the siege of a *Sicilian* city. Hereupon *Anaxilaus*, tyrant of *Rhegium* and an enemy to the *Zanclæans*, insinuated to the *Samians*, that it would be more advantageous for them to seize on the city of *Zancle* in the absence of the inhabitants, than to settle on the coast designed for their establishment. The *Samians* were easily prevailed upon to follow his advice, which the *Zanclæans* understanding, hastened to recover their city, calling in to their assistance *Hippocrates* tyrant of *Gela* their ally. But *Hippocrates*, betraying his friends, agreed with the *Samians* to leave them in possession of the city, and deliver up to them the rest of the *Zanclæans*, provided they yielded to him one half of the slaves and of the plunder of the city, with all the booty that should be found in the country. Thus the *Samians* made themselves masters of one of the greatest and most beautiful cities of *Sicily*. As to the *Zanclæans*, they were either banished or reduced to slavery by *Hippocrates*, to whom they were delivered by the *Samians* pursuant to their agreement. *Scythes* their king was banished with his brother *Pythogenes* to *Inycum*, whence he made his escape to *Himera*, and there embarking passed over into *Asia* to *Darius* ^e.

In the mean time the *Persians*, after the reduction of *Miletus*, put over with their fleet to *Samos*, and reinstated *Æaces* in his former government, for the eminent service he had rendered them, by persuading his countrymen to abandon the rest of the *Ionians* in the engagement at *Lade*. *Samos* by this means was the only city, of all those which revolted from *Darius*, that escaped undestroyed. *Æaces*, being thus restored to his authority, continued faithful to the

^d HERODOT. I. vi.^e HERODOT. I. vi.

Persians, and served under *Xerxes* in his expedition against *Greece*, obliging the *Samians*, contrary to their inclinations, to assist the *Persians* with their navy against their countrymen. During the *Grecian* war *Æaces* died, and was succeeded by *Theomestor*, whom *Xerxes* raised to that dignity for his courageous behaviour in the sea-fight at *Salamis*, on which occasion he took several of the *Greek* ships, and distinguished himself in a most eminent manner; as also did *Phylacus* another *Samian*, who was not only admitted into the number of those, who from deserving well of the king were called by the *Persians* *Orosanges*, but rewarded with large possessions and great wealth ^f.

Theomestor.
Year of
the Flood
2520.
Before
Christ,
479.

THE *Samians* continued thus subject to the *Persians* and their own tyrants, who were but mere tools of the *Persian* kings, till the famous victory gained by the *Greeks* at *Mycale*; when they were restored to the full enjoyment of their antient liberties. Before this engagement, while the *Grecian* fleet was anchored at *Delos*, under the command of *Leotychides* the *Lacedæmonian*, the *Samians*, without being suspected either by the *Persians* or their own tyrant *Theomestor*, sent three of their chief citizens, *Lampon*, *Athenagoras*, and *Hegesistratus*, to assure the commanders of the *Greek* navy, that the *Ionians* would not fail to revolt from the *Persians* as soon as their fleet appeared. *Hegesistratus*, who spoke for the rest, added, that if they entertained the least suspicion of their sincerity, they were all three ready to remain with them as hostages. *Leotychides* after hearing him had the curiosity to ask his name, and understanding that he was called *Hegesistratus*, which in *Greek* signifies *leader of an army*, he resolved forthwith to set sail and attack the *Persian* fleet which lay then off of *Samos*. Having therefore obliged the three *Samian* ambassadors to confirm with an oath the truth of what they had said, he retained *Hegesistratus*, taking his name for a preface of success, and suffered the other two to return home. The next day *Leotychides*, having offered a solemn sacrifice to the gods, put to sea, and standing towards *Samos* came to an anchor near the temple of *Juno*. But the *Persians*, being informed of their approach, made towards the continent, and hawling their ships ashore fled to their land-forces, which were encamped at *Mycale* to the number of sixty thousand men. In the mean time the *Persian* generals caused all the *Samians* to be disarmed, fearing they were disposed to favour the enemy, because they had already redeemed all the *Athenians* taken in *Attica* by the forces of *Xerxes*, brought them

to *Samos*, and thence sent them back to *Athens* furnished with provisions for their voyage. The *Samians*, though thus disarmed in the very beginning of the engagement, revolted to the *Greeks*, and assisted them in the best manner they could. Their example was immediately followed by the rest of the *Ionians*, who abandoning the *Persians* joined their countrymen, and greatly contributed to that victory which put an end to the designs of *Xerxes* upon *Greece*^b.

The *Samians* and other islanders enter into an alliance with the *Athenians*.

FROM *Mycale* the *Greeks* returned to *Samos*, where it was proposed, in a council held by the chief commanders, to transplant the *Ionians* out of *Asia*, where they were exposed to the insults of the *Persians*, into *Greece*, and there bestow upon them the cities and lands of those *Greeks* who had sided with the *Persians*. But this motion was not approved of by the *Athenians*, who, apprehending that the *Ionians*, if once transplanted into *Greece*, would no longer look upon *Athens* as their mother city, engaged to protect them on all occasions against the common enemy. Wherefore, having obliged the *Samians*, *Chians*, *Lesbians*, and other islanders, who had revolted to them from the *Persians*, to swear that they would continue in their alliance, they set sail together with them for the *Hellepont*, to pursue the war on that side against the *Persians*.

The *Samians* revolt from the *Athenians*.

THE *Samians*, being thus delivered from the *Persian* yoke, continued steadfast in their alliance with the *Athenians* for the space of thirty seven years, governing themselves entirely by their own laws, and enjoying the full possession of their antient liberties. But in the sixth year of the thirty years peace concluded between the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*, they revolted from the *Athenians* on the following occasion. The *Milesians* and *Samians* falling out about the city of *Priene* in *Caria*, to which both parties laid claim, the former not finding themselves in a condition to maintain a war against the *Samians*, gained over such of them as desired to alter the form of government, and with them repaired to *Athens*, where they complained of the injuries they had suffered from the republic of *Samos*, which had driven them by force from a city, which they had as good a right to as themselves. Hereupon the *Athenians* sent messengers into *Samos*, requiring the *Samians* to forbear all hostilities, and refer their differences to their arbitration; which they refusing to do, by reason they apprehended the *Athenians* more favourable to the *Milesians* than to them, *Pericles* prevailed upon his republic to declare war against *Samos*, not out of any motive

^b HERODOT. l. ix. DIODOR. SICUL. l. xi. JUSTIN, l. ii. c. 14.
† of

of justice, but to gratify the famous courtesan *Aspasia*, who was the daughter of *Axiochus* a *Milesian*, and greatly beloved by *Pericles*, not so much on account of her beauty as of her wit. The management of this war was committed to *Pericles* himself, who, having equipped a squadron of forty galleys, set sail for *Samos*, laid siege to the city, and reduced it without any considerable loss. He no sooner saw himself master of the place, but he changed the aristocracy into a democratical kind of government, and having imposed a fine of eighty talents on the inhabitants, and received fifty *Samian* youths for hostages, he committed them to the care of the *Lemnians*, and returned to *Athens*. He was scarce gone, when such of the *Samians* as disliked the popular government, entering into an association, sent deputies over into *Asia* to *Pessuthnes*, or, as *Diodorus* calls him, *Pessuthines*, the son of *Hystaspes*, and governor of *Sardis*, soliciting him to send them succours against the *Athenians*, the antient enemies of *Persia*. *Pessuthnes* hoping, by means of these troubles and domestic broils, to bring *Samos* under his power, lent them a body of seven hundred men. With these the *Samian* deputies setting sail from *Asia* in the dead of the night, with the assistance of their friends in the island, surprized the city, and, having seized on the heads of the popular faction, and taken the *Athenians*, who were there in garison, prisoners, sent them all as a present to *Pessuthnes*. Having thus demolished the democracy established by *Pericles*, they passed over into the island of *Lesbos*, rescued their hostages, and then proclaimed war against the *Athenians*. When news of this revolt was brought to *Athens*, *Pericles* was again dispatched to *Samos* with sixty sail well manned, in order to reduce the revolters. *Pericles* arriving on the coast of *Asia*, detached sixteen ships of his squadron to observe the motions of the *Phœnicians*, whom *Pessuthnes* had sent to join the *Samians*, and to bring in succours from *Chios* and *Lesbos*; which when the *Samians* heard, they immediately recalled twenty ships, which they had sent to attack *Miletus*, and, joining to them fifty more, went to meet *Pericles*, who with forty four ships entirely defeated their fleet consisting of seventy. Soon after this victory the *Athenian* squadron being reinforced with forty sail from *Athens*, and twenty five from *Chios* and *Lesbos*, *Pericles* landed his men in the island of *Samos*, overthrew the *Samians* in a pitched battle, and laid siege to their metropolis, inclosing it with a triple wall on the land side, and blocking it up by sea with his fleet. But in the mean time *Pericles* receiving intelligence, by letters from *Caria* and *Caunus*, that the *Phœnician* fleet was advancing to the relief of the besieged

city, and that *Stesagoras* the *Samian* admiral, had already joined them with a squadron under his command, charged his colleagues to pursue with all possible vigour the siege, while he, with threescore sail, went out in quest of the enemy. The *Samians*, taking advantage of his absence, made a sally at the instigation, and under the conduct, of one *Melissus* the son of *Ithogenes*, routed the *Athenians*, possessed themselves of their camp, and obliged them to retire from before the city. Being elated with this success, they attacked the enemies fleet, which blocked up the harbour, sunk many of their ships, and forced the others to shelter themselves in the neighbouring islands. But *Pericles*, receiving notice of this overthrow, returned with all possible expedition, and being reinforced with forty ships from *Athens* under the command of *Thucydides*, *Agnon*, and *Phormio*, and soon after with twenty more commanded by *Tlepolemus* and *Anticles*, and moreover with forty from *Chios* and *Lesbos*, he attacked *Melissus*, and defeated the *Samians* both by sea and land, began the siege with new vigour, and brought the citizens into great distress. The town was battered both day and night without intermission; but the *Samians*, though quite tired out with frequent assaults on all sides, and reduced to the utmost distress for want of provisions, yet sustained the siege for the space of nine months, without once offering to capitulate. On this occasion the battering rams, scorpions, and galleries are said to have been first invented by one *Artemon* of *Clazomenæ*, whom *Ephorus* the historian confounds with *Artemon Periphrusus*, mentioned by *Anacreon*, as quoted by *Athenæus*^b. The *Samians* at length, seeing they had no hopes of relief, and that their walls were in great part ruined, surrendered. The only terms they could obtain were the following, viz. that they should demolish their walls, give hostages for their fidelity in time to come, deliver up their navy, and pay the charges of the war. The *Byzantines*, who had joined the *Samians* in this war, submitted at the same time to the *Athenians*. Thus *Pericles*, having put to death the authors of the revolt, and re-established the democracy, returned to *Athens*^c. This war happened, according to *Thucydides*, in the sixth of the thirty years truce between the *Athenians* and *Lacedemonians*; but *Diodorus Siculus* places it in the fourth year of the eighty fourth olympiad, that is, after the said truce was expired.

FROM this time the *Samians* continued subject to the *Athenians* till the twentieth year of the *Peloponnesian* war, when

^b ATHEN. I. xii.
I. xii. PLUT. in Pericl.

^c THUCYD. I. i. DIODOR. SICUL.

the common people of *Samos* taking up arms against the nobility, who had again usurped all the power, slew two hundred of them, banished the rest, and divided their lands and houses among themselves. This so pleased the *Athenians*, at whose instigation the people had revolted, that they restored to them all their antient privileges, and allowed them to govern their republic according to their own laws. The ensuing year, when the government of the four hundred was set up at *Athens*, the great men among the *Samians*, to the number of three hundred, formed a new conspiracy against the democracy, and being assisted by *Pisander*, and other *Athenians*, who favoured the oligarchy, they attempted to make themselves masters of the city, with a design to murder all those who were for the popular faction. But the people, having timely notice of their design, and being supported by *Leon*, *Diomedon*, *Thrasybulus*, and other *Athenians*, who were then in *Samos*, and professed enemies to the oligarchy, repulsed them, and having killed about thirty of the three hundred conspirators, obliged the rest to submit to the democracy. In this state the island of *Samos* continued long subject to the *Athenians*, and was resorted to by such of them as could not endure the tyranny of the four hundred usurpers. When *Athens* was besieged and taken by *Lysander* the *Lacedæmonian* admiral, after his famous victory at *Ægos-potamos*, the island of *Samos* was also reduced by the conqueror, who abolished the popular government, and put the whole power into the hands of ten men, who from their number were called the *Deciachæ*. This form of government continued for the space of near ten years, till the *Athenians*, having regained the sovereignty of the seas by their signal victory over the *Lacedæmonians* at *Cnidus*, restored the democracy, and took anew possession of the island. But soon after the *Samians*, revolting from *Athens*, entered into a confederacy with the *Lacedæmonians*; but being in the mean time attacked by *Tigranes*, one of the *Persian* governors of the *Lesser Asia*, and by him brought under subjection to the king of *Persia*, they had recourse to the *Athenians* their antient allies, who immediately sent *Timotheus* to their assistance. *Timotheus*, landing his men in the island, laid siege to the city, and, in a few days, obliged the *Persians*, who held it, to capitulate, and leave the *Samians* in the full possession of their antient liberties*. From this time the island of *Samos* continued faithful to the *Athenians* till they were reduced by the *Romans*, who obliged the *Samians*, and others islanders, to pay a year

* *PROBUS* in *Timoth.*

ly tribute to *Rome*. But in the *Roman* times the *Samians* were a very inconsiderable people, and had quite degenerated from the valour of their ancestors. Not being able to defend themselves, they were an easy prey to the princes of *Macedon*, *Syria*, and *Pergamus*. They became subject to *Rome* upon the death of *Eumenes* the last king of *Pergamus*, who bequeathed, as the *Romans*, pretended, his dominions to their republic. *Augustus* restored them, for what service we know not, to their former liberty, suffering them to live according to their own laws, in the same manner as they had done during their alliance with *Athens*. By this indulgence the island, which had come into the hands of the *Romans* in a mean condition, began to flourish again, and, in a short time, became so populous, that many of the inhabitants were obliged to abandon their country, which could not maintain such multitudes, and settle in the neighbouring island of *Icaria*, which was then but thinly inhabited¹. In this happy state they continued till the reign of *Vespasian*, who reduced *Samos*, with the other *Greek* islands, to a *Roman* province^m.

S E C T. VII.

The history of the other Greek ISLANDS.

BESIDES the *Greek* islands we have already described, there are many others, which if we dismissed this subject without taking some notice of, as they make no small figure in the antient history of *Greece*, we should after all look upon ours as maimed and imperfect. These lie partly in the *Ægean* and *Icarian*, and partly in the *Cretan*, *Myrtoan*, and *Ionian*, seas, or in the *Propontis*; whence we shall, with *Strabo*ⁿ, begin our account of them, describing first such as are on the coast of *Asia*, and therefore reckoned by all geographers among the *Asiatic* islands. In the *Propontis*, now the *Sea of Marmora* (P), the following islands are taken notice

¹ STRAB. l. xiv. DION. lib. liv. EUSEB. Chron. ^m SUTTON. in Vespas.

ⁿ STRAB. l. xiii. p. 425.

(P) The *Propontis*, so called according to *Suidas*, because it lies before the *Pontus*, and is, as it were, an inlet into that sea, extends from the *Hellepont* to the *Bosphorus Thracius*, and is about three hundred miles in compass, being confined on the north by *Thrace*, and on the south by the kingdom of *Pontus*. It is now called by the

tice of by *Ptolemy*, *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Mela*, &c. viz. *Proconne- Islands of*
sus, *Besbicus*, *Phæbe*, *Alone*, *Physia*, *Ophioessa*, *Gonimi*, and the *Pro-*
Liparæ. *Proconnesus*, or, as others write it, *Præconnesus*, pontis.
 was antiently known likewise by the name of *Elapbonnesus*, Proconne;
 that is, *the island of stags* •, it being particularly remarkable, sus.
 as the scholiast of *Apollonius* observes, for the vast number of
 stags with which it was stocked. *Pliny* ^p, *Strabo* ^q, and *Vi-*
truvius ^r, greatly commend the marble quarries of *Proconne-*
sus, and tell us, that the stately palace of *Mausolus* at *Hali-*
carnassus was lined with this marble, which, according to
Vitruvius, received a brighter polish than any other. Hence
Constantine the Great, if we believe *Zosimus* ^t, made use of
 the *Proconnesian* marble only, in embellishing the public struc-
 tures of his new city. *Ptolemy* places this island on the coast
 of *Thrace*, wherein he contradicts all the antient geographers
 who speak of it as lying on the coast of *Asia* over-against *Cy-*
zicum; whence the *Proconnesian* marble, as *Pliny* observes,
 is often from that city called *Cyzican* ^u (Q).

Besbicus,

• PLIN. l. iii. c. 4. Scholiast. Apoll. ad lib. ii. v. 279. ^p PLIN.
 l. xxxvi. c. 6. ^q STRAB. ubi supra. ^r VITRUVIUS, l.
 xi. c. 7. ^t ZOSIMUS, l. ii. c. 20. ^u PLIN. ibid.

the *Turks* the *White Sea*, in opposition to the *Pontus Euxinus*,
 which they stile the *Black Sea*; and, by the *Franks*, the *Sea of*
Marmora, from an island, formerly known by the name of *Procon-*
nesus, which name, in process of time, was changed by the *Latins*
 into that of *Marmora*, by reason of the excellent marble found in
 its quarries.

(Q) *Stephanus* and *Scylan* speak of *Proconnesus* and *Elapbonnesus*
 as two different islands, and tell us, that in the former were an-
 tiently two cities, both bearing the name of the island, and distin-
 guished by the epithets of *the New* and *the Old Proconnesus*; the
 first, say they, was built by the *Milesians*, and the other by the in-
 habitants of the island. *Aristæas* and *Bion* were both natives of
Proconnesus. *Aristæas* was born, according to *Suidas*, in the fiftieth
 olympiad, and lived in the reigns of *Cyrus* and *Cræsus*. He was
 the son of *Democharis*, or, as others will have it, of *Causstrobis*.
 He wrote a *Theogony* in prose, and the history of the *Arimaspians*,
 an *Hyperborean* people, in verse. This poem, as *Suidas* informs us,
 was comprised in three books. He is quoted by *Herodotus* in the
 following words (18). *Aristæas*, a poet of *Proconnesus*, and son to
Causstrobis, says in his verses, “ that he was transported by *Apollo*
 “ into the territories of the *Iffedonians*; beyond whom the *Ari-*
 “ *maspians* dwell, who are a people having but one eye; that the

(18) *Herodot. l. iv.*

“ next

Bessicus.

Bessicus, a small island between *Cyzicum* and the mouth of the *Rhyndacus*, is counted by *Pliny* ^u among those islands which

^u *Idem*, l. ii. c. 88.

“ next region abounds with griffins, which guard the gold of the
 “ country; and that the *Hyperboreans* are situate beyond them,
 “ their country bordering on the sea; that all these nations, ex-
 “ cept the *Hyperboreans*, were continually employed in making
 “ war on their neighbours; that the *Iffedonians* were expelled by
 “ the *Arimaspians*, the *Scythians* by the *Iffedonians*, and the *Cim-*
 “ *merians*, inhabiting the coasts of the south-sea, by the *Scythi-*
 “ *ans*. ” Our historian adds, that *Aristæas* was in no respect inferior
 to any of his fellow-citizens, and that entering one day into a fuller’s
 shop, he there died suddenly. Hereupon the fuller, having shut
 his door, went to acquaint the relations of the deceased with what
 had happened. The news of his death being spread over the city,
 a certain *Cyzicenean*, arriving from *Artace*, disputed the truth of
 the report, affirming that he had met him, and conversed with
 him in his way to *Cyzicus*. While he obstinately persisted in main-
 taining his assertion, the relations of *Aristæas* came with all things
 necessary for removing the body; but could not find *Aristæas* ei-
 ther alive or dead. Seven years after he appeared again in *Pro-*
connesus, composed those verses which are by the *Greeks* called
Arimaspians, and then disappeared a second time. *Herodotus* adds,
 that three hundred and forty years after this second disappearing
 of *Aristæas*, he shewed himself anew in the city of the *Metapon-*
tins, exhorting them to erect an altar to *Apollo*, and a statue by the
 altar, which should bear the name of *Aristæas* the *Proconnesian*; he
 told them on that occasion, that they were the only nation of
 the *Italian* coast that had ever been favoured with the presence
 of *Apollo*, and that he himself attended the god in the shape of a
 raven. Having pronounced these words, he vanished; and the
Metapontins, going to consult the oracle of *Delphos* concerning the
 apparition, were admonished by the *Pythian* to do as they had
 been directed, if they desired their affairs to prosper. In pur-
 suance therefore of this oracle they erected an altar to *Apollo*, and
 near it a statue to *Aristæas*, which were still remaining in our his-
 torian’s time (19). The same story is related by *Pliny* (20), *A-*
pollonius (21), *Maximus Tyrius* (22), *Origenes* (23), *Hesychius* (24),
 and *Tzetzes* (25), *Strabo*, *Tatian*, and *Pausanias* likewise mention
 this author. *Longinus*, in his treatise of the *Sublime*, quotes some
 of his verses, as does also *Julius Pollux*. *Gellius* ranks him among

(19) *Idem*, *ibid.* (20) *Plin.* l. viii. c. 3. (21) *Apollon*
in hist. Mirab. (22) *Maxim Tyr. Dissert.* 22, § 28. (23)
Origen in Celsum l. iii. (24) *Hesych. de Philosoph.* (25)
Tzetzes Chil. 2. *hist.* 50.

which, being first joined to the continent, were separated from it by the violence of the seas or earthquakes. The others, to which he supposes the same misfortune to have happened, are *Sicily*, *Cyprus*, and *Eubœa*, the first having been separated, according to him, from *Italy*, the second from *Syria*, and the last from *Bœotia*. The other islands in the *Propontis* are of no note, and therefore leaving them, since we know nothing of them but their bare names, we shall proceed to the *Ægean* sea (R), describing such islands as lie on the coast of *Asia*, and make any figure in history.

THE

the writers of extraordinary events and fables (26), and *Pliny* cites him to prove, that the *Arimaspians*, who had but one eye, were continually at war with a kind of wild beasts called *Griffins*, that guarded the gold, which the *Arimaspians* dug out of the mines (27). All these relations are fabulous, and therefore, in the opinion of *Dionysius Halicarnassæus*, the poem, entitled *Arimaspians*, was a spurious piece falsely ascribed to *Aristæas*. *Tatian* tells us, that *Aristæas* flourished before *Homer*; but *Strabo* will have him to be that poet's master.

Bion was contemporary with *Pherocydes*, who flourished about the fiftieth olympiad. He copied the titles, and abridged the works, of *Cadmus* the *Milesian*, as *Clemens Alexandrinus* informs us (28). The same author quotes several of his apothegms. *Cadmus*, whose works *Bion* is said to have abridged, was the first who wrote a history in prose (29), and is commonly believed to have lived before the *Trojan* war. *Strabo* mentions this *Cadmus* (whom we must distinguish from another *Cadmus*, a *Milesian* also, but of a much later date) and says, that he, *Pherocydes*, and *Hecataeus*, were the first three writers in prose (30).

(R) The *Ægean* sea, now the *Archipelago*, is that sea which separates *Europe* from *Asia*, washing on one side *Greece* and *Macedon*, and on the other *Caria*, *Ionia*, and *Phrygia*. There is a great variance among authors about the etymology of its name. *Pliny* will have it to be so called from *Ægis* an island, or rather a rock, sacred to *Neptune*, and lying between the islands of *Tenos* and *Chios* (31). *Solinus*, and the scholiast of *Apollonius*, agree with *Pliny*. The island of *Ægis* borrowed its name, according to the same *Pliny* (32), from the *Greek* word *Aix*, signifying a goat, which that island, at some distance, resembles. *Festus* offers three different opinions; the *Ægean* sea, says he, was so named either from its islands, which, lying scattered up and down, look at a distance like so many goats, or from *Ægea* queen of the *Amazons*, who was drowned in it, or because *Ægeus*, the father of *Theseus*, appre-

(26) *Aul. Gell.* l. ix. (27) *Plin.* l. vii. c. 2. (28) *Clem. Alexandrin. Stromat.* l. vi. (29) *Plin.* l. ii. c. 5—6.
(30) *Strab.* l. i. (31) *Plin.* l. iv. c. 11. (32) *Idem, ibid.*
hending

The islands of the Ægean sea on the coast of Asia. THE antient geographers reckon fifty three islands from Tenedos to Crete, and comprehend them all under two general denominations. Those which form a circle round Delos, a little island revered by the antients for being reputed the birth-place of *Apollo* and *Diana*, they call the *Cyclades* from the Greek word *cyclos*, signifying a circle; such as are at a greater distance from Delos they call *Sporades* from the Greek word *Spairo*, importing to scatter or sow, these islands being scattered up and down the *Ægean* sea. To begin with the *Sporades* on the coast of Asia, *Pliny* w mentions the following islands at the mouth of the *Hellespont* over against the country of *Troas*, viz. the *Ascanian* islands, so called, according to some, from *Ascanius* the son of *Æneas*, according to others, from *Askenaz*, one of *Gomer's* sons, the islands of *Plataea*, *Lamia*, *Plitania*, *Plate*, *Scopelos*, *Gethone*, *Arthedon*, *Cælae*, *Lagussa*, and *Didymæ*. These islands are very small, and therefore scarce taken notice of by other geogra-

w PLIN. l. v. c. 31.

hending his son had been devoured by the *Minotaur*, threw himself out of grief into the sea, and perished. *Strabo* (33) derives it from a city of *Eubæa* called *Æga*; *Statius* from *Ægeon*, one of the giants that warred against *Jupiter*, and was by *Neptune*, who overcame him, chained to a rock in this sea; and *Nicocrates* from *Ægeus*, a name antiently given to *Neptune*. *Bochart* recurs, according to his custom, to the *Phœnician* language, and forms the name of *Ægeum*, from the word *Az*, signifying among the *Phœnicians*, wild, cruel, and violent, which he pretends to have been given to this sea by the *Phœnicians*, who first inhabited the islands, by reason it is subject to frequent storms, which, among so many rocks and islands, prove very dangerous (34). The *Icarian*, *Carpathian*, and *Cretan* seas, so called from the islands they wash, and also the *Myrtoan*, are but parts of the *Ægean* sea taken in its full extent. The *Myrtoan* lies, according to *Strabo* (35), *Pliny* (36), and *Pausanias* (37), &c. between *Crete*, *Peloponnesus*, *Attica*, and *Eubæa*, and not on the side of *Asia*, as *Ptolemy* (38) would have it. That author places *Miletus*, *Jassus*, *Myndus*, and the other maritime cities of *Caria* on the *Myrtoan* sea, wherein he contradicts all the antient geographers as well as historians. This sea borrowed its name either from an island called *Myrtus*, as *Pliny* informs us (39), or from *Myrtilus* the son of *Mercury*, or a nymph named *Myrton*, as *Pausanias* insinuates (40). The *Ægean* is now called the *Archipelago*, from the Greek words ἀρχὸς chief, and πᾶς the sea, it being the chief and greatest sea in those parts.

(33) *Strab.* l. viii. p. 266.

(34) *Bochart. Phaleg.* l. i. c. 3.

(35) *Strab.* l. xi. p. 85.

(36) *Plin.* l. xiv. c. 11., & 12. (37)

Pausan. *Arcad.* c. 14.

(38) *Ptol.* l. v. c. 11.

(39) *Plin.*

ubi supra.

(40) *Pausan.* *ubi supra.*

phers or historians. Near them lies the island of *Tenedos* about two leagues from the shore. Behind this island the *Greeks*, as is well known, feigning to return into their own country, lay concealed till their plot against *Troy* took effect. But as we have already given an account of this island ^{*}, we shall only add here, that the learned *Bochart* derives the name of *Tenedos* from the *Phœnician* word *Tin-edum*, signifying *red clay*, which was found here, and in great request for the making of earthen ware [†].

Lesbos, one of the most considerable islands of the *Ægean* sea or *Archipelago*, was antiently called *Pelasgia*, from the *Pelasgi*, by whom it was supposed to have been first peopled; *Macaria*, from *Macareus* the grandson of *Jupiter*, who settled here; *Lesbos*, from the son-in-law and successor of *Macareus*, who bore that name, &c. It is, according to *Strabo* [‡], sixty-two, according to *Pliny*, fifty-six, miles distant from *Tenedos*, divided from the continent of *Asia* by a streight seven miles and a half over, in length seventy miles, and an hundred and sixty-eight in compass. All the antient historians, geographers, and others, who speak of the greater islands in the *Mediterranean* and *Ægean* seas, constantly reckon *Lesbos* in the seventh place, tho' no two of them agree in the disposing of the rest. This *Bochart*, who, if we may be allowed to use the common saying, sees farther into a mill-stone than any other, surmised to be mysterious; and accordingly, with the help of his *Phœnician* etymologicon, found out, that the island of *Lesbos* was without change put in the seventh place, because its name was derived from the *Phœnician* word *Esbuith*, signifying *seven*. But to derive *Lesbos* from *Esbuith* requires several alterations, and withal a greater stock of anagrammatical wit than is fallen to every body's share. This island had in former times, if we believe *Pliny* [‡], eight cities of note; *Herodotus* ^b speaks of six, but *Pomponius Mela* and *Scylax* name only five; the former leaves out *Methymna*, and the latter *Arisba*. These cities were, *Arisba*, which was quite ruined by an earthquake; *Pyrrha*, seated on the western coast of the island towards *Greece*, and distant from *Mitylene*, which stands on the other sea, eighty furlongs ^c. This city under went the same fate as *Arisba*, and also the cities of *Hiera* and *Agamis* ^d. *Eressus* or *Eresus*, placed by *Ptolemy* between *Pyrrha* and *Mela*, the most southern promontory of *Lesbos*, but by *Strabo* between *Pyrrha* and *Sigrium*, the most

Lesbos.
Names.

Cities.

^{*} Vol. V. p. 360, & seq. [†] BOCHART. Phaleg. l. i. c. 3. [‡] STRAB. l. xiii. ^a PLIN. ubi supra. ^b HERODOT. l. i.

STRAB. ubi supra.

^d STRAB. ibid. PLIN. l. iii. c. 9.

northern promontory of the island. *Eressus* was the birth-place of the famous philosopher *Theophrastus*, who succeeded *Aristotle* in the *Peripatetic* school. *Antissa*, which was, according to *Strabo* ^c, in antient times an island by itself, and thence called *Antissa*, because it lay over-against *Lesbos*, then known by the name of *Issa*. This city, having disobliged the *Romans*, was destroyed by *Laber*, and the inhabitants transplanted to *Methymna* ^f. *Methymna*, the native city of *Arion*, who is supposed to have been the first inventer of tragedies and of the *Dithyrambic* verse. This city borrowed its name from *Mithymna*, one of the daughters of *Macareus* ^g, of whom we shall have occasion to speak anon; and was the second city in rank of the whole island, especially after the inhabitants of *Antissa* were transplanted hither by the *Romans*. *Methymna* was famous for the fruitfulness of its territory and the excellent wines it produced. When the other cities of *Lesbos* revolted from the *Athenians*, *Methymna* continued steadfast in its former alliance, and proved very serviceable in reducing of the rest ^h. *Mitylene*, the capital of the whole island, so called from the daughter of *Macareus*, who married *Lesbos*, as we have hinted above. *Cicero* ⁱ and *Vitruvius* ^k greatly commend this city, on account of the stateliness of its buildings and the fertility of its soil. *Strabo* tells us, that it abounded with the necessaries and delights of life ^l, and *Horace* bestows upon it the epithet of *famous* or *renowned* ^m. A modern traveller is of opinion, that the present city of *Castro* was built on the ruins of *Mitylene*, there being to this day many vestiges of a great city to be seen in *Castro* and its neighbourhood ⁿ. But *Mitylene* was not so renowned on account of its magnificent buildings and fruitful soil, as for the many great men it produced. *Pittacus*, one of the seven sages of *Greece*; *Alcæus*, the famous *Lyric* poet; *Sappho*, called by *Strabo* a prodigy, by others the tenth muse; *Terpander*, who was the first that fitted seven strings to the lyre, which gave occasion to the fable of *Orpheus's* head being heard to speak in this island after it was cut off in *Thrace*, as *Eustathius* ingeniously explains it ^o; *Hellanicus*, the celebrated historian, and *Callias*, famous for his notes on *Alcæus* and *Sappho*, were all natives of *Mitylene*. To these we may add, with *Strabo*,

^c STRAB. *ibid.*

^f LIV. l. xlv. c. 31. PLIN. l. v. c. 31.

^g DIODOR. SICUL. l. v.

^h THUCYD. l. iii.

ⁱ CIC.

de Leg. Agr.

^k VITRUV. l. i. c. 6.

^l STRAB. l. xiii.

^m HORAT. l. i. Od. 7.

ⁿ TOURNEFORT Voyage au Levant,

&c.

^o EUSTATH. in Dionys.

Diophanes, a famous rhetorician, who was tutor to *Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus*, and afterwards pressed him to revive the *Licinian* law, which occasioned great disturbances in the republic; *Potamon*, *Lestode*, *Crinagoras*, and *Theophanes*, all mentioned by *Strabo* as men of great parts and learning. *Theophanes* had a great influence over *Pompey*, who honoured him with his confidence and an employment of distinction in his troops; and the *Greek*, in gratitude to his benefactor, wrote the history of his glorious conquests. *Mitylene* was in antient times the seat of all polite arts and literature. There *Epicurus* read public lectures at thirty years of age^p, and *Aristotle* resided two years to improve by the conversation of the learned men of the place^q. In the *Roman* times such as were dissatisfied with the government at home, or desirous to perfect themselves in polite literature, retired to *Athens*, *Rhodes*, or *Mitylene*. Among the former was *Marcellus*, who after the battle of *Pharsalia* withdrew to this city, and was so taken with the conversation of the many learned men he found there, that *Cicero* could not prevail upon him to abandon the place and return to *Rome*, even after he had obtained his pardon from *Cæsar*^r. This city suffered greatly in the *Peloponnesian* war, after it had revolted from the *Athenians*, as we read in *Thucydides*^s. In the *Mithridatic* war it was the only city that refused to submit to the *Romans*, after the treaty of peace was concluded between *Mithridates* and *Sylla*. Wherefore it was besieged, taken, and razed to the ground by *Minucius Thermus*. *Julius Cæsar*, who was then making his first campaign, signalized himself at this siege, and was honoured with several civic crowns. This city was soon after rebuilt, and in favour of *Theophanes* restored by *Pompey* to the full enjoyment of all its antient privileges^t. *Pliny* says, that in his time it enjoyed the same liberty which *Pompey* had granted it. The emperor *Trajan* embellished it with many costly buildings, and called it from his own name *Trajanopolis*; but the antient name prevailed, and in process of time became common to the whole island, which to this day is called *Metelin*.

THE fruitfulness of this island is much spoke of by the antients; it produced great quantities of delicious fruits and exquisite wines, which, if we believe our modern travellers, still deserve the mighty praises bestowed upon them by *Strabo*, *Horace*, *Athenæus*, *Ælian*, &c. We are told, that while

^p *DIAGEN. LAERT.* in vit. Philosoph. ^q *Idem* *ibid.* ^r *CIC.* l. iv. epist. 7. *SENECA* ad *Helviam*, c. 9. ^s *THUCYD.* l. iii. & viii. ^t *VELL. PATERCUL.* l. iii. c. 18. *PLUT.* in *Pompeio*.

Aristotle was dying, a dispute arose among his disciples about the person who should succeed him, some thinking *Menedemus* of *Rhodes* the most proper man to keep up the reputation of the *Peripatetic* school, and others declaring in favour of *Theophrastus* the *Lesbian*. The matter was at last referred to *Aristotle* himself, who, having called for some wine of both islands, and tasted them, said they were both excellent wines, but that the *Rhodian* was not to compare with the *Lesbian*; thereby giving to understand, that *Theophrastus* excelled his competitor as much as the wine of *Lesbos* did that of *Rhodes* ^u. *Triflanus* mentions a medal of the emperor *Geta*, who according to *Spartianus*, did not dislike good wine, with a fortune on the reverse, holding in her right hand the rudder of a ship, and in her left a *cornucopiæ* with a bunch of grapes, and underneath the inscription *Mitylene*. *Pliny* tells us, that the wine of *Lesbos* was deemed no less wholesome than pleasant by *Erasistratus*, one of the greatest physicians of antiquity. The same author speaks of the jasper of *Lesbos*, and of a certain kind of pine-trees yielding pitch. As to the morals of the antient *Lesbians*, we cannot say any thing in their commendation; they were given to all kinds of lewdness and debauchery, insomuch, that to express the lewd and dissolute life of a debauchee, the antients used to say, *that he lived like a Lesbian* ^w. *Goltzius* exhibits a medal, which does no great honour to the *Lesbian* women.

Inhabi-
tants.

THIS island, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, was first peopled by the *Pelasgi*; for *Xanthus* the son of *Triopas*, prince of the *Pelasgians*, who came from *Argos*, having first settled in *Lycia*, and there reigned some time over the *Pelasgians*, who had attended him in his expedition, sailed from thence to *Lesbos*, which, as it lay at that time desolate, he divided among his followers, changing its antient name of *Issa* into that of *Pelasgia*. In process of time, that is, after seven generations, the inhabitants being all destroyed by *Deucalion's* flood, the island lay waste and desolate, till *Macareus*, happening to touch there, and being taken with the pleasantness and fertility of the country, settled in it, and built the city of *Olanus*. The fame of his justice and humanity drew many *Ionians* to him, by whose means he possessed himself of some of the neighbouring islands, and in a short time became very powerful. In his time *Lesbos*, the son of *Lapithas* and grandson of *Æolus*, arriving in this island, by the direction of the oracle at *Delphos*, with a new

^u AUL. GEL. l. xiii. c. 5.

^w SUIDAS, verbo Λισβίαι.

colony, was kindly received by the inhabitants, and being allowed to enjoy, with his followers, the same rights and privileges as those who were there before him, he married *Methymna* the eldest daughter of *Macareus*, after whose death he called the island from his own name *Lesbos* *. This is the account *Diodorus* gives us of the first inhabitants of *Lesbos*; but *Strabo* †, *Herodotus* ‡, *Thucydides* §, *Pausanias* ¶, *Ptolemy* ††, *Velleius* ‡‡, unanimously tells us, that it was first peopled by the *Æolians*, and constantly speak of the *Lesbians* as having come originally from *Æolis*.

THE *Lesbians* were, like most of the other *Greek* nations, Govern- first governed by kings; but of these we find four only men- ment and tioned in history, viz. *Macareus*, *Lesbos*, *Æolion*, and *Penthilus*. *Macareus* is said to have subdued some of the neighbouring islands, viz. *Samos*, whither he sent one of his sons, by name *Cycholaus*, who divided the island among his followers, and ruled over them as king; *Cos*, over which he appointed his second son *Nicander* king; and *Rhodes*, great part of which was held by his third son *Leucippus*. These conquests *Macareus* made, if we believe *Diodorus* †††, soon after the flood of *Deucalion*, that is, about 1046 years before the *Christian* æra, when the islands were but thinly peopled. But *Dionysius Halicarnassæus* tells us, that *Xanthus* the *Pelæsgian*, long before the reign of *Macareus*, had peopled *Lesbos*, and that *Macareus* did not subdue, but only peopled some of the adjacent islands ††††. *Macareus* was succeeded by *Lesbos* the son of *Lapithas*, who, marrying *Methymna* the daughter of *Macareus*, had the island for her dowry. *Æolion* is mentioned by *Homer* as reigning in *Lesbos*; and *Penthilus* by *Pausanias* †††††, who tells us, that *Penthilus* was king of *Mycenæ*, and that he subdued great part of *Æolis*, with the island of *Lesbos*, whence he places him among the *Lesbian* kings. In process of time the democratical form of government universally prevailed in all the *Greek* states, and, amongst others, in *Lesbos*, the *Lesbians* having driven out their kings, as *Aristotle* informs us ††††††, when they began to rule not as kings, but as tyrants. Upon this revolution great troubles arose in the island, each city aspiring to the

* DIODOR. SICUL. l. v. c. 16.

† STRABO, ubi supra.

‡ HERODOT. l. vi.

§ THUCYDID. l. iii. & vii.

¶ PAU-

SAN. in Phocicis.

† PTOLEM. l. v. c. 2.

‡ VELLEIUS

PATERCUL. l. ii.

†† DIODOR. SICUL. l. v. c. 16.

††† DIO-

NYS. HALICARNAS. l. i. c. 33, 34.

†††† PAUSAN. in Co-

rinthiac.

††††† ARISTOT. POLIT. l. v. c. 10.

same power over the others, which they could not bear in one man. In this contest the city of *Mitylene* at last prevailed, and by that means became so powerful, that the *Mityleneans*, being disengaged from all wars at home, began to entertain thoughts of making conquests on the continent. Accordingly, having equipped a fleet, they made a descent on the country of *Troas*, which they in great part reduced, and held undisturbed till the time of *Pisistratus* tyrant of *Athens*, who took from them the city of *Sigeum*, and put it into the hands of *Hegeſistratus* his natural son by a woman of *Argos*. This occasioned a war between the *Athenians* and *Mityleneans*, which was carried on with great vigour by the contending parties, till they were reconciled by the mediation of *Periander* tyrant of *Corinth*. The terms of accommodation were, that each party should retain what they possessed, and that the *Lesbians* should be allowed to make what conquests they pleased on the continent of *Asia*. Thus the *Athenians* remained masters of *Sigeum*, and the *Mityleneans* quietly possessed the rest of *Troas*. In a battle fought during this war, the poet *Alcæus* is said to have betaken himself to flight, leaving his armour behind him, which the *Athenians*, who carried the day, hung up in the temple of *Minerva* at *Sigeum*. This disgrace the poet lamented in a poem, which he inscribed to *Menalippus*, who had attended him in his flight¹. This war was scarce ended, when the other cities of *Lesbos*, not being able to brook the yoke laid upon them by *Mitylene*, revolted. Thus a civil war was kindled anew, which *Myrsilus*, a man of great wealth and authority in the island, taking advantage of, seized on the sovereignty, and ruled without controul. *Alcæus* composed bitter invectives against him, as well as his successor in the tyranny *Megalagyrus*². The other tyrants mentioned in history are *Cleonaclis*, *Archæanax*, and *Melanchrus*. *Archæanax* is said to have raised some stately buildings with materials brought from *Troy*¹. *Melanchrus* was driven out by *Pittacus*, with the assistance of *Alcæus*, who, on this occasion, wiped off the disgrace he had incurred in the *Athenian* war. *Pittacus*, having delivered his country from tyrants, took upon himself to govern it, being warmly pressed thereunto by his fellow citizens; but after having reigned ten years, he resigned all the power which he had been vested with, and spent the remainder of his life in study and retirement. He was not only a great philosopher but an experienced officer. In the above mentioned war between

¹ HERODOT. l. v. STRABO, l. xiii.
supra. ² Idem ibid.

² STRABO, ubi

the *Athenians* and *Mityleneans*, he had the chief command of the army, on which occasion he gave a signal proof both of his courage and good nature ; for being unwilling to hazard the lives of his fellow citizens, he challenged *Phrynon* the *Athenian* general to a single combat, notwithstanding he had been victor at the *Olympic* games. *Phrynon* accepted the challenge, but was conquered and killed by *Pittacus*, who is said to have entangled him in a net, which he had hid under his shield. During his administration he made many wise laws, which he comprehended in six hundred verses. One of these laws, taken notice of by *Aristotle*, *Plato*, and *Plutarch*, was, that every fault committed by a man, when drunk, deserved double punishment. Many of his sentences were written on the walls of the temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos* ; so great was the esteem which the antients entertained of his wisdom. He died ten years after he had resigned the government, in the third year of the fifty-second olympiad, and seventieth of his age ^m. The *Lesbians* maintained their liberties from the time of his resignation to the reign of *Cyrus* the great ; but were in that interval greatly harassed by *Polycrates* tyrant of *Samos*, who, having defeated their fleet, obliged them to pay him an annual tribute. After the defeat of *Cræsus* king of *Lydia*, they submitted with the other islanders to the conqueror, and even agreed, as some authors write, to deliver up to him *Pactyas*, who, after having persuaded the *Lydians* to revolt, had taken sanctuary in the city of *Mitylene* ⁿ. Being thus made tributaries to the kings of *Persia*, they served *Darius* in his wars, both against *Scythia* and *Greece*. In the former *Coes*, the son of *Erxandrus*, commander of the *Mityleneans*, dissuaded *Darius* from breaking down the bridge, which he had laid over the *Ister*, on his march into *Scythia* ; for which piece of good advice he was rewarded with the sovereignty of *Lesbos*, which he did not long enjoy, being driven out by *Aristagoras*, at the beginning of the *Ionian* revolt. He was afterwards seized by one *Itragoras*, and delivered up to the *Mityleneans*, who stoned him to death ^o. The *Lesbians* being thus delivered from the tyranny of *Coes*, readily came into the measures of *Histiæus* and *Aristagoras* ; but in the sea-fight near *Lade*, over-against *Miletus*, followed the exam-

^m HERODOT. l. 5. ARIST. Ethic. c. 6. & Polit. 3. c. 10. PLUT. in Socrate. VAL. MAX. l. vi. c. 5. ÆLIAN. Var Hist. l. ii. c. 29, &c. ⁿ HERODOT. l. i. ^o HERODOT. l. iv. JOANN. TZETZES, Chiliad 3.

ple of the *Samians*, retiring in the heat of the engagement and abandoning their allies. By this means the *Persians* having gained a complete victory, soon reduced *Lesbos*, as well as the other islands. The *Lesbians*, after the defeat of the confederate fleet, had joined *Histiæus*, and subdued the island of *Chios*; on which account they were treated by *Darius* with more severity than the other islanders. This treatment they were forced to endure till the battle of *Mycale*, when they revolted with the other *Greeks*, and joined their countrymen against the common enemy. After the signal victory obtained at *Mycale* by the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians*, they entered into an alliance with the conquerors, who promised to protect them, whenever they should be attacked by the *Persians*^p. In the course of the war, being provoked at the haughty behaviour of *Pausanias* the *Lacedæmonian* commander, they, together with the other allies, deserted him, and put themselves under the command and protection of the *Athenians*, by which means the *Lacedæmonians* lost the chief command^q. Neither did the *Lesbians* long continue faithful to the *Athenians*, but abandoned them in the third year of the *Peloponnesian* war. But of this revolt, and the evils which it brought upon *Mitylene*, we have spoke at length in the foregoing volume^r. After the great overthrow received by the *Athenians* in *Sicily*, they revolted anew from *Athens*, but were soon again brought under subjection, as we have related in the history of *Athens*^s. From this time to the reign of *Alexander*, we find nothing upon record concerning the *Lesbians* worth mentioning. In the war which that prince made upon the *Persians*, the *Lesbians* readily joined him; whereupon *Memnon* the *Rhodian* made a descent upon the island, and reduced it, not without great loss, the city of *Mitylene* having stood a long siege. At last the *Mityleneans* surrendered, upon condition, that the *Macedonians*, who were there in garison, should be suffered to depart unmolested; which so pleased *Alexander*, that after he had regained the city, he restored the inhabitants to their former liberty, enlarged their territory, and confirmed many privileges, not on them only, but on all the *Lesbians*^t. *Alexander* having made himself master of the whole island, by driving the *Persians* from all the places they possessed there, delivered up the tyrants, namely, *Aristonicus* and *Chrysolæus*, to those whom they had oppressed.

^p HERODOT. l. ix. ^q PLUT. in Aristide. ^r HIST. UNIVERS. Vol. VI. p. 174. ^s Ibid p. 204. ^t DIODOR. SICUL. l. xiii. CURT. l. iv.

allowing them to inflict upon their oppressors what punishments they pleased. They were both first cruelly racked, and then put to death, which, as *Diodorus* observes, prevented others from aspiring to the tyranny, even after the death of *Alexander*. Thus they enjoyed their liberty till the time of *Pompey* the great, who reduced the island of *Lesbos* to a *Roman* province, for having delivered up to *Mithridates M. Aquilius*, the chief of the *Roman* deputies sent into *Asia*. However, he soon restored *Mitylene* to the enjoyment of its antient privileges, as we have related above, whence it is counted by *Pliny* among the free cities.

IN the streight which separates *Lesbos* from the continent, *Hecaton-* are a great many small islands called *Hecatonnesi*, from *A-nesi*. *pollo*, named antiently *Hecatos*, to whom they were consecrated^u. Between the promontory *Malea* in *Lesbos* and that of *Cane* in *Æolis*, lie the three islands *Arginusæ*, famous for the victory which the *Athenians* gained there in the *Peloponnesian* war^w. *Cicero*, who mentions this battle, calls these islands *Arginussæ*^x. The largest of the three, called by *Pliny* *Arginusa*, had a town bearing the same name^y.

Chios, now *Scio*, distant from *Lesbos* about four hundred *Chios*. furlongs, and nine hundred in circuit, lies between *Lesbos* and *Samos*, opposite to the peninsula of *Ionia*, on which stand *Erythræ*, *Clazomenæ* and *Teos*^z. It is divided from *Ionia* by a channel which is but three leagues over. This island was known to the antients by the names of *Ætha-* *Names*. *lia*, *Macris*, *Pithyusa*, &c. but that of *Chios* prevailed over all the rest, which some derive from the name of a nymph, others from the *Greek* word *Chion*, signifying *snow*, the mountains of the island, especially mount *Pelenæus*, being often covered with snow. But *Isidorus*^a is of opinion, that the name of *Chios* was borrowed from the *Syriac*, that word signifying, in the *Syriac* tongue, *mastic*, with which this island abounds above all other places.

As for its soil, *Athenæus* calls it a mountainous and rugged *Soil*, &c. country; however, it produced excellent wine, and is on that account highly commended by the antients. *Oenopion*, the son of *Bacchus*, if we believe *Theopompus* as quoted by *Athenæus*, taught the *Chians* the manner of cultivating the

^u STRABO, l. xiii. p. 425.

^w STRABO, *ibid.* DIODOR. SICUL. l. xiii. c. 98. THUCYD. l. vii. p. 606. XENOPH.

l. i. Rer. Græc. p. 261.

^y PLIN. l. v. c. 31.

in Origin.

^x CIC. l. i. Offic. c. 24.

^z STRABO, *ubi supra*.

^a ISIDOR.

vine, and they the rest of mankind. The same author adds, that the first red wine was made in this island. *Virgil*, *Horace*, and *Silius Italicus* seem not to have disliked the wine of *Chios*, especially that which was squeezed from the grapes of *Ariusa* or *Arisia*, and is called by *Virgil* ^b *Arvisian nectar*, by *Silius* *Arisian ambrosia* ^c. *Strabo* prefers this to all the wines of *Greece* ^d. *Pliny* often speaks of it, and quotes *Varro* to prove, that it was often prescribed at *Rome* as an excellent stomachic ^e. The same author adds, that *Hortensius* left to his heir ten thousand casks of this wine. *Julius Cæsar* used to regale his friends with the *Arvisian* wine in his public entertainments, that wine being, as *Athenæus* subjoins, an excellent digester, exceeding wholesome, and far surpassing all others in taste and flavour ^f. Hence we may easily comprehend, why we find so many medals of *Chios* in *Goltzius* ^g, with bunches of grapes, casks, and other implements for making of wine. The figs of *Chios* were likewise in great reputation, and are no less commended by the antient writers than the wine. *Strabo* takes notice of the quarries of *Chios*, and *Pliny* tells us, that the first jasper was discovered in this island. *Cicero* happening to be here when it was first made use of, the inhabitants shewed him it as a curiosity; but the *Roman*, after having viewed it with attention, said, That he should be better pleased with the fabric they were then carrying on, if it were built with stone from *Tibur*, a city in the neighbourhood of *Rome*. But the chief produce of this island is *mastic*, which is produced by the lentisk-trees in greater plenty here than any-where else. But for the description of the *mastic*, and the trees that produce it, we refer the readers to our modern travellers ^h, who give a very distinct account of them. *Vitruvius* mentions a spring in *Chios*, which deprived of their senses all those who tasted its waters; for which reason an epigram was placed over it, warning all passengers of the danger ⁱ. *Chios*, the chief town of the island, stood on the eastern coast, in the most pleasant and fruitful part of the country, and was, according to *Strabo*, forty stades in circumference ^k. This city pretended to be the birth-place of *Homer*; and *Leo Allatius*, a native of *Scio*, has taken a great deal of pains to shew, that this pretension was well grounded ^l. The inhabitants, to this day, shew the

^b *VIRG.* Eclog. v. ver. 71.

^c *SIL. ITALIC.* l. vii. ver. 210.

^d *STRABO.* l. xiii p. 444. ^e *PLIN.* l. iv. c. 7, 14, 15. ^f *ATHE-
NÆUS* Deipn. l. i.

^g *GOLTZ.* de insul. Græc. tab. 15, 10.

^h *TOURNEFORT*, ubi supra. *THEVENOT.* &c. ⁱ *VITRUV.* l. iii. c. 3.

^k *STRABO*, ibid. ^l *LEO ALLAT.* de patria Homeri.

school they suppose he went to, which is cut out of a rock at the foot of mount *Epos*, on the sea side, about four miles from the present town of *Scio*. They likewise pretend to shew his dwelling-house in a place which bears the poet's name, on the north side of the island, near *Volisso*, called *Bolissus* by *Thucydides* and the author of *Homer's* life. *Bolissus* stands in the midst of the *Arvisian* fields, so famed for the wines they produced. These perhaps did not a little contribute to the raising of the poet's vein. The inhabitants of *Chios* were so prepossessed with this opinion that *Homer* was born in their island, that, according to *Julius Pollux*, they stamped his figure on their money. Several medals are still to be seen, which preserve the traces of this ancient tradition. On one, mentioned by *Beger*, *Homer* is represented sitting in a chair, and holding the *Iliad* in his hand; and on the reverse, an harp, the symbol of poetry, with a sphinx, which agrees very well with what is said of *Homer*, viz. that he knew how to inculcate the finest maxims of morality under beautiful allegories and allusions, and that his fables are so many *mystical veils* which conceal the most important truths and profound knowledge^m. This island has given to the world other very extraordinary men, namely, *Ion*, *Theopompus*, *Theocritus*, and *Metrodorus* (S).

THIS

^m LEO ALLAT. *ibid*.

(S) *Ion* flourished about the eighty second olympiad, and is often mentioned and commended by *Aristophanes*, *Atheneus*, and *Suidas*, as an elegant writer of tragedies. His first performance was exhibited in *Athens*, in the eighty second olympiad, and met with general applause. This cannot be the *Ion*, whom *Plato*, in one of his dialogues, introduces reasoning with *Socrates*, as some writers have imagined; for the tragic poet was of *Chios*, and the other a native of *Ephesus*.

Theopompus flourished in the reigns of *Artaxerxes Ochus* in *Persia*, and *Philip* the father of *Alexander the Great* in *Macedon*. He was disciple to *Isocrates*, and, in the opinion of *Dionysius Halicarnassens*, far excelled his master. The same author tells us, that he wrote several books, viz. orations, in imitation of those wrote by *Isocrates*, among which was a funeral oration on *Mautolus*, called by some, the epitaph of *Mautolus*; a book of epistles; an epitome of *Herodotus*; a treatise on the doctrine of *Plato*; another of wonderful things, and two histories. His epistles, as *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* informs us, were titled *Ἀρχαίων*, or, as others read it, *Ἀρχαίων*. *Atheneus* quotes two of his epistles, one addressed to the inhabitants of *Chios*, and the other to

M m m 2

Alexander.

Inhabi-
tants, go-
vernment
and histo-
ry.

THIS island was first peopled, according to *Strabo*, by the *Pelasgians*; according to *Diodorus* by *Macareus* and his followers, *Alexander*. *Harpocration* mentions a third written to *Tizamenes*. *Suidas* mentions his abridgment of *Herodotus*, and says, that he was therein assisted by *Ephorus*. His treatise on the doctrine of *Plato* is quoted by *Athenæus*; and that of wonderful things by the scholiast of *Aristophanes*, by *Apollonius*, and *Laertius*. The same scholiast mentions a treatise of his on piety and religion. The scholiast of *Apollonius* quotes the twenty-first and twenty-second books of his *Philippics*. *Longinus*, in his treatise on the sublime, produces two passages out of *Theopompus*, the one relating to *Philip*, and probably taken from his *Philippics*, where he says, that *Philip* swallowed, without reluctance, such affronts as the necessity of his affairs obliged him to bear. This expression is censured by *Cecilius*, but approved of by *Longinus*, as just and proper. The other passage relates to the descent of the king of *Persia* into *Egypt*, where the author, in the opinion of *Longinus*, enters into a detail of too mean particulars, which greatly lessen the beauty of his relations; but the chief works of *Theopompus* were his two histories, the one comprehending the last years of the *Peloponnesian* war, and the other the actions of *Philip*. Both these pieces are highly commended by *Athenæus* and *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*. The former praises *Theopompus* as a lover of truth, and one who spared no pains in the search of it. The latter tells us, that his diction was pure and simple, and yet sublime and noble; that it had something very pompous, but was tempered with a just harmony; that the whole was well connected, plain and easy, &c. However, some authors have found fault with him as an ill-natured writer, and one who took pleasure in railing. *Cornelius Nepos*, in the life of *Alcibiades*, and *Lucian*, think his invectives too bitter, and add, that his design seems to have been rather to censure, than to relate, facts. *Josephus* ranks him among the historians, whose chief aim was to disparage cities and nations. *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* endeavours to excuse him in this particular, telling us, that he acted like a prudent and skilful surgeon, who cuts off, or burns the corrupted part of the body, making deep incisions and applying caustics, without ever hurting such parts as are sound and vigorous. *Theon* blames his digressions as too long, and making the reader forget the main subject. *Quintilian*, and with him most of the antients agree, that he wrote in the stile of an orator rather than of an historian. His history of *Philip* consisted of 58 books, as *Diodorus Siculus* and *Photius* inform us, and not of 72, as *Suidas* asserts. These *Philip* of *Macedon*, the father of *Perfes*, reduced to 10, by retrenching the many digressions with which he had filled them. His history of the *Peloponnesian* war was comprised in 11 books, according to the anonymous author of the olympiads, in 12, according to *Suidas*. He began where *Thucydides* left off, and ended with the sea fight near *Cnidus*. Some authors have ascribed to him the eighth book of *Thucydides*; but this opinion is rejected by *Marcelinus*. *Anaximenes* of *Lampsacus*

lowers, after they had made themselves masters of *Lesbos*. But the opinion of *Herodotus*, who will have the *Chians* to be *Ionians*, has generally obtained ⁿ. As to their government, they were first subject to kings; but of these we find *Hippoclus* alone mentioned in history. This prince being murdered by his subjects, as *Strabo* informs us ^o, for a pretended affront offered to the bride of one of the chief men of the island, the *Chians* formed themselves into a republic; but as to the laws and constitutions of their new government, we are altogether in the dark. In process of time, with the assistance and under the direction of *Isocrates*, they new-modelled their republic, forming it on the plan of that of *Athens* ^p; but they did not long enjoy the blessings of liberty, being, like the other small states of *Greece*, brought under subjection by their domestic tyrants. *Athenæus* speaks of *Amphicus* and *Polytechnus*, as the first who aspired to the sovereignty of the island, and assumed all the power into their own hands ¹. In the reigns of *Sadyattes* and *Halyattes* kings of *Lydia*, they assisted the *Milesians* against these princes, remembering, says *Herodotus*, that the *Milesians* had assisted them in their wars with the *Erythraeans* ^r; but neither the occasion, nor the success of this war, nor even the time in which it happened, have been transmitted to us. After the

ⁿ HERODOT. l. i. ^o STRABO, ubi supra. ^p DIONYS. in
vita Isocrat. ¹ ATHENÆUS, l. vi. c. 6. ^r HERODOT. l. i.

Lampfacus published a history under his name, which was looked upon as a spurious piece. *Photius* epitomized one of the books of his history; and this epitome is the only part of his works that has reached our times. The same *Photius* gives a very particular account of his birth, education, manner of life, works, &c. which it would be too tedious to insert here (41).

Theocritus was cotemporary with *Theopompus* and *Ephorus*, and wrote, as *Suidas* witnesses, some learned epistles, and the history of *Libya*. *Strabo* (42) calls him a sophist, and ranks him and *Theopompus* among the illustrious men of *Chios*, who, with mutual emulation, strove for the administration of affairs in their republic. This perhaps is the *Theocritus*, whom *Fulgentius* quotes in his *Mythology*, in the fable of *Perseus* and the *Gorgons* (43).

Metrodorus flourished in the reign of *Darius* *Mucmon* king of *Persia*, and was, according to *Suidas*, preceptor to *Hippocrates* and *Anaxarchus*. He was by profession a philosopher and a physician, and wrote several books relating to physic, which are often quoted by *Pliny*. *Athenæus* informs us, that he likewise wrote a book intitled *Troica*; but none of his works have reached us.

(41) Vide *Photium Biblioth. Cod.* 177. (42) *Strabo*, l. xiv.
(43) *Fulgentius*, l. i.

defeat

defeat of *Cræsus* by *Cyrus*, they submitted with the other islanders to the conqueror, and even delivered up to him *Pactyas* the *Lydian*, who had stirred up his countrymen to revolt against the *Persians*. This *Pactyas*, not finding himself in a condition to make head against *Mazares*, whom *Cyrus* had sent against him, fled for refuge to the city of *Cyme*. The *Cymeans*, being unwilling to deliver him up to *Mazares*, and, on the other hand, not caring to draw a war upon themselves by protecting him, sent him to *Mitylene*; but the *Mityleneans*, at the request of *Mazares*, agreeing to deliver him into the hands of the *Persians*, the *Cymeans* dispatched a vessel to *Lesbos*, and transported him to *Chios*. The *Chians*, terrified at the threatening messages of *Mazares*, dragging him from the very altar of *Minerva*, the tutelary goddess of their city, put him into the hands of *Mazares*, who, for their ready compliance with his request, bestowed upon them the city of *Atarneus* in *Mysia*, over-against *Lesbos*, with its territory. Our historian adds, that for many years after, the *Chians* declined using in their sacrifices the growth of lands thus acquired, looking upon the corn and fruits of *Atarneus* as unhallowed, and not fit to be offered to the gods ^f. Being reduced by the *Persians*, they were, like the other islanders, employed by them in all their naval expeditions. They served *Darius*, as the same historian tells us, in his expedition against the *Scythians*; on which occasion *Strattias*, stiled by *Herodotus* tyrant of *Chios*, signalized his affection to that prince, by strenuously opposing such of the *Ionians* as were for abandoning him and returning home ^e. In the *Ionian* revolt the *Chians* readily joined *Aristagoras*, shook off the *Persian* yoke, and equipped an hundred ships, each of which had forty chosen citizens on board. In the sea-fight at *Lade*, they distinguished themselves in a very particular manner; for the *Sami*ans, *Lesbians*, and most of the other *Ionians* betaking themselves to flight in the very beginning of the engagement, the *Chians* fought to the last, took many of the enemy's ships, and gave such proofs of their valour and zeal for the common cause, that had the other *Ionians* followed their example, *Ionia* had been that day delivered from the *Persian* yoke; but as they were abandoned by all their allies, except eleven *Samian* ships, they were at last overpowered, and obliged to save themselves by running their ships aground at *Mycale*; whence they marched into the territory of *Ephesus*. As they arrived in the neighbourhood of the city by night, while the women were celebrating the rites of *Ceres*, the *Ephesians*, not knowing what had happened, and seeing an armed multitude mak-

^f Idem ibid.^e Idem ibid.

ing towards them, took them for robbers come to strip the women, and without examining further into the matter, sallying out of the city with their whole force, killed all the *Chians* on the spot^u. Nor did the misfortunes of *Chios* end here ; for *Histiæus*, after the defeat of the *Ionians*, retiring to *Chios*, and not being received there, attacked those who opposed him, and, with the assistance of the *Lesbians*, reduced the whole island, the *Chians* being greatly weakened by the loss they had sustained in the fight at sea. Thus were the *Chians* rewarded by *Histiæus*, who had been the chief cause of their revolt, and whom they had assisted to the utmost of their power, in hopes of rescuing their country, under his command, from the *Persian* bondage. *Histiæus* not being able to keep possession of the island, abandoned it to the *Persians*, who punished the *Chians* with the utmost severity. The most handsome of their youths they made eunuchs, and their daughters they sent to the king of *Persia*, after having destroyed both their houses and temples, ravaged their territories, and reduced the few inhabitants that remained to a state of slavery^w. Before this last catastrophe, two great misfortunes beset the *Chians*, which our historian looks upon as previous signs of the many calamities they were to suffer from the *Persians*. They had sent an hundred young men of the chief families of the island to *Delphos*, perhaps with some offering ; out of that number two only returned home, all the rest dying of the plague. Not long before the sea fight off of *Lade*, the school, where their youth were educated, falling down buried an hundred and nineteen of them in the ruins^x. Thus they continued subject to the *Persians*, whom they assisted with a considerable squadron in their expedition against *Greece*, till the battle of *Mylæ*, when they revolted with the other *Ionians*, and entered into an alliance with the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* against the common enemy^y. The *Chians*, being thus delivered from the *Persian* yoke, and restored to their antient liberty, flourished, if we believe *Thucydides*, above all the states of *Greece*, *Lacedæmon* alone excepted^z. When the supreme command was, by the unanimous consent of the allies, conferred upon the *Athenians*, the *Chians*, who greatly contributed thereunto, were favoured by the *Athenians* above the other allies, being exempted from all manner of tribute, and obliged only to furnish a certain number of ships^a. They continued faithful to the *Athenians* till the

^u HERODOT. l. vi.^w Idem ibid.^x Idem ibid.^y Idem ibid. DIONOR. SICUL. l. xi.^z THUCYD. l. viii.^a Idem, l. vi.

twentieth year of the *Peloponnesian* war, when they revolted to the *Lacedæmonians*, upon the dreadful overthrow received by the *Athenians* in *Sicily*; and though in this they acted, as *Thucydides* owns, a very prudent part, yet they were, after the loss of three battles, constrained to return to their antient alliance, in which they continued till *the social war*, when, growing weary of their alliance with *Athens*, they joined the *Rhodians*, *Coans*, and *Byzantines*, with a design to throw off the *Athenian* yoke, and set themselves free. In this they were attended with better success than they had been in their former revolt; for, after having maintained the war three years, they concluded a peace almost upon their own terms^b, as we have related in the history of *Athens*^c. From this time they enjoyed a profound peace and tranquillity till the downfall of the *Persian* empire, when they, together with the other *Greek* states in *Europe* and *Asia*, became subject to the *Macedonian* princes. Their city was besieged and reduced to great straits by *Philip* the father of *Perfes*, who, finding he could not take it by force, proclaimed liberty to all the slaves who should revolt, and besides promised them their masters wives in marriage; but, notwithstanding this offer, not one single slave, and there were more slaves in the city of *Chios* than in any other of *Greece*, attempted to revolt, or betray their masters: Whereupon *Philip* was obliged to break up the siege, after he had lost a great number of his men^d. In the war which the *Æolians* waged with the same *Philip* and *Prusias* king of *Bithynia*, they sided with the former, which cost them dear, their territories being laid waste, and all the open places in the island utterly destroyed by the troops of the confederate princes. Afterwards they assisted the *Romans* in their wars against *Philip*, his son *Perfes*, and *Antiochus* surnamed *the Great*, king of *Syria*, and were, for their eminent services, not only declared free, but honoured with the title of friends and allies of the people of *Rome*. They were strangely oppressed and loaded with taxes by *Zenobius*, one of *Mithridates Eupator's* lieutenants, for refusing to join that prince against the *Romans*, but amply rewarded by *Sylla*, after he had overthrown *Mithridates*, for their attachment to the interest of *Rome*. The *Roman* general restored them to the full enjoyment of all their ancient rights and privileges, which they maintained undisturbed, living in great ease and plenty, till the reign of *Vespasian*, who reduced *Chios*, with the other islands of the *Ægean* sea, to a *Roman* province;

^b DIONOR. SICUL. l. xvi.^c Hist. Univers. Vol. VI. p. 245.^d ARRIAN. l. iii.

but, at the same time, allowed the *Chians* to live according to their own laws, under the superintendence of a *Roman* prætor, whose province comprehended all the islands in the *Ægean* sea, from the mouth of the *Hellepont* to *Rhodes*.

SEVERAL small islands lie round *Chios*, which were formerly subject to that state, viz. *Thalussa* or *Daphnusa*, *Oenussa*, *Elaphitis*, *Eurynassa*; and over-against *Ephesus*, at a greater distance from *Chios*, the islands of *Pisistratus*, as *Pliny* styles them, viz. *Anthinæ*, *Myonnesos*, and *Diarrheusa*. These islands are also mentioned by *Thucydides*^c, *Herodotus*^d, *Strabo*^e, &c.

Icaria, now *Nicaria*, lies about twenty miles west of *Samos*, and is, according to *Strabo*, three hundred furlongs, that is, thirty seven miles and a half in circumference. It was antiently called *Doliche*, *Macris*, and *Ichsiæa*. The name of *Icaria* it is supposed to have borrowed from *Icarus* the son of *Dædalus*, who is said to have been drowned near this island, whence the neighbouring sea took the name of the *Icarian* sea, which, according to *Pliny*, extends from *Samos* to *Mycone*. *Bochart* derives the name of *Icaria* from the *Phœnician* word *Icaure*, which signifies full of fish, and agrees with the name of *Ichthuessæa*, given to this island by the antient *Greeks*. *Icaria*, if we believe *Strabo*, was never well peopled; however, it had two pretty considerable towns, viz. *Dracanon* and *Ænoe*. It had good pasture ground, and was on that account, as the same writer tells us, of great use to the *Samians*, who were long masters of it^f. The inhabitants of *Icaria* were particularly addicted to the worship of *Diana*, whence *Callimachus* did not scruple to say, that the goddess took more delight in the island of *Icaria*, than any other of the *Ægean* sea. He alluded, without doubt, to the famous temple erected by the *Icarians* in honour of *Diana*, and called by the antients *Tauropolium*. Some medals of this island are still to be seen, representing *Diana* in the attire of a huntress, and on the reverse a woman on a bull, whom some take for *Europa*; but *Nonius* is of opinion, that the woman represents the same *Diana*, and the bull the richness of the pastures for which this island was once famous.

Patmos, or, as others write it, *Pathmos*, lies forty five miles south of *Icaria*, and is, according to *Pliny*, thirty, according to our modern geographers, only eighteen, miles in compass. It is a barren, mountainous, and rocky country. It had formerly, and has still, several safe and capacious har-

^c PLIN. l. v. c. 31.^f THUCYD. l. viii.^d HERODOT.^e STRABO, l. xiv. p. 443.^f Idem, l. xiv.

bours; that which is now called port *La Scala*, is one of the best in the *Archipelago*. Near this harbour are to be seen some pieces of broken columns, which the antiquaries reckon the most antient in the *Archipelago*. The chief town of this island, as *Galen* informs us, bore likewise the name of *Patmos*. The *Romans* used this island as a place of banishment, under which punishment *St. John* resided here, and wrote his revelations. The present inhabitants pretend to shew the house he lived in, which they call the *Apocalypse*. *Patmos* is now known by the name of *Palmosa*.

Leros. *Leros* is a small island, about eighteen miles in compass, lying south of *Patmos*. It was antiently very populous, and furnished the neighbouring countries with aloes^k. It had formerly two convenient havens. The inhabitants, called *Lerrii*, were reckoned very corrupt by the antients. *Pharmacusa* is placed by *Stephanus* over-against *Miletus*. In this island king *Attalus* was killed, and near it *Julius Cæsar* taken prisoner by the pirates^l. Between *Pharmacusa* and the continent, over-against *Miletus*, is the island of *Lade*, mentioned by *Thucydides*^m, *Strabo*ⁿ, *Pausanias*^o, *Herodotus*^p, *Arrian*^q, &c. It was antiently called *Late*, as *Pliny* informs us, and inhabited by the *Ionians*^r. *Minyia*, *Arcesine*, *Belgialis*, *Amorgus*, and *Caryanda*, are mentioned by *Ptolemy*, and placed between *Patmos* and *Cos*. Some geographers have placed *Caryanda* in a lake near the coast of *Ionis*; but *Pliny*, and *Scylax*, who was a native of this island, counted it among the other islands of the *Archipelago*.

Cos. *Cos*, *Coos*, or *Cous*, is counted by *Pliny*^t among the most considerable islands of the *Ægean*, or rather *Myrtoan*, sea. It was formerly known by the names of *Merope*, *Cea*, *Nymphæa*, and *Caris*. It lies, according to some, in the *Carpathian*, according to others, in the *Myrtoan*, sea, at a small distance from the coast of *Caria*, and fifteen miles from *Halicarnassus*. It was once very famous for its excellent wines, which are highly commended by all the antients. *Strabo* and *Pliny* agree in making it about eighty miles in compass. The chief city of the island was first called *Astypalæa*, and afterwards *Cos*. This city is mentioned by *Homer*, who calls it a place well peopled. *Strabo* speaks of a stately temple erected by the *Coans* in honour of *Æsculapius*, the tutelar god of their island, and enriched with offerings and presents of great va-

^k *PLIN.* l. iv. c. 12. ^l *SUET.* c. iv. *PLUT.* in ejus vita.
^m *THUCYD.* l. viii. p. 561. ⁿ *STRABO*, l. xiv. p. 437. ^o *PAU-*
SAN. in Atticis, c. 35. ^p *HERODOT.* l. vi. c. 7. ^q *AR-*
RIAN. l. i. p. 52. ^r *PLIN.* l. v. c. 31. ^t *Idem*, l. v.

lue ; but the chief ornament of the place was a *Venus* rising out of the sea, done by *Apelles*, and reckoned one of his best performances. This inimitable piece was by *Augustus* conveyed to *Rome*, and there dedicated to *Cæsar*, *Venus* being reckoned the mother of the *Julian* family. To make some amends to the *Coans* for the loss of so valuable a treasure, the same *Augustus* eased them of a considerable part of their annual tribute^t. This island was, in the *Roman* times, famous for a kind of fine stuff, which was in great request among the women of distinction at *Rome*. It covered them indeed, says the historian, but, at the same time, shewed them naked^u; and hence it is so much spoke of, and inveighed against by the *Latin* poets^w. But nothing has rendered this island more famous than the many great men it has produced, viz. *Hippocrates*, the reviver of physic, *Senius*, another famous physician, *Ariston*, a peripatetic philosopher, and *Apelles*, the so much celebrated painter (T). This island was, according to *Homer* and *Strabo*, inhabited by *Greeks* before the *Trojan* war, a colony of *Dorians* having passed over into it from the continent*. The *Coans* were first governed by kings, among whom we find mention made of *Eurypylus* contemporary with *Hercules*; of *Chalcon*,

^t STRABO, l. xiv. p. 452. ^u VELL. PATERC. l. i. ^w HORAT. l. iv. Od. 13. PROPERT. l. i. Eleg. 2. TIBUL. l. ii. Eleg. 4 & 6. * STRABO, l. xiv.

(T) To these we may add *Sisyphus*, who is said to have been secretary to *Teucer*, and to have possessed the records of the *Trojan* war, which *Homer* made use of. He is mentioned by *Tzetzes*, and in a manuscript chronology quoted by the learned *Leo Allatius*. As to *Hippocrates*, he learned, if we believe *Pliny* (44), the first rudiments of physic, by perusing certain tablets, called by the *Latins*, *tabellæ votivæ*, which were hung up in the temples; for, agreeable to an antient custom, which prevailed all over *Greece*, such as recovered from any distemper, used to write on a tablet the nature and symptoms of their respective maladies, and the remedies which had been attended with most success. These tablets *Hippocrates* is said to have copied and followed when he first began to practise. A tablet of this nature was discovered at *Rome*, not many years ago, among the ruins of the antient temple of *Æsculapius*, with this inscription in *Greek*: *Julianus being afflicted with vomiting of blood, and abandoned by men, the gods hastened to his relief, and having nourished him for the space of three days with honey, restored him to his health; for which favour he came to return them thanks in the presence of the people.*

(44) *Plin.* l. vii. c. 37.

N n n 2

d. 1. 1. 1.

Antiphus, and *Phidippus*. The two latter are said by *Homer* and *Theocritus* to have served at the siege of *Troy*. The kingly government gave room to a democracy, and this, as *Aristotle* informs us ¹, to an aristocracy, which was abolished by some private men, who, taking the whole power into their hands, governed with an absolute sway. Among these *Nicippus* and *Scythes* are mentioned by *Ælian* ². *Hippocrates*, in one of his letters, tells us, that the *Coans* refused to give earth and water to the messengers of *Darius* and *Xerxes*; but this does not agree with what we read in *Herodotus*, who counts the *Coans* among the *Greeks* who served as auxiliaries in the army of *Xerxes* ³. In the twentieth year of the *Peloponnesian* war, the city of *Cos*, as we read in *Thucydides* ⁴, was thrown down by an earthquake, the most violent one that had ever happened in those parts. Soon after this calamity, before they had time to repair the walls of their city, *Astyochus* the *Lacedæmonian* making a descent on the island, for the *Coans* sided with the *Athenians*, laid waste the whole country, plundered the city, the inhabitants having fled to the mountains, and retired to *Cnidus* with an immense booty. When *Mithridates* commanded all the *Romans* in *Asia* to be massacred, the only place that shewed any regard to them was the island of *Cos*, where they were suffered to enjoy the common rights of asylum in the sacred places. *Mithridates* soon after invaded the island, took the metropolis, and committed great devastations in their territory; but the *Coans* no sooner saw *Lucullus Sylla's* quæstor appear off their coast, than they rose in arms, drove out the king's garison, and received the *Romans*, by whom they were amply rewarded, *Sylla* having exempted them from all manner of tribute, and allowed them to live according to their own laws ⁵. *Tacitus* tells us, that the *Coans* continued ever faithful to the *Romans*, did them many good services, and greatly contributed to some victories gained by their fleets. However, in the reign of the emperor *Claudius*, we find them, like the other *Greek* states, paying an annual tribute to *Rome*, which that emperor eased them of, in compliance with the request of *Xenophon* his physician, whom he pretended to be one of the descendants of *Æsculapius* ⁶. This immunity from all impositions, taxes, and tributes they enjoyed till the reign of *Vespasian*, who, reducing them to a *Roman* province, exacted the same tribute from them

¹ ARISTOT. Polit. l. v. c. 3.

² ÆLIAN. Var. Hist. l. i. c. 29.

³ HERODOT. l. ix.

⁴ THUCYD. l. viii.

⁵ Val. Max. l. ix.

c. 2. PLUT. in Sylla. DIO. legat. 36. MEMNON, c. 33. ⁶ PLUT. ubi supra.

⁷ TACITUS Annal. l. xii.

is from the other *Asiatic* islands. *Strabo* tells us, that the island of *Nisyra*, called formerly *Porphyris*, was once joined to *Cos* †, but separated from it by the violence of the winds and seas. This island is sixty furlongs from *Cos*, and as many from *Telos*, being, according to *Strabo*, eighty furlongs in compass.

Carpathus lies between *Rhodes* and *Crete* in the sea, which from this island is called the *Carpathian* sea, and has to the north the *Ionian*, to the south the *Egyptian*, to the west the *Cretan* and *African* seas ‡. This island is two hundred furlongs in compass, and an hundred in length †. It had antiently, according to *Strabo*, four cities; according to *Scylax* only three. *Ptolemy* mentions but one, which he calls *Posidium*. This island is now called *Scarpanto*. Divers other islands lie dispersed on this coast, and are mentioned by *Pliny*, *Strabo*, *Ptolemy*, *Thucydides*, &c. viz. *Casos*, eighty furlongs in compass; *Syme*, over-against the continent of *Caria*, between *Lorima* and *Cnidus*; *Chalæ*, distant from *Carpathus* four hundred furlongs; *Telos*, over-against *Triopium*, an hundred and forty furlongs in circuit; *Arconnesus*, lying off of *Halicarnassus*, with several other islands mentioned by *Pliny* †, in the *Ceramic* gulf, that is, in the sea between the city of *Halicarnassus* and the island of *Cos*. This bay was so called from the city of *Ceramus*, which *Pliny* places in the island of *Arconnesus*; but all other geographers on the continent between *Cnidus* and *Halicarnassus*. This bay is called by some writers the *Ceraunian* bay, and the city, from which it borrowed its name, *Ceraunus* *. *Casos, &c.*

The *Cretan* sea is properly that part of the *Ægean* sea which lies about *Crete*, and formerly belonged, together with the islands it contained, to the *Cretans*. These islands are, *Claude*, *Dia*, *Letoa*, *Ægilia*, *Calymna*, *Astypalæa*, *Thera*, &c. *Claude*, which is mentioned in the *Acts* †, and had, in *Pliny*'s time, a city called *Gaulos*, and now *Gozo*, lies south of *Crete*. *Dia*, now *Standia*, is about three leagues distant from *Crete*, and rather a rock than an island. *Letoa* is now known by the name of *Cristina*, and *Ægilia* by that of *Cerigo*. The former lies near *Crete*, the other not far from *Peloponnesus*. *Calymna* is celebrated by the antients for its excellent honey ‡. *Astypalæa*, now *Stampala*, lies off the south-west

† STRABO, l. x. prope finem.

‡ Idem ibid.

‡ Idem ibid.

& SCYLAX, p. 93.

† PLIN. l. iv. c. 12.

‡ STRABO, l.

xiv. POMP. MELA, l. i. c. 16.

† ACTS xxvii. 16.

‡ POMP.

MELA, p. 213. OVID. Metam. l. viii. ver. 222.

coast of *Cos*, is about sixty miles in compass, and had formerly a city bearing the same name, with two safe harbours.

Thera.

Thera is placed by *Strabo* between *Crete* and *Egypt*, and said to be twenty-five miles in compass; but the modern geographers more rightly place it between *Crete* and the *Cyclades*, and allow it thirty-six miles in circuit, wherein they agree with *Stephanus Byzantinus*. This island was first peopled by the *Phœnicians*; for *Cadmus* as *Herodotus*^a, *Pausanias*^b, and *Strabo*^c, inform us, arriving here in search of his sister *Europa*, left some of his followers, under the command of his kinsman *Membliares*, to people the island, which was then called *Callista*. This name it changed in process of time to that of *Thera*, from *Theras* the *Lacedæmonian*, the son of *Autesion* and grandson of *Tisamenes*, who led into this island a colony of *Lacedæmonians* and *Mynians*. The story is thus related by *Herodotus*^d; the *Argonauts*, on their return from *Colchis*, stopped at *Lemnos*, where their posterity retained the name of *Mynians*. These, being driven out of *Lemnos* by the *Pelasgians*, sailed to *Lacedæmon*, and arriving at *Taygetus* landed there. When the *Lacedæmonians* heard of their arrival, they dispatched a messenger to enquire who they were, and whence they came. They answered, that they were *Mynians*, descended from those heroes who had attended *Jason* to *Colchis*. The *Lacedæmonians*, understanding that they were of *Mynian* extraction, sent another messenger to enquire with what design they had landed in their territories. To this they answered, that being expelled *Lemnos* by the *Pelasgians*, they were desirous to return to and settle in the country of their ancestors. The *Lacedæmonians* readily complied with their desire, allowing them to share with them their lands and privileges, and even to marry *Lacedæmonian* women; but not long after these new-comers conspired together to seize on the lands of the antient proprietors, and usurp the supreme authority; but their plot being discovered, they were all apprehended and sentenced to die. As the sentence, according to the custom of the country, was to be put in execution in the night, the wives of the *Mynians*, who were daughters to the principal persons of *Sparta*, asked leave to take their last farewell of their husbands; which being granted, they changed their garments with them, the women remaining in the prison, and the men making their escape, disguised like women, to the city of *Taygetus*. At this time *Theras*, who had been regent of the kingdom of *Sparta* dur-

^a HERODOT. l. iv. ^b PAUSAN. l. iii. & vii.
l. viii. ^c HERODOT. ubi supra.

^d STRABO,

ing the minority of his nephews *Eurysthenes* and *Procles*, the sons of *Aristodemus*, having resigned to them the government, and not liking to obey after he had tasted the pleasure of commanding, declared his resolution to leave *Lacedæmon* and settle in the island of *Callista*, which was then held by the *Phœnicians*. As the *Lacedæmonians* pursued the *Mynians* to *Taygetus*, with a design to seize them there and put them to death, pursuant to the sentence pronounced against them, *Theras* interceded in their behalf, promising to transport them out of the country, and by that means free the *Lacedæmonians* from their troublesome guests. The *Lacedæmonians* complied with his desire, and *Theras*, with the *Mynians* and a great many of his countrymen, set sail to *Callista*, where they all settled. Thus was the island peopled, first by the *Phœnicians*, and afterwards by the *Mynians* and *Lacedæmonians* under the conduct of *Theras*. *Herodotus*, who gives us this account of the inhabitants of *Thera*, names two of the descendants of *Theras* who reigned here, viz. *Æsanius* and his son *Grynus*. The latter went to *Delphos* to sacrifice an hecatomb in honour of *Apollo*, attended by the most eminent citizens of the place, among whom was *Battus* the son of *Polymnestus* or *Cyrnus*, a man of great distinction among the *Mynians*. While *Theras* consulted the oracle about other affairs, the *Pythian* commanded him to build a city in *Libya*; from the execution of which command he excused himself on account of his age, desiring the oracle to employ therein some of the young men there present, at the same time pointing to *Battus*. On their return they slighted the oracle, nor did they know in what part of the world *Libya* was; but a drought, which lasted seven years in *Thera* and destroyed all the trees in the island, except one, obliged the king to return to the oracle, which commanded them again to build a town in *Libya*, and send a colony thither. Thus seeing no end of their calamity, they dispatched some of their citizens to *Crete*, with orders to enquire, whether any of the *Cretans*, or other inhabitants of that island, had ever been in *Libya*. These messengers, travelling from place to place, arrived in the city of *Itanus*, where having met with one *Corobius* a dyer of purple, who told them, that he had, by distress of weather, been driven to an island of *Libya* called *Plataea*, they prevailed upon him, with the promise of a great reward, to go with them to *Thera*. The *Theræans* found means to persuade him to conduct a small number of men to the island of *Plataea*, whence they soon returned to give an account of the place to their countrymen, leaving *Corobius* there with provisions for two months; but as they did not return within the time appointed, *Corobius*

was

was reduced to the last extremity, when a ship from *Samos*, bound homewards from *Egypt*, arrived in the harbour. The *Samians* being informed by *Corobius* of all that had happened, left him subsistence for a year ; during which time the *Theræans* returned with a numerous colony, and having divided the lands among them, chose *Battus* for their king. *Battus* seeing himself raised to this dignity, made many wise laws, governed his new kingdom with great prudence, and built a city, which, by order of the oracle, he called *Cyrene*. This city, in process of time, became very famous, and one of the most powerful states of *Africa*, as we shall see in the sequel of this history. ^r

THE islands of *Thera* and *Melos* were the only two places, that in the *Peloponnesian* war, sided with the *Lacedæmonians*, and held out to the last against the *Athenians*, tho' solicited, with advantageous offers, to join the other islands. *Thera* made then, as *Herodotus* informs us ^r, a very considerable figure, was well peopled, and had no fewer than seven cities of no small note. It has still five towns pretty well peopled, viz. *Apanomeria*, *Scaro* or *Castro*, *Pyrgos*, *Emperie* or *Nebrio*, and *Acroteri*. Near *Apanomeria* is a capacious harbour, in the shape of a half-moon ; but ships cannot anchor in it, no bottom having ever yet been found. In this harbour there are two small islands, and at a little distance from it two others, called by *Pliny*, *Strabo*, and *Seneca*, *Hiera* or *Automate*, and *Therasia*. *Seneca* tells us ^t, that the island of *Therasia* appeared first in his time ; and *Pliny* ^u speaks of another, which he calls *Thia*, and places near *Hiera*, as quite new. This island, says he, has been seen issuing out of the sea in our days ; and *Justin* ^w tells us, that in his time, a great earthquake happening between the islands of *Thera* and *Therasia*, a new island sprung up, to the great surprize of all who beheld it. *Dion Cassius* ^x also speaks of an island appearing here in the reign of *Claudius*, which *Aurelius Victor* ^y calls a considerable island, and *Syncellus* mentions as appearing first in the forty-sixth year of the *Christian* æra. *Cedrenus* ^z tells us, that in the tenth year of *Leo Isauricus* there appeared, for some days together, a thick fog between the islands of *Thera* and *Therasia*, and a smoke, as if a burning kiln or furnace were rising up ;

^r HERODOT. *ibid.*
natural. l. vi. c. 21.
TIN. l. xxx. c. 4.
TOR. in Claud.

^t Idem *ibid.*

^u PLIN. l. 2. c. 77.

^x DION. l. lx.

^y AUREL. VIC-

713.

^t SENECA *Quæst.*

^w Jus-

^y AUREL. VIC-

and that, on a sudden, there appeared, floating on the surface of the water, a new island, which at last fastened to the island of *Hiera*, and considerably increased its bulk. At the same time such vast quantities of pumice-stone were cast up, as covered the coasts of *Macedon* and *Asia*, as far as the *Dardanelles*. This happened, according to *Theophanes*, in the year of Christ 712, according to *Nicephorus* in 720. A modern writer, who describes the island of *Thera*, called by the modern inhabitants *Santorin*, tells us, that, in his time, there were many old men in the island, who assured him, that they had seen, in 1573, a violent fire break out of the sea, and soon after a new island appear, which from thence they called *Micri Cammeni*, that is, *the little burnt island*^a. This seems to confirm what *Strabo* says^b, viz. That in his time the sea between *Thera* and *Therasia* was observed to boil four days together, and that an island 1500 paces in compass suddenly appeared, as if it had been plucked up by engines from the bottom of the water. A modern traveller tells us, that a few years before his arrival in the island, an immense quantity of pumice-stone arose out of the harbour of *Thera*, with such a dreadful noise, that at *Scio*, which is above 200 miles distant from *Thera*, they imagined the *Venetian* and *Ottoman* fleets had engaged c. In 1707 a new island appeared, if we may credit the accounts from the *Levant*, near *Santorin* or *Thera*, which was two miles in circuit at its first appearance, and was a few months after considerably increased by additional rocks cast up in violent earthquakes by the sea. The present inhabitants of *Thera* never fail to acquaint strangers, that the many rocks which are seen about their island, were all brought into the world by earthquakes. *Pliny* tells us^d, that *Thera* itself first appeared after a violent earthquake; and that *Thia*, which is but two furlongs from it, was cast up by the sea in his time, on the eighth of the *Ides* of *July*, *M. Junius Silanus* and *L. Balbus* being then consuls. What *Pliny* advances is vouched by many other antient writers.

THERE are still to be seen in *Thera* the ruins of the temples of *Neptune* and *Minerva*, mentioned by *Strabo*, *Pliny*, and the scholiast of *Pindar*. The island was consecrated to *Apollo*, and thence is called by *Pindar* *the holy island* e. The

^a Father *RICHARDS* in his account of *St. Erimi*. ^b *STRABO*, l. i. ^c *THEVENOT*, c. 68. ^d *PLINY*. i. ii. c. 87. ^e *PINDAR*. *Od.* 4.

The Cy-
clades.

many inscriptions, that are still remaining, shew, that this island made no small figure even in the Roman times. It is now known by the name of *Santorin* or *Santorino*, probably derived from St. *Irene*, the tutelary saint of the island. These are the chief islands in the *Ægean*, *Icarian*, and *Cretan* seas on the coasts of *Asia*. We shall now proceed to the *Cyclades*, the number and order of which is, according to *Strabo* ^f, as follows, *Helena*, *Ceos*, *Cythnus*, *Seriphus*, *Melos*, *Siphnus*, *Cimolis*, *Prepesinthus*, *Olearus*, *Naxus*, *Parus*, *Cyrus*, *Myconus*, *Tenus*, *Andrus*, *Gyarus*. Most of these islands lie south of *Delos*; so that this island is not strictly in the midst of the *Cyclades*, as the antients seem to have supposed.

Helena.

Helena, now *Macronisi*, was antiently known by the names of *Macris* and *Cranae*; but that of *Helena* prevailed over the other two, and was borrowed, according to *Strabo* ^g, *Pausanias* ^h, and *Stephanus*, from the Grecian beauty of that name, *Paris* having stopped some time with her in this island. It is about three miles in breadth and eight in length, whence it is called *the Long island*. *Pliny* says it was separated from the island of *Eubæa* by an earthquake. It is a barren and inhospitable place, being covered over with a deep sand, and having but one spring, and that, as our modern travellers inform us, but a very poor one. Some have been of opinion, that this island was never inhabited; but *Goltzius* mentions two medals relating to its antient inhabitants. It is separated from the continent of *Attica* by a streight eight miles over ⁱ.

Ceos.

Ceos, *Cea*, or *Cia*, lies opposite to the promontory of *Achaia*, called *Sunium*, and is fifty miles in compass ^k. This island is commended by the antients on account of its fertility and richness of its pastures ^l. The first silk-stuffs, if *Pliny* and *Solinus* are to be credited, were wrought here. *Ceos* was particularly famous for the excellent figs it produced, as the same *Pliny* informs us ^m. It was first peopled by *Aristeus* the son of *Apollo*, and *Cyrene*, who, being grieved for the death of his son *Actæon*, retired from *Thebes*, at the persuasion of his mother, and went over with some *Thebans* to *Ceos*, at that time uninhabited ⁿ. *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that he retired to the island of *Cos*; but the antients, as

^f STRABO, l. x. p. 334.

^g STRABO, l. ix. p. 275.

^h PAUSAN. in Atticis.

ⁱ STRABO, l. x.

^k PLIN. l.

iv. c. 12.

^l Idem ibid. & VIRG. Georg. l. i. ver. 14.

^m PLIN. l. xvi. c. 27.

ⁿ SERVIUS in Virg. Georg. l. i.

Servius observes, called both these islands by the same name of *Cos*. Be that as it will, the island of *Ceos* became so populous, that a law obtained there, commanding all persons upwards of sixty to be poisoned, that others might have wherewithal to subsist; so that none above sixty were to be seen in the island, being obliged, after they arrived at that age, either to submit to the law, or abandon the country, leaving all their effects behind them *. *Ceos* had, in former times, four famous cities, viz. *Julis*, *Carthæa*, *Coreffus*, and *Præessa*. The two latter were, according to *Pliny*, swallowed up by an earthquake †. The other two flourished in *Strabo's* time. *Carthæa* stood on a rising ground, at the end of a valley, about three miles from the sea. The situation of it, as described by *Strabo*, agrees with that of the present town of *Zia*, which gives name to the whole island. The ruins both of *Carthæa* and *Julis* are still remaining; those of the latter take up a whole mountain, and are called by the modern inhabitants *Polis*, that is, *the city*. Near this place are to be seen the ruins of a stately temple, with a great many pieces of broken pillars and statues of most exquisite workmanship. The walls of the city were of marble, and some pieces are still remaining above twelve feet in length. *Julis* was, according to *Strabo*, the birth-place of *Simonides*, *Bacchylides*, *Erastratus*, and *Aristo* (U). The Oxford mar-
bles

* STRABO, l. x.

† PLIN. ubi supra.

(U) The antients mention two great men natives of *Ceos*, both bearing the name of *Simonides*. The elder, the son of one *Leoprepis*, was born in the fifty-sixth olympiad, and died in the seventy-eighth, in the eighty-ninth year of his age. He wrote in the *Doric* dialect the history of *Cambyfes* and *Darius Hystaspis*, and described in *Lyric* verses the battles of *Artemisium* and *Salamis*. He is said to have added to the *Greek* alphabet the four letters H, Ω, Ξ, Ψ. He had, according to *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* and *Quintilian*, a particular talent in moving his readers to compassion; and to this probably *Catullus* alluded in the following lines:

*Paulum quidlibet adlocutionis
Mæstis lacrymulis Simonideis.*

He was highly favoured by the greatest princes of *Greece* and *Sicily*, especially by *Pausanias* and *Hiero*. He wrote several books, a catalogue of which may be seen in *Suidas* and the anonymous author of the chronology of the olympiads (35). He carried the prize

(35) *Suidas in lex.* & *anonym. olymp.* 82.

bles tell us ⁹, that *Simonides*, the son of *Leoprepis*, invented a sort of artificial memory, whereof he shewed the principles at *Athens*, and add, that he was descended of another *Simonides*, who was a poet no less renowned than himself. One of these two poets invented those doleful verses, which are sung at funerals, and are called by the *Latins*, *Neniae*^r. *Strabo* tells us, That the *Athenians* having besieged the city of *Julis*, raised the siege, upon advice, that the inhabitants had resolved to murder all the children under a certain age, that other useful persons might not be employed in looking after them^s. *Ceos* was, with the other *Greek* islands, subdued by the *Romans*, and bestowed upon the *Athenians* by *Marc Anthony* the *triumvir*, together with *Ægina*, *Tinos*, and some other adjoining islands^t, which were all reduced to one *Roman* province by *Vespasian*.

Cythnus.

Cythnus, about twelve miles east of *Ceos*, is counted, by *Strabo*, among the most fruitful islands of the *Ægean* sea. It

⁹ Epoch. 55.
bo, ubi supra.

^r Vide HORAT. l. ii. Od. i.
^t APPIAN. l. i.

^s STRA-

of poetry, probably in *Syracuse*, being then in the eightieth year of his age. After his death the *Syracusians* erected a magnificent monument to his memory, which was afterwards demolished by *Phœnix* general of the *Agrigentines*. On this occasion *Callimachus* wrote a piece against *Phœnix*, wherein he introduced *Simonides* complaining of that general, for not shewing the same regard to him, which *Caster* and *Pollux* had shewn, when they rescued him from the danger he was in of being crushed under the ruins of a house that was ready to fall, as *Phædrus* relates in his fables.

The other *Simonides* was grandson of *Simonides* the elder, and flourished a little before the *Peloponnesian* war. He was, as *Suidas* informs us, author of the three books of inventions, and wrote as many of genealogies, whence the scholiast of *Apollonius* gives him the surname of the *Genealogist*. *Bacchylides* was nearly related to *Simonides*, and wrote some tragedies. *Aristo* was a *Peripatetic* philosopher of no mean character. *Erasistratus* was an eminent physician, the grandson of *Aristotle*, and flourished under *Ptolemy Philadelphus* or *Antiochus Nicanor*. He is said to have been the first who discovered that *Antiochus Soter* was in love with his mother-in-law *Stratonice*, as we shall relate in the history of that prince's reign. *Erasistratus* is mentioned by *Pliny* (36), *Plutarch* (37), *Appian* (38), *Gellius* (39), *Valerius Maximus* (40), &c.

(36) *Plin.* l. xiv. c. 7. l. x. c. 9. l. xxvi. c. 2. l. xxix. c. 1.

(37) *Plut. in Demet.*

(38) *Appian. in Syriac.*

(39) *Aul.*

Gell. l. xvi. c. 3.

(40) *Val. Max.* l. v. c. 7.

was

was the birth-place of *Cyadras*, an eminent painter, mentioned by *Dionysius* and his commentator *Eustathius*. The cheese of *Cythus* was, according to *Stephanus* and *Julius Pollux*, in great request among the antients. The island is now called *Thermia*, from the Greek word *Thermos*, signifying *hot*, by reason it abounds with hot springs, which are much commended by the antients. There are some remains of an antient and very magnificent city on the southern coast.

Seriphus, now *Serpho*, is a barren rock rather than an island, *Seriphus* whence *Tacitus* calls it *the Seriphian rock* ^u. *Pliny* allows it only twelve miles in compass ^w; but, according to our modern travellers, it is thirty-six. The rugged and steep mountains of *Seriphus* gave the poets occasion to feign, that *Perseus* transformed the inhabitants into stones. *Strabo* tells us, that on this coast was found the chest, wherein *Acrisius* had shut up *Perseus* and his mother *Danaë* ^x. *Origen* speaks of the inhabitants of this island with great contempt ^y; but *Herodotus* lets us know, that the inhabitants of *Seriphus*, *Siphnos*, and *Melos* were the only islanders that refused to admit the fleet and troops of *Xerxes* ^z. The same author adds, that the *Seriphians* were originally *Athenians*, and that they assisted their countrymen with two galleys against the *Persians*. They were in antient times governed by kings; but of these we find one only mentioned in history, viz. *Polydectes*, and of him we know nothing but what we read in the poets. To this place the *Romans* confined enormous offenders. Here died *Cassius Severus* the famous orator, banished by *Augustus* for speaking with too much freedom; a fault which seventeen years of banishment in the isle of *Crete* had not cured him of ^a. *Vestilia* the wife of *Labeo*, being convicted of adultery, was sent to *Seriphus* to spend the remainder of her life there ^b. One *Stratonicus*, mentioned by *Plutarch* ^c, being banished to this island, found the place so very disagreeable, that he one day asked his landlord, what crimes were punished in his country with banishment? The *Seriphian* answered, Perjury. Why then, replied *Stratonicus*, don't you forswear yourself, that you may be banished from such an execrable place? *Pliny* ^d and *Ælian* ^e tells us, that the frogs of *Seriphus* are naturally mute, but as noisy as any others when transported out of

^u *TACIT.* *Annal.* iv. c. 25.

^w *PLIN.* l. iv. c. 12.

^x *STRABO*, l. x.

^y *ORIGEN.* in *Cels.* l. i.

^z *HERODOT.*

l. viii. c. 41.

^a *TACIT.* *Annal.* l. iv. c. 21.

^b *EUSEB.*

Chron. p. 158.

^c *PLUT.* de *Exil.*

^d *PLIN.* l. iii. c.

37. ^e *ÆLIAN.* *Var. Hist.* l. viii. c. 58.

the island. *Jupiter*, say the poets, struck the frogs dumb at the request of *Perseus*, who could not sleep here for the noise they made; but *Theophrastus* ascribes their silence to the chillness of the waters in this island. The waters as our modern travellers observe, are not colder here than elsewhere, nor the frogs less noisy ^f. However, this groundless report gave rise to the proverb, quoted by *Stephanus* and *Suidas*, *As silent as a frog of Seriphus*. This island abounds with mines of iron and load-stone, and had antiently a very convenient harbour. The onions of *Seriphus* are highly commended by *Spon*; they grow on small spots of ground between the rocks, and are cultivated by the inhabitants with extraordinary care, being the only commodity the island affords.

Melos.

Melos lies about twenty four miles off of cape *Scyllæum*, now *Schilli*, in *Peloponnesus*, is sixty miles in compass, and, according to *Pliny* ^g, almost round. This island, though small, made a very considerable figure in the flourishing ages of *Greece*. *Melos*, says *Thucydides* ^h, enjoyed its liberty seven hundred years before the *Peloponnesian* war. The inhabitants, says the same *Thucydides* ⁱ, were originally *Lacedæmonians*, and therefore refused in the time of the *Peloponnesian* war to join the *Athenians*, declaring, that they would maintain a strict neutrality, which they did accordingly. *Stephanus* and *Festus* will have the *Melians* to be a colony of *Phœnicians*, and the island to have borrowed its name from one *Melos* who led the colony. Be that as it will, the *Melians* could never be prevailed upon to join the other islanders and *Athenians* against the *Lacedæmonians*; which the *Athenians* resenting, sent *Nicias* with a fleet of threescore sail and two thousand land-forces to besiege the capital of the island. *Nicias* landed in the island, laid waste the country, but was obliged to raise the siege of the town, the *Melians* having made a more vigorous resistance than he expected ^k. Some time after the *Athenians* made another descent with three thousand men under the command of *Cleomedes* and *Tisias*, but could not reduce the town, till they were reinforced with new troops from *Athens*, which arriving with *Philocrates* brought the *Melians* to such streights, that they were forced to surrender at discretion. The *Athenians*, at the instigation of *Alcibiades*, treated them with great cruelty, putting to the sword all those who were able to bear arms, and carrying into *Attica* the women and children, where they were sold for slaves. The island

^f *TOURNEFORT* Voyage au Levant, &c.

c. 12.

^h *THUCYD.* l. v.

ⁱ *Idem*, l. ii.

^k *Idem*, l. iii. & *DIODOR. SICUL.* l. xii.

^g *PLIN.* l. iv.

^k *Idem*,

being

being thus quite unpeopled, a new colony was sent thither from *Athens*. But not long after *Lyfander* the *Lacedæmonian* general, having obliged the *Athenians* in their turn to surrender at discretion, released the captive *Melians*, and restored them to their native country, after having driven from thence the *Athenian* colony ¹. *Melos* afterwards underwent the same fate as the other islands of the *Ægean* sea, that is, it fell under the yoke of the *Romans*, and was by them reduced with the other islands to a province. *Melos* was the birth-place of the philosopher *Diagoras*, who was the first, as *Lactantius* informs us, that asserted there were no gods, whence he had the surname of *Atheist*. This island abounds with iron mines, and was in former ages famed for its wine and honey; from the latter some are of opinion it took the name of *Melos*. *Clemens Alexandrinus* ^m and *Julius Pollux* ⁿ greatly commend the pastures and mineral waters of this island; but *Hippocrates* speaks of one, who, being cured of the itch by using the waters of *Melos*, fell into a dropsy, of which he died ^o. The allum of *Melos* was in great request among the *Romans*, who preferred it, as we read in *Pliny* ^p, to that of any other country except the *Egyptian*.

Siphnus, now *Siphanto*, is about thirty six miles distant *Siphnus*. from *Melos*, and, according to *Pliny*, twenty-eight in circumference, though our modern geographers allow it to be forty. It was antiently known by the names of *Merope*, or *Merapia*, and *Acis*. The name of *Siphnus*, if we believe *Stephanus* is of a later date, and borrowed from *Siphnus* the son of *Sunion*, who settled here with a colony. The air of *Siphnus* is exceeding wholesome, and the soil equally fruitful, producing great plenty of delicious fruits, and corn enough to support its inhabitants. The morals of the antient *Siphnians* were very depraved; whence it was proverbially said of persons leading a debauched and dissolute life, that *they lived like Siphnians* ^q. *Siphnus* had formerly several good harbours, and has still five very safe ones, viz. *Faro*, *Vati*, *Chitriani*, *Chironisso*, and *Calanca*. There were formerly here rich mines of gold, as *Pausanias* informs us ^r, and great plenty of lead; whence the inhabitants were reckoned very rich, and the island distinguished with the epithet of *happy* ^s. *The-*

¹ THUCYD. l. v. PLUT. in Alcibiad. PLUT. in Lyfandr.
^m CLEM: ALEXAND. Pædagog. l. ii. c. i. ⁿ JUL. POLL.
 Onomast. l. vi. c. 10. ^o HIPPOCR. Epid. l. v. ^p PLIN.
 l. xxxv. c. 15. ^q STEPHANUS, HESYCHIUS, SUIDAS, verbo
 Σιφνίαι & Σιφνιάζον. ^r PAUSAN. in Phocicis. ^s ISIDORUS, Orig. l.
 xvi. c. 4.

ophrastus ^t, *Pliny* ^u, and *Isidorus* ^w mention certain cups of stone made in *Siphnus*, which were in great esteem among the *Romans*. In the last century the Grand Signior sent some *Jews* to examine into the lead-mines; but the inhabitants, apprehending they should be obliged to work in them, bribed the captain of the vessel, which brought the *Jews*, to sink his ship; by which means the cargo of ore was lost, and the *Jews*, who designed to farm the mines, all drowned. Some time after other undertakers came upon the same errand, but as they met with no better success, the undertaking was dropt ^x.

Cimolis.

Cimolis is separated from *Melos* by a streight, which is scarce a mile over. It is, according to *Pliny*, twelve miles in compass, and was antiently called *Echinusa*, or the island of *Vipers*. It is now known by the name of *Argentiere*, which it borrowed from the *silver mines*, with which it is said to abound. The present inhabitants shew these mines to strangers, but are afraid to meddle with them, lest the *Turks* should load them with taxes under pretence that they reaped great advantages from them. This island is a very barren place, and full of rocks and mountains. It is scarce ever mentioned in history, having always followed the fate of *Melos*. The *terra Cimolia*, or *Cimolian earth*, is greatly commended by *Pliny* ^y; it is a kind of chalk used by the present inhabitants, as it was by their forefathers in *Pliny's* time ^z, in washing linen and whitening it. The same author speaks of the medicinal virtues of this earth; but these it has no more at present, and perhaps never had. The whole island is covered with this sort of chalk, whence it is called by *Ovid* a chalky country ^a.

Prepesinthus.

Prepesinthus is a small island between *Siphnus* and *Melos*, about four miles in compass. It is mentioned only by *Artemidorus* and *Strabo* ^b, and contains nothing worthy of notice.

Oliaros.

Olearus, or *Oliaros*, mentioned by *Strabo* ^c, *Pliny* ^d, *Virgil* ^e, *Ovid* ^f, &c. is sixteen miles in compass, and separated from the isle of *Paros* by a streight seven miles over. This island was, according to *Heraclides Ponticus* as quoted by *Stephanus*, first peopled by a *Phœnician* colony from *Sidon*. This island, now known by the name of *Antiparos*, exhibits one of the greatest curiosities in nature, namely the vegetation of

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 Metamorph. l. vii. v. 463. ^b STRAB. l. x. p. 334. ^c STRAB
 ibid. ^d PLIN. ubi supra. ^e VIRGIL. Æneid. 3. v. 120.
^f OVID. Metamorph. l. vii. v. 126

stones, which is described at length by a modern traveller, to whom we refer our readers^g.

Naxos now *Naxia*, was formerly known by the names of *Naxos*. *Strongyle*, *Dia*, *Dionysias*, *Callipolis*, and *Little Sicily*. It was called *Strongyle* from a *Greek* word signifying *round*, though in reality it is rather square than round. The names of *Dia* or *Divine*, and *Dionysias* were given it as being consecrated in a peculiar manner to the fabulous god *Dionysius* or *Bacchus*. The name of *Callipolis* *Pliny* and *Solinus* derive from the metropolis of the island, formerly a most beautiful city, which is the import of the word *Callipolis*^h. The great fruitfulness of the country gave rise to the name of *Little Sicily*, *Naxos* being the most fruitful of all the *Cyclades*, as *Agathemerus* informs usⁱ, and no less fertile than *Sicily* itself. As for the name of *Naxos*, some tell us that it was borrowed from one *Naxos*, under whose conduct the *Carians* possessed themselves of the island; others pretend it received this name from *Naxus* the son of *Endymion*. *Stephanus*, *Suidas*, and *Phavorinus* derive the name of *Naxus* from the *Greek* word *Naxai*, signifying to *sacrifice*, and will have it to have been so called from the many sacrifices offered here to *Bacchus*. With these *Bockart* agrees as to its being called *Naxos* from the sacrifices performed here in honour of *Bacchus*, but will have the word *Naxos* to be a corruption of the *Phœnician* *Nacsa* or *Nicfa*, signifying a *sacrifice* or *offering*. *Naxos* is, according to *Pliny*^k, seventy five, according to the present inhabitants, an hundred miles in compass. It has *Paros* to the west, *Myconos* and *Delos* to the north, and *Ios* to the south. This island is the most fruitful of the *Archipelago*, and was in former ages famed for the excellent wines it produced: *Archilochus*, as quoted by *Athenæus*, compares them to the nectar of the gods; and *Asclepiades*, cited by *Stephanus*, tells us, that *Bacchus* took more delight in *Naxos* than in any other place whatsoever, having himself taught the inhabitants to cultivate their vines. The wine of *Naxos* maintains to this day its antient reputation, being by some deemed the best of the *Levant*. Besides wine, this island abounds with all sorts of delicious fruits, the plains being covered with orange, olive, lemon, cedar, citron, pomgranate, mulberry, and fig-trees. It was formerly famous for quarries of that sort of marble, which the *Greeks* called *Ophites*, from its being green and speckled with white spots like the skin of a serpent. The

^g *TOURNEFORT* ubi supra Tom. 1. epist. 5. ^h *PLIN.* l. iv c. 12. ⁱ *AGATH.* l. i c. 5. ^k *PLIN.* ubi supra.

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^g *TOURNEFORT* ubi supra Tom. 1. epist. 5. ^h *PLIN.* l. iv c. 12. ⁱ *AGATH.* l. i c. 5. ^k *PLIN.* ubi supra.

best emeral is found here on mountains near the western coast, whence the neighbouring cape is called by the *Italians* *Capo Smeriglio*, or the *Emeril Cape*. As to the inhabitants of *Naxos*, *Diodorus* tells us, that the island was first peopled by the *Thracians*, who settled here on the following occasion.

Boreas had two sons, *Butes* and *Lycurgus*, by different mothers. *Butes*, who was the younger, entered into a plot against his brother; which being discovered, *Boreas* commanded him to leave *Thrace* and find himself some other habitation. *Butes* imbarqued with his accomplices, and steering his course to the *Cyclades*, possessed himself of *Naxos*, then called *Strongyle*, and lived upon plunder, seizing all the ships that sailed that way. But as *Butes* and his *Thracians* wanted women, and the neighbouring islands were either thinly inhabited or quite desolate, they sailed to *Theffaly*, and landing there seized upon some women, while they were celebrating the mysteries of *Bacchus* on a mountain near the shore called *Diros*. *Butes* having used violence on this occasion to *Coronides*, she made her complaints to *Bacchus*, who struck *Butes* with madness, which occasioned his death, he having thrown himself down a precipice and died of the fall. The other *Thracians* returned with the *Theffalian* women to *Strongyle*, carrying with them, amongst others, *Iphimedia* the wife of *Aloeas* and *Pancratis* his daughter, both women of extraordinary beauty. On their return they created *Agassamenus* king of the island in the room of *Bates*, bestowing upon him *Pancratis*, as he did *Iphimedia* on one of his intimate friends, whom he had appointed commander in chief of his forces. In the mean time *Aloeas* sent his two sons *Otus* and *Ephialtes* in quest of his wife and daughter. These landing in the island with a strong body of men, engaged the *Thracians*, routed them, took their metropolis by storm, and made themselves masters of the whole island. Not long after the two brothers fell out, which occasioned a civil war, wherein many were killed on both sides, and amongst the rest the two brothers by one another; but the *Theffalians* afterwards adored them as demigods or heroes. After the *Theffalians* had held the island for the space of two hundred years and upwards, they were at length obliged by a drought and famine to abandon it. After the *Trojan* war the *Carians*, being then powerful at sea, settled here, and called the island *Naxos* from their king, who was the son of *Polemon*. He was succeeded by his son *Leucippus*, and *Leucippus* by his son *Smardius*, in whose reign *Theseus* coming out of *Crete* landed here with *Ariadne*, whom he was, as *Diodorus* tells us, commanded in his sleep by *Bacchus* to leave in this island, which he did accordingly, and *Bac-*
chus

chus having retired with her to mount *Arius*, they both soon after disappeared † (W). In process of time a colony of *Cnidans* and *Rhodians* settled here, under the conduct of *Hippothous* and *Xuthus*; and last of all the *Ionians*, who by degrees possessed themselves of the whole island, whence the *Naxians* are by *Herodotus* called *Ionians*, and ranked among the *Athenian* colonies¹.

Naxos was formerly a very flourishing republic, and by far the most powerful of the *Cyclades*, as *Herodotus* informs us^m, and had several cities of note, amongst others *Naxos* the metropolis of the island mentioned by *Ptolemy*ⁿ; the present city of *Naxia*, which is the capital, was perhaps built on the ruins of the antient *Naxos*, whence it retains the same name.

THE *Naxians* were first governed by kings, as we have hinted above out of *Diodorus*, but afterwards formed themselves into a republic, and enjoyed their liberty till the time of *Pisistratus* tyrant of *Athens*, who having subdued *Naxos* bestowed it upon *Lygdamis* a native of the island, for having assisted him with men and money in usurping the sovereign power^o. Upon the death of *Lygdamis* they recovered their liberty, and even possessed themselves of the neighbouring islands of *Paros* and *Andros*. In the reign of *Darius Hystaspis*, *Aristagoras*, governor of *Miletus* in *Ionia*, formed a design of surprizing *Naxos*, under colour of restoring the nobles, who had been driven out by the popular faction and taken refuge in *Miletus*. *Darius* furnished him with two hundred ships and a considerable body of land-forces to be em-

† DIODOR. SICUL. l. v. ¹ HERODOT. l. viii. ^m Idem, l. v. ⁿ PTOL. Geog. l. iii. c. 15. ^o HERODOT. l. i.

(W) The antients mention two women, who had the common name of *Ariadne*; and in honour of both festivals were yearly solemnized in the island of *Naxos*. The one was thought to be of a gay and pleasant temper; and therefore her festival was observed with music and many other expressions of joy and mirth. The other was the same whom *Theseus* is supposed to have left big with child on the coast of *Naxos*, and is said to have been of a melancholy disposition, whence the solemnity dedicated to her had a shew of sorrow and mourning. In memory of her being left by *Theseus*, it was usual on this occasion for a young man to lie down and counterfeit all the agonies of women in labour. This festival is said to have been first instituted by *Theseus*, to atone in some degree for his ingratitude to her (41).

(41) *Plut. in Theseo.*

ployed in this expedition. But the *Naxians*, being forewarned by *Megabates* the *Persian* general, with whom *Aristagoras* happened to fall out, put themselves in a posture of defence, and obliged *Aristagoras*, after a siege of four months, to drop the enterprize, and retire to the continent. On the miscarriage of this expedition *Aristagoras*, as we have related in the history of *Persia*, revolted from the *Persians*, and prevailed upon the *Ionians* to join in his revolt, which brought endless calamities upon *Ionia*. Not long after the *Persians* made a second descent on *Naxos*, under the command of *Datis* and *Artaphernes*, and meeting with no opposition, the inhabitants having at their approach abandoned their habitations and fled to the mountains, they possessed themselves of the island, ravaged the whole country, and laid the city with its temples in ashes^p. The *Naxians*, being thus brought under the *Persian* yoke, could not help sending some ships of war to their assistance in their expedition against *Greece*; but the officers, who commanded them, at the persuasion of *Democritus*, the most wealthy and powerful citizen of *Naxos*, instead of joining the *Persians*, went over with their ships to the *Athenians*. At the battle of *Plataea* the *Naxians* gave singular proofs of their valour, as we read in *Diodorus Siculus*, being above the other islanders zealous in the defence of the common liberties of *Greece*^q. They were at that time, according to *Herodotus*, in a very flourishing condition, had a great number of slaves, a squadron of ships well appointed, and eight thousand land-forces^r. In the *Peloponnesian* war they declared for the *Athenians*, as did most of the other islands of the *Ægean* sea; but, being treated by them more like subjects than allies, attempted to shake off the yoke. The *Athenians* sent a powerful fleet against them, besieged their capital, and forced them to accept what conditions *Athens* was pleased to impose. *Thucydides* observes, that *Naxos* was the first of the confederate cities which the *Athenians* deprived of their liberty^s. From this time they continued subject to the *Athenians* till they fell into the hands of the *Romans*, which happened in the *Mithridatic* war. After the battle of *Philippi* *Mark Anthony* bestowed *Naxos*, *Andros*, and some other islands on the *Rhodians*, who oppressed them to such a degree, that he was soon obliged to drive them out, and restore those islanders to their former state of liberty, which they enjoyed till the reign of *Vespasian*^t.

^p Idem, l. vi.^q DIONOR. SICUL. l. v.^r HERODOT.

l. ix.

^s THUCYD. l. i.^t APPIAN. l. v.

WITHIN a stone's cast from *Naxos* is a rock, on which is still to be seen a very beautiful gate of marble, which the inhabitants call the gate of *Bacchus's* palace; but is without all doubt part of the magnificent temple, which the *Naxians* built here in honour of that god. For they had a tradition that *Bacchus* was born in their island, and educated among them by the nymphs *Philiæ*, *Coronidis*, and *Cleidis*, and that out of gratitude for the kindness shewn him in his infancy by the *Naxians*, he had taken the island under his protection, and on several occasions assisted them in a miraculous manner against their enemies. The gate we are speaking of is eighteen foot high, eleven foot three inches broad, and remarkably beautiful. This temple and the island on which it stood were joined to *Naxos* by a stone bridge, on which were to be seen in 1547 the conduits which served to convey the wine from *Naxos* into the cellars of the temple. This is what we learn from *Benedetto Berdonio* ^w; but our more modern travellers take no notice of this bridge.

THE island of *Paros* was antiently called *Pactia*, *Minea*, *Paros*. or *Minoia*, *Demetrias*, *Zacynthus*, *Hyria*, *Hileassa*, and *Cabarnis* ^{*}. The name of *Cabarnis* is borrowed, according to *Stephanus*, from one *Cabarnus*, who first acquainted *Ceres* with the rape of her daughter *Proserpine*; or, according to *Hesychius*, from the *Cabarni*, the priests of *Ceres* being so called by the inhabitants of this island. *Bochart* [†] tells us, that the word *Cabarnis* in the *Phœnician* tongue signifies to sacrifice, whence the priests were called in some places, such especially as had any communication with *Phœnice*, *Cabarni*, that is, *sacrificers*. The name of *Minoa* it borrowed from *Minos* king of *Crete*, who subdued this as he did most of the other islands of the *Ægean* sea [‡]. It was called *Paros*, which name it retains to this day, from *Paros* the son of *Parrhasius*, or, as *Stephanus* will have it, of *Jason* the *Argonaut*. *Paros*, according to *Pliny's* computation [§], is distant from *Naxos* seven miles and a half, and twenty-eight from *Delos*. Some of the modern travellers will have it to be fourscore ^b, others only fifty, miles in compass ^c. *Pliny* says it is half as large as *Naxos*, that is, between thirty six and thirty seven miles in compass. It was antiently a rich and powerful island, being called by *Stephanus* the most wealthy and happy of the *Cyclades*, and by *Cornelius Nepos* an island elated with its riches ^d.

^w BORDON. Viaggio all. Archipelago.

^c CHIU, SOLIN. &c.

[‡] PLIN. l. iv. c. 12.

^c PORCHACH.

^{*} STEPHANUS, HESY-

[†] BOCHART. Phæleg. l. i. c. 4.

[‡] PLIN. ibid.

^b FERRARIUS.

^d CORN. NEPOS, in Alcibiade.

The city of *Paros*, which was the metropolis of the island, is stiled by *Stephanus* a potent city, and said to have been one of the largest in the *Archipelago*; the present city of *Paros*, or, as the natives call it *Parichia*, is supposed to have been built upon its ruins, the neighbouring country abounding with valuable monuments of antiquity; the very walls of the present city are built with columns, architraves, pedestals, mingled with pieces of antient marble of a surprizing bigness, which were once employed in more noble edifices. Every one knows, that *Paros* was formerly famous for its marble, which was of an extraordinary whiteness, and in such request among the antients, that the best statuaries used no other^e. *Pliny* tells us^f, that the *Parian* marble and no other was made use of in adorning the frontispiece of the celebrated labyrinth in *Egypt*, which was counted one of the wonders of the world. The best quarries were those of mount *Marpessus* or *Marpeffus*, mentioned by *Virgil*^g and his interpreter *Servius*. In this mountain are still to be seen caverns of an extraordinary depth, which the modern inhabitants and travellers take to be the antient quarries. The quarries of *Paros*, if *Pliny* is to be credited, were so deep, that even in the clearest weather the workmen were obliged to use lamps, whence the marble was called by the *Greeks* *Lychnites*, that is, *worked by the light of lamps*^h. The same author tells us, that in a block of marble, dug up in one of these quarries, when broken by the workmen, there appeared a beautiful representation of *Silenus* engraved on the stone by the hand of natureⁱ. In one of the quarries, distant about four miles from the present city of *Parichia*, is still to be seen a basso-relievo cut in the rock, and containing twenty nine figures of nymphs and satyrs dancing a kind of brawl. This was done, as appears from the inscription, by one *Adamas Odryses* in honour of the nymphs. Though *Pliny* greatly commends the *Parian* marble, yet he prefers to it that of *Luna* in *Italy*, as being both whiter and of a closer grain^k. The island is provided with several capacious and safe harbours, and was antiently much resorted to by traders. *Archilochus*, the inventor of the *Iambic* verse, was a native of *Paros*. *Horace* was in the right when he said, that rage armed him with *Iambics*^l; for his verses were so satirical and biting, that *Lycambes*, against whom he wrote, hanged himself out of despair. *Lycambes*, after having betrothed his daughter to him, bestowed

^e PLIN. l. iv. c. 12. & l. xxxvi. c. 5. ^f Idem, ibid. ^g VIRGIL. *Æneid*. 6. ^h PLIN. l. xxxvi. c. 5. ⁱ Idem, l. iii. c. 5.

^k Idem, l. xxxvi. c. 5. ^l HORAT. de Arte Poetica.

her upon another, which affront the poet revenged by composing those bitter invectives, which obliged *Lycambes* to lay violent hands on himself. His books were forbidden at *Sparta* for their wanton and obscene expressions, and himself banished the country. He was contemporary with *Gyges* king of *Lydia*. The author of the most valuable monument of antiquity now extant, that is, of the *Oxford* marbles, was born in this island, as *Gassendus* informs us^m, but his name has not reached us. He lived, according to the learned *Usher*, in the third century before the christian æra. As to the inhabitants of *Paros*, this island was, according to *Thucydides*ⁿ, first peopled by the *Phœnicians*, who were before other nations masters of the sea. Afterwards the *Carians* settled here, as we are told both by *Thucydides*^o and *Diodorus*^p. But it is no easy matter to reconcile these two authors as to the time when the *Carians* came first into the island; for *Thucydides* tells us, that the *Carians* were driven out by the *Cretans* under the conduct of *Minos*; and *Diodorus* writes, that the *Carians* did not settle here till after the *Trojan* war, and that they found the *Cretans* in possession of the island. *Stephanus* is of opinion, that the *Cretans* mixed with some *Arcadians* were the only nations that ever possessed this island. *Minos* himself, if we believe *Pliny*^q, resided some time in the island of *Paros*, and received here the melancholy news of the death of his son *Androgeus*, who was killed in *Attica*, after he had distinguished himself at the public games. When *Hercules* passed through *Paros*, going in quest of the girdle of *Hippolita* by order of *Eurystheus*, he found there *Eurydemon*, *Chryses*, *Nephalion*, and *Philolaus*, the sons of *Minos*, and with them a great many *Cretans*^r.

As to the history of *Paros*, we find the inhabitants of this island chosen from among all the *Greeks* by the *Milesians* to compose the differences, which had for two generations rent that unhappy state into various parties and factions^s. They acquitted themselves of this charge with great prudence, and reformed the government in the manner we have related in the history of *Miletus*. They joined *Darius* in his expedition against *Greece*, assisting him with a considerable squadron, but after the victory obtained by *Miltiades* at *Marathon* they were reduced to great straits by that general. The matter is thus related by *Herodotus*^t: *Miltiades* having

^m GASSEND. in vita Peiresc.ⁿ THUCYD. l. i.^o Idem,

ibid.

^p DIODOR. l. v.^q PLIN. l. iii. c. 14.^r DI-

ODOR, SICUL. l. xv.

^s HERODOT. l. vi.^t Idem, l. vi.

by

by his success at *Marathon* acquired a much greater reputation at *Athens* than he had before, demanded seventy ships of the *Athenians* with men and money in proportion, assuring them, without declaring his design, that he would lead them into a country, from whence they should bring home great riches without any manner of trouble. The *Athenians*, accepting the proposal with joy, prepared the ships, and *Miltiades*, being supplied with all things necessary for his enterprize, set sail for *Paros*, under colour of chastising the *Parians* for having assisted the *Persians* at *Marathon*. But the true motive of his expedition was his private hatred against the *Parians*, because one *Lysagoras* the son of *Tiseus*, who was of *Parian* extraction, had spoke ill of him to *Hydarnes* the *Persian*. *Miltiades* on his arrival at *Paros* besieged the capital, threatening to take it by storm and plunder the houses, unless the citizens sent him an hundred talents. The *Parians*, instead of granting him his demand, applied themselves wholly to the defence of their city, repairing the fortifications and working in the night, till they had made their walls twice as high as they were before, in that part where they were least defensible; insomuch, that *Miltiades* could not by any means make himself master of the city. That great general, seeing he could not reduce the *Parians* by force, had recourse to one *Timo*, priestess of the national gods, and then his prisoner, who advised him to perform some secret ceremony in the temple of *Ceres* near the city. *Miltiades* followed her advice, went directly to the inclosure of the temple, and after having endeavoured in vain to open the gate, mounted the wall and leaped down with a design to enter the sacred place. But while he stood before the door of the temple, being seized with a sudden terror, he resolved to return, and leaping down from the same place had the misfortune to break his leg. The ceremony either did not succeed, or was not at least attended with the promised success; for *Miltiades*, after having kept the city blocked up for the space of twenty six days, was obliged to drop the enterprize and return to *Athens* with disgraceⁿ. Upon his departure, the *Parians* being informed of the counsel which *Timo* had given to *Miltiades*, and desirous to bring her to justice, sent deputies to consult the oracle of *Delphos*, whether they should punish her with death for endeavouring to betray the city to the enemy, and discovering the sacred mysteries to *Miltiades*, which it was a great crime to reveal to any man. The *Py-*

ⁿ HERODOT. l. vi.

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^w Idem ibid. ^x CORNEL. NEPOS., in vita Miltiad. ^y HERODOT. l. viii. ^z Vide BERNARD. de Montfaucon in Topogr. Christian. de Mundo, l. ii. ^a STRAB. l. x. ^b PLIN. l. iv. c. 12.

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quoted by *Pliny*, makes it an hundred and sixty, but our modern travellers agree with *Pliny*. This island had formerly a town of no small note bearing the name, as appears from an antient inscription still to be seen in the present town of *Syra*, and from many ruins of stately buildings at a small distance from the harbour. *Syros*, according to *Homer's* account of it, abounded with corn, wine, and all other necessities of life, and was reckoned one of the most healthy places of the *Ægean* sea, the plague never having raged there with any violence ^c. This island, as we learn from the same poet, was frequented in the earliest ages by the *Phœnician* merchants, who, after having passed a whole year here, carried off with them one of the concubines of *Ctesias* king of the place, she being a native of *Sidon*, and the daughter of *Arybas* king of that city. *Pherocydes*, one of the most antient philosophers of *Greece*, the disciple of *Pittacus* and master of *Pythagoras*, was born in *Syros*. *Strabo*, *Porphyrius*, *Apuleius*, and the author of the chronology of the olympiads tell us, that he was the first, or one of the first, that wrote in prose. *Tzetzes* says, he was the first who observed the periods of the moon and foretold eclipses; that he was the master of *Thales* the *Milesian*, and that he wrote ten books on the origin of the gods. He was the first, according to *Cicero* ^d, who taught the immortality of the soul. He is charged by *Suidas* with being the author of the metempsychosis, or transmigration of souls out of one body into another. He is greatly commended on account of his knowledgē by *Diongenes*, *Laertius*, *Apuleius*, *Jamblichus*, *Lactantius*, *Eustathius*, &c. who all agree him to have been one of the greatest philosophers that *Greece* ever produced, and add, that he learnt his philosophy of the *Phœnicians*, being well acquainted with their language and books (X). *Stephanus* reckons *Syros* among

^c HOMER. *Odyss.* 6. v. 405.
c. 158.

^d CIC. *Quæst. Tusc.* 1. i.

(X) Some writers tell us, that the *Pherocydes* was a native of *Babylon*, and in favour of this opinion quote *Eustathius*; but there is evidently a mistake in the passage which they alledge, since *Eustathius* in the very same place calls him a native of *Syros*. Some therefore in the text of that writer instead of *Βαβυλώνιος* read *Βαβύς*, as it is in *Suidas* and the chronology of the olympiads, or *Βάδυς*, as in *Laertius*, that is, the son of *Babis* or *Badis*. *Heraclides*, *Apuleius*, *Ælian*, *Pausanias*, *Porphyrius*, and *Jamblichus* mention two other writers bearing the same name; the one of *Athens* and the other of the island of *Leros*; some take these two to be but one, born according to them in *Athens*, and brought up in *Leros*; others are

without hair, and that both men and women soon lose that ornament given by nature ^k. They were heretofore reckoned arrant parasites; whence *Archilochus*, as quoted by *Athenæus* ^l, taxes one *Pericles* with coming to a feast after the *Myconian* manner, that is *without being invited*. In this island there is great scarcity of water, but the wine it formerly produced is highly commended by *Pliny* ^m. *Wheeler* speaks of a medal which he purchased here, with *Jupiter's* head on one side, and a bunch of grapes on the other. *Virgil* gives the island of *Mycone* the epithet of *high* ⁿ, wherein he disagrees with *Ovid*, who calls it a *low island* ^o. But *Virgil*, in all likelihood alluded to mount *Dimaſtos*, mentioned by *Pliny* as the highest in the island ^p; since the island itself lies, according to *Strabo*, very low. Between *Mycone* and *Delos*, about a mile from the former, lies the isle of *Tragonisi* about three miles in compass. It formerly abounded with goats, whence it had the name of *Tragonisi*, or the *goat-island*.

Tenos.

THIS island was first called *Hydrusia*, from the Greek word *hydor*, signifying *water*, being more plentifully supplied with springs than the other islands; afterwards it had the name of *Ophiusa*, from the serpents which infested the island, the Greek word *ophis* signifying *a serpent*; and lastly the name of *Tenos* was given it from one *Tenos*, the first who settled here ^q. *Bochart* pretends the word *Tenos* to be derived from *Tannoth*, which, in the *Phœnician* language, signifies *a serpent* ^r, and answers the Greek word *Ophiusa* or *Ophiussa*. *Pliny* places *Tenos* one mile from *Andros*, fifteen from *Delos*, and says 'tis fifteen miles in extent. *Tournefort* will have it to be sixty miles in compass, *Porchachi* forty, and *Ferrarius* but five and thirty. It is very mountainous, but nevertheless produces great plenty of excellent fruit. The wine of *Tenos* was in great request among the antients; whence several medals of this island are still to be seen with bunches of grapes on the reverse ^s. The name of *Tenos* was common to the island and its capital ^t, which, according to *Strabo*, was not a great, but a well-built city, and had a stately temple in an adjoining grove dedicated to *Neptune* ^u. This temple and

^k PLIN. l. xi. c. 7. ^l ATHEN. Deipnosoph. l. i. ^m PLIN. l. xiv. c. i. ⁿ VIRGIL. Æneid. l. iii. v. 76. ^o Ovid. Metamorph. l. vii. v. 463. ^p PLIN. l. iv. c. 12. ^q PLIN. l. iv. c. 12. ^r BOCHART. Phaleg. l. ii. c. 3. ^s VAILANT. Numism. Græc. SPON. Voyage, &c. ^t PLIN. ubi supra. ^u STRAB. ubi supra.

grove enjoyed the privileges of an asylum, which were abridged by *Tiberius*, as were those of the most famous temples in the *Levant*^w. *Philcorus*, as quoted by *Clemens Alexandrinus*^{*}, tells us, that *Neptune* was worshipped by the *Tenians* as the god of physic. *Goltzius*, *Tristanus*, and others exhibit several medals of this island representing *Neptune*, with his trident on the reverse; the serpent, which is on some medals joined to the trident, was among the antients an emblem of physic; besides, *Tenos* was antiently called *Cphiusa*, or the *Snake-island*, as we have observed already; and *Hesychius* tells us, that it was cleared of the serpents, which infested it, by *Neptune*, who, for that purpose, brought great flights of flocks into the island. The *Tenians* were once very powerful by sea, as *Herodotus* informs us^y; but nevertheless were so terrified at the approach of the *Persian* fleet, that they submitted without making the least opposition, and assisted *Xerxes* in his expedition against *Greece*. This island afterwards underwent the same fate as the others of the *Archipelago*, being first subdued by the *Athenians*, who drove out the *Persians*, afterwards by the *Macedonian* princes, and lastly by the *Romans*.

THE island of *Andros* lies between *Tenos* and *Eubæa*, being *Andros*. distant from the former one mile, and ten from the latter^z. *Pliny* will have it to be ninety three miles in compass; but the inhabitants say it is an hundred and twenty. The antients give it various names, viz. *Cauros*, *Lasia*, *Nonagria*, *Epagris*, *Antandros*, and *Hydrusia*. The name of *Andros* it borrowed from one *Andreus*, who was, according to *Diodorus Siculus*^a, one of the generals, whom *Rhadamanthus* appointed to govern the *Cyclades*, after they had, of their own accord, submitted to him. *Conon* will have this *Andreus* to be the son of *Anius*, and grandson of *Apollo* and *Creusa*, and to have been the first who settled in this island. As to the name of *Antandros*, the same author tells us, that *Ascanius* the son of *Æneas*, being taken prisoner by the *Pelasgians*, gave them this island for his ransom, which, on that account, was called *Antandros*, that is, *delivered for one man*^b. It had formerly a city of great note bearing the same name, and situated very advantageously on the brow of a hill, which commanded the whole coast^c. There are still to be seen, about two miles from the present town of *Arna*, the ruins of a

^w TACIT. Annal. l. iii. c. 60, & 63.

^{*} CLIM. ALEX. Ad-

mon ad Gentes. ^y HERODOT. l. viii.

^z PLIN. l. iv. c. 12.

^a DIODOR. SICUL. l. v.

^b CONON. narrat. 41.

^c HORO-

DOT. l. viii. & Galen. de Simp. Med. Facul. l. ix.

great and strong wall, with the fragments of many columns, chapiters, bases, broken statues, and several inscriptions, some of which mention the senate and people of *Andros*, and the priests of *Bacchus*; for in the town of *Andros* stood, as we read in *Strabo* and *Pliny*, a famous temple dedicated to that god. The territory of *Andros* was antiently, and is still, one of the most fertile and pleasant countries in the whole *Archipelago*, abounding with all kinds of delicious fruit, and watered with innumerable springs, whence it had the name of *Hydrusia*, a name given by the *Greeks* to all places plentifully supplied with water. *Mutianus*, as quoted by *Pliny*^d, tells us, that near the temple of *Bacchus* was a spring, called *the gift of Jupiter*, the waters whereof had the taste of wine in the month of *January*, during the feasts of *Bacchus*, which lasted seven days. The same author adds, that the waters, if carried to a place whence the temple could not be seen, lost their miraculous taste^e. *Pausanias* makes no mention of this spring, but says, that, during the feasts of *Bacchus*, wine flowed, or was at least by the *Andrians* believed to flow, from the temple of that god; the priests, no doubt, found their account in keeping up this belief by conveying through secret conduits a great quantity of wine into the temple. The *Andrians* were the first of all the islanders who joined the *Persians*; wherefore *Themistocles*, after the signal victory gained at *Salamis*, resolved to attack the city of *Andros*, and oblige the inhabitants to pay large contributions for the maintenance of his fleet. Having landed his men in the island, he sent heralds to the magistrates, acquainting them, that the *Athenians* were come against them with two powerful divinities, *persuasion* and *force*, and therefore they must part with their money by fair means or by foul. The *Andrians* returned answer, that they likewise had two mighty deities, who were very fond of their island, *poverty* and *impossibility*, and therefore could give no money. *Themistocles*, not satisfied with this answer, laid siege to the town^f. Our historian does not acquaint us with the event of this undertaking; but we may suppose that the *Athenian* general made himself master of the place, since *Pericles*, as we read in *Plutarch*^g, a few years after sent thither a colony of two hundred and fifty *Athenians*. It did not long continue subject to *Athens*, being re-taken by the *Persians*, and besieged in vain by *Alcibiades*, who, after having taken and fortified the castle of *Gamianus*, left *Draffobates* in it with a strong garrison, and retired still

^d *Plin.* l. ii. c. 103.
^e *Idem* l. vii.

^f *Idem*, l. xxxi. c. 6.

^g *Idem* l. vii.

^h *Plut.* in *Pericl.*

^ho *Rhodes*, and thence to the island of *Cos*^h. This, as the other *Greek* islands, submitted to *Alexander*. After whose death it sided with *Antigonus*, who was driven out by *Ptolemy*, whose successors held it to the *Roman* times, when *Attalus* king of *Pergamus* besieged the metropolis at the head of a *Roman* army, and, having taken it, was by the *Romans* put in possession of the whole island. Upon the death of that prince, the people of *Rome* claimed the island of *Andros*, as well as his other dominions, in virtue of his last willⁱ.

Gyarus, *Gyara*, or *Gyaræ*, lies near *Delos*, and is, according to *Pliny*^k, twelve miles in compass. It is the most abandoned and disagreeable place of the whole *Archipelago*. In *Strabo*'s time it had but one small village, and that inhabited by a few beggarly fishermen, who, after the battle of *Actium*, sent a deputation to *Augustus*, to obtain a diminution of their annual tribute, which was set at an hundred and fifty denarii^l. We are told by the antient writers, that this island was once infested by swarms of field-mice of an extraordinary size, which, after having driven out the inhabitants, were forced to live upon the iron that was dug out of the mines, finding nothing else to subsist on in so barren a place^m. It was not therefore without reason that the *Romans* used to banish offenders to this island; for they had not, in their wide-spreading dominions, a more wretched and uncomfortable place to send them to.

THESE are the islands counted by *Strabo*, *Artimedorus*, *Pomponius Mela*, *Stephanus*, and *Scylax*, among the *Cyclades*. We shall now proceed to *Delos* itself, and such islands as lie north of it on the coasts of *Greece*, *Thessaly*, and *Thrace*.

Delos, an island heretofore of great fame, but at present *Delos*: an inhospitable and abandoned rock, serving only for a retreat to pirates, is placed by *Pliny* at fifteen miles distance from *Myconus*, eighteen from *Naxus*, and fifty from *Icaria*ⁿ. But that writer was certainly mistaken in his measures with regard to *Myconus* and *Naxus*, the former being distant from *Delos* but three miles, and the latter forty. *Delos* was known to the antients by the names of *Cynethos* or *Cynthos*, *Asteria*, *Pelagias*, *Chlamydias*, *Lagia*, *Pyripilis*, *Scythos*, *Midia*, and *Ortygia*^o. It was named *Ortygia* and *Lagia* from the two *Greek* words *ortyx* and *lages*, the former signifying a quail,

^h DIODOR. SICUL. l. xiii.

ⁱ LIV. l. xxvi. c. 43.

^k PLIN.

liv. c. 12.

^l STRAB. l. x.

^m PLIN. l. iii. c. 20. AN-

TON. Caes. narrat. Mirab. c. 21. Arist. lib. de mirab. Auscul.

ALIAN. Hist. Anim. l. v. c. 14.

ⁿ PLIN. l. iv. c. 12.

^o I-

dem, ibid.

and the latter a *bare*, there being antiently great store of both in this island. The scholiast of *Apollonius* ^P says, it was called *Ortygia* from a sister of *Latona* bearing that name, and *Cynethos* from the son of *Apollo*. *Pyrpilis* *Pliny* derives from the *Greek* word *pyr*, signifying *fire*, which he pretends to have been first found out here ⁴. As to the name of *Delos*, the etymologists all agree in deriving it from a *Greek* verb signifying *to appear*, but vary as to the reason of its being appropriated to the island before us. *Pliny*, after *Aristotle*, pretends that the name of *Delos* was given it, because it rose unexpectedly out of the sea, and appeared floating on the water ¹. *Solinus* thinks it was the first of the islands that began to appear after it had been with the others of the *Archipelago* for the space of nine months under water in the famous deluge that happened in the time of *Ogyges*. But this opinion is altogether groundless, and repugnant to reason; for, allowing all these islands to have been drowned in that deluge, yet the island we are speaking of could not appear the first after the waters began to retire, it being much lower than the islands of *Andros*, *Tenos*, *Myconus*, *Syros*, and *Naxus*. *Stephanus* tells us, that the name of *Delos* was given it on account of the oracle of *Apollo*, which made things, that were perplexed and obscure, clear and apparent. The poets will have it to be named *Delos*, because *Latona*, being delivered of *Apollo* and *Diana*, shewed herself first here, not having dared to appear before for fear of *Juno*. It is still called by the *Greeks* *Dili* or *Deli* in the plural, because under that name they comprehend another island known to the antients by the name of *Rhenæa*, which at some distance seems to be joined to *Delos*. These two the present inhabitants distinguish by the epithets of *little* and *great*; the *Delos* of the antients they stile the *Little Delis*, it being but seven miles in compass, whereas the other is eighteen. *Pliny* ranks *Delos* among the floating islands, and the poets tell us, that it was fastened, some say by *Neptune*, others by *Apollo*, with strong chains to the neighbouring islands of *Gyarus* and *Myconus* (Y).

As

^P Scholiast. in v. 1129.⁴ PLIN. *ibid.*¹ Idem, *ibid.*

(Y) This is elegantly expressed by *Petronius Arbiter* in the following lines:

*Delos, jam stabili revincta terra,
Olim purpureo mari natabat,
Et moto levis hinc & inde vento,
Ibat fluctibus inquieta summis.
Mox illam geminis deus catenis,*

Fla:

As *Latona* was supposed to have been delivered in this island of *Apollo* and *Diana*, three most magnificent temples were erected here to these deities. That of *Apollo* was, according to *Strabo*^c, begun by *Erysichton* the son of *Cecrops*, but afterwards enlarged and embellished at the common charges of all the states of *Greece*. *Plutarch* tells us, that it was one of the most stately buildings in the universe, and speaks of an altar in it, which, in his opinion, deserves a place among the seven wonders of the world. It was a built with the horns of various animals, so artificially joined and adapted to one another, as to hang together without being fastened by any kind of cement^e. The trunk of the famous statue of *Apollo*, mentioned by *Strabo* and *Pliny*, is still an object of great admiration to all travellers. It is without head, feet, arms, or legs; but, from the parts that are yet remaining, it plainly appears, that the antients did not exaggerate when they commended it as wonder of art. It was of a gigantic size, tho' cut out of one single block of marble, the shoulders being six feet broad, and the thighs nine feet round. At a small distance from this statue lies, amongst confused heaps of broken columns, architraves, bases, capitals, &c. a square piece of marble, fifteen feet and a half long, ten feet nine inches broad, and two feet three inches thick, which, without all doubt, served as a pedestal to this colossus. It bears, in very fair characters, this inscription in *Greek*, *The Naxians to Apollo*. *Plutarch* tells us, in the life of *Nicias*, that he caused to be set up near the temple of *Delos*, a huge palm-tree of brass, which he consecrated to *Apollo*; and adds that a violent storm of wind threw down this tree on a colossian statue raised by the inhabitants of *Naxos*^u. Round the temple were magnificent porticoes built at the charges of various princes, as appears from inscriptions which are still very plain. The names of *Philip* king of *Macedon*, *Dionysius Eutyches*, *Mithridates Euergetes*, *Mithridates Eupator* kings of *Pontus*, and *Nicomedes* king of *Bithynia*, are found on several pedestals. Most of our modern travellers take this *Dionysius* to be one of the tyrants of *Syracuse*; but the surname of *Eutyches* or *happy* does not at all suit *Dionysius* the younger, who was far

^c STRABO, l. x.
^d Nicias.

^e PLUT. de Solert. Animal.

^u PLUT.

*Hac alta Gyaro ligavit, illac
Constanti Myconæ dedit tenendam* (45).

(45) *Patron Arb. in frag. Satir.*

and the latter a *bare*, there being antiently great store of both in this island. The scholiast of *Apollonius* ^P says, it was called *Ortygia* from a sister of *Latona* bearing that name, and *Cynethos* from the son of *Apollo*. *Pyrpilis* *Pliny* derives from the *Greek* word *pyr*, signifying *fire*, which he pretends to have been first found out here ^q. As to the name of *Delos*, the etymologists all agree in deriving it from a *Greek* verb signifying *to appear*, but vary as to the reason of its being appropriated to the island before us. *Pliny*, after *Aristotle*, pretends that the name of *Delos* was given it, because it rose unexpectedly out of the sea, and appeared floating on the water ^r. *Solinus* thinks it was the first of the islands that began to appear after it had been with the others of the *Archipelago* for the space of nine months under water in the famous deluge that happened in the time of *Ogyges*. But this opinion is altogether groundless, and repugnant to reason; for, allowing all these islands to have been drowned in that deluge, yet the island we are speaking of could not appear the first after the waters began to retire, it being much lower than the islands of *Andros*, *Tenos*, *Myconus*, *Syros*, and *Naxus*. *Stephanus* tells us, that the name of *Delos* was given it on account of the oracle of *Apollo*, which made things, that were perplexed and obscure, clear and apparent. The poets will have it to be named *Delos*, because *Latona*, being delivered of *Apollo* and *Diana*, shewed herself first here, not having dared to appear before for fear of *Juno*. It is still called by the *Greeks* *Dili* or *Deli* in the plural, because under that name they comprehend another island known to the antients by the name of *Rhenæa*, which at some distance seems to be joined to *Delos*. These two the present inhabitants distinguish by the epithets of *little* and *great*; the *Delos* of the antients they stile the *Little Delis*, it being but seven miles in compass, whereas the other is eighteen. *Pliny* ranks *Delos* among the floating islands, and the poets tell us, that it was fastened, some say by *Neptune*, others by *Apollo*, with strong chains to the neighbouring islands of *Gyarus* and *Myconus* (Y).

As

^P Scholiast. in v. 1129.^q PLIN. *ibid*.^r *Idem*, *ibid*.

(Y) This is elegantly expressed by *Petronius Arbiter* in the following lines:

*Delos, jam stabili revincta terra,
Olim purpureo mari natabat,
Et moto levis hinc & inde vento,
Ibat fluctibus inquieta summis.
Mox illam geminis deus catenis,*

Ha:

As *Latona* was supposed to have been delivered in this island of *Apollo* and *Diana*, three most magnificent temples were erected here to these deities. That of *Apollo* was, according to *Strabo*^c, begun by *Erysichton* the son of *Cecrops*, but afterwards enlarged and embellished at the common charges of all the states of *Greece*. *Plutarch* tells us, that it was one of the most stately buildings in the universe, and speaks of an altar in it, which, in his opinion, deserves a place among the seven wonders of the world. It was a built with the horns of various animals, so artificially joined and adapted to one another, as to hang together without being fastened by any kind of cement^c. The trunk of the famous statue of *Apollo*, mentioned by *Strabo* and *Pliny*, is still an object of great admiration to all travellers. It is without head, feet, arms, or legs; but, from the parts that are yet remaining, it plainly appears, that the antients did not exaggerate when they commended it as wonder of art. It was of a gigantic size, tho' cut out of one single block of marble, the shoulders being six feet broad, and the thighs nine feet round. At a small distance from this statue lies, amongst confused heaps of broken columns, architraves, bases, chapiters, &c. a square piece of marble, fifteen feet and a half long, ten feet nine inches broad, and two feet three inches thick, which, without all doubt, served as a pedestal to this colossus. It bears, in very fair characters, this inscription in *Greek*, *The Naxians to Apollo*. *Plutarch* tells us, in the life of *Nicias*, that he caused to be set up near the temple of *Delos*, a huge palm-tree of brass, which he consecrated to *Apollo*; and adds that a violent storm of wind threw down this tree on a colossian statue raised by the inhabitants of *Naxos*^u. Round the temple were magnificent porticoes built at the charges of various princes, as appears from inscriptions which are still very plain. The names of *Philip* king of *Macedon*, *Dionysius Eutyches*, *Mithridates Euergetes*, *Mithridates Eupator* kings of *Pontus*, and *Nicomedes* king of *Bithynia*, are found on several pedestals. Most of our modern travellers take this *Dionysius* to be one of the tyrants of *Syracuse*; but the surname of *Eutyches* or happy does not at all suit *Dionysius* the younger, who was far

^c STRABO, l. x.
in *Nicia*.

^c PLUT. de Solert. Animal.

^u PLUT.

*Hac alta Gyaro ligavit, illac
Constanti Myconæ dedit tenendam* (46).

(45) *Petron Arb. in frag. Satir.*

from being happy, as is plain from the account we have given of his reign in the history of Sicily. As to *Dionysius* the elder, we find him every-where plundering and destroying the temples of the gods, even in his old age; we are therefore inclined to believe, that this *Dionysius* was tyrant of *Heraclea*; for both *Memnon* * and *Diodorus Siculus* * speak of one *Dionysius* tyrant of *Heraclea*, whose reign lasted thirty years, and was very happy. The ruins of the temple, which take up great part of the island, are carefully described by *Spon*, *Wheeler*, *Tournefort*, and others, to whom we refer our readers. To this temple the inhabitants of the neighbouring islands sent yearly a company of virgins, to celebrate, with dancing, the festival of *Apollo* and his sister *Diana*, and to make offerings in the name of their respective cities.

As *Delos* was the reputed birth-place of *Apollo* and *Diana*, it was highly revered by all nations, even by the *Persians* themselves, who, after having laid waste the other islands, and every-where destroyed the temples of the gods, spared *Delos*; nay *Datis*, who commanded the *Persian* fleet, would not even permit his ships to anchor in that harbour; but from *Naxos*, where he had committed great devastations and burnt the city with all its temples, he proceeded to *Rhenæa*. There he received intelligence, that the *Delians* had on his approach abandoned their island, and retired with their effects to *Tenos*; whereupon he sent a herald to them with this message: Sacred men, upon what account have you abandoned your habitations, and by your flight discovered the ill opinion you have of me? I am not your enemy by inclination; and besides, I have been commanded by the king to forbear practising any sort of hostilities in a country where two gods were born, or using violence of any kind against the inhabitants or the place. Return therefore to your houses, and resume the possession of your lands. Upon the return of the messenger, he sent the weight of three hundred talents of frankincense to be burnt on the altar of *Apollo*, and set sail with his whole fleet, without suffering any of his soldiers to land in the island. The *Delians* say, that, soon after his departure, the island was shaken by a violent earthquake, the first that had ever been felt there; and that *Apollo* thereby foretold the many calamities that were ready to fall upon the *Greeks* of that age; for the misfortunes they suffered under *Darius*, *Xerxes*, and *Artaxerxes* were far greater than all the evils they had undergone for twenty generations

* MEMNON apud Phot. Biblioth. c. 5. * DIODOR. SICUL. l. xiv & xx. ATHENÆUS. Deipn. l. xii. c. 26.

before, as our historian rightly observes¹. In this island no hostilities were practised, even by nations that were at war with each other, when they happened to meet here. Of this we have an instance in *Livy*, who tells, that the Roman deputies, *Caius Popilius*, *Caius Decimius*, and *Caius Hostilius*, being obliged to put in at *Delos* on their voyage to *Syria* and *Egypt*, found the galleys of *Perfes* king of *Macedon* and those of *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus* anchored in one and the same harbour, tho' these two princes were then making war upon one another. The same author adds, that the *Romans*, *Macedonians*, and *Pergameans*, conversed and visited the temple together, as if they had been friends, the sanctity of the place suspending, to use *Livy's* expression, all manner of hostilities².

THE offerings, that were made to *Apollo* in this island, were, according to an antient custom, first wrapped up in wheat-straw. This ceremony passed from the *Hyperboreans* to the *Scythians*, and from the *Scythians* spread gradually through the bordering nations, as far westward as the *Adriatic* sea, and southward to *Dodona*, the *Dodonæans* having been the first among the *Greeks* who embraced this custom. Afterwards it prevailed in the cities on the gulph of *Mælis*, in the island of *Eubæa*, and reached to *Carystus*. The *Carystians* introduced it among the *Tenians*, and these among the *Delians*. Thus was that ceremony first brought into *Delos*³. Our historian adds out of the antient *Delian* writers, that, long before the time we are now speaking of, the *Hyperboreans* had sent two young women, named *Hyperoche* and *Laodice*, to propagate this ceremony, appointing five persons of distinction to attend them, whose memory was in our historian's time in great veneration among the *Delians*. As none of those whom the *Hyperboreans* had sent out upon this errand, returned home, they dispatched others to the bordering countries, injoining them to introduce this ceremony among their neighbours, and prevail upon them to impart it to other nations. Thus, if we believe the *Delians*, these sacred rites were introduced, through many other nations and countries, into their island. The *Hyperborean* young women, *Hyperoche* and *Laodice*, are said to have died in *Delos*, where their memory was honoured by the *Delian* maids and young men in the following manner. The maids cut off a lock of their hair before marriage, which they used to put upon a distaff, and offer it to these *Hyperborean* virgins on their tomb, which was within the

¹ HERODOT. l. vi.² LIV. l. xxxvi.³ HERODOT. l. iv.

temple of *Diana*. The young men likewise offered their hair on the same monument, twisted round a small tuft of grass. In the same age, but before the arrival of *Hyperoché* and *Laodice*, two other *Hyperborean* women, *Argis* and *Opis*, landed in *Delos*, and brought into the island the first knowledge of the ceremony, which was afterwards established by the two former. *Argis* and *Opis* were on that account honoured with great solemnity by the *Delian* women, who used to assemble at stated times, and sing hymns in their praise, composed by one *Olen* a *Lycian*, the author of several other hymns sung in the island of *Delos*. The ashes of the sacrifices, which were burnt on this occasion, were thrown upon their sepulchres, which, in our historian's time, were still to be seen behind the temple of *Diana* ^b.

THE oracle of *Apollo* in *Delos* was one of the most famous oracles in the world, as well for its antiquity, as for the truth and perspicuity of its answers, the number and richness of the sacred presents dedicated to the god, and the multitudes of people that from all parts resorted thither for advice; in which respect it surpassed not only all the oracles of other gods, but those of *Apollo* himself, that of *Delphos* alone excepted. Some writers tell us ^c, that the island had the name of *Delos* from the answers that were returned here by the oracle in most clear and plain terms, without any ambiguity or obscurity; whereas in other places they were delivered in words capable of different, nay, opposite, senses: But these answers were not to be expected all the year; *Apollo* only kept his summer residence in this place, and in winter retired to *Patara* a city of *Lycia* ^d. The presents, which the votaries offered here to *Apollo* were laid on the altar which we have mentioned above. Some writers tell us, that this altar was erected by *Apollo* himself, when he was but four years old, and that it was formed of the horns of goats only, killed by *Diana* on mount *Cynthus* ^e. It was not lawful to sacrifice any living creature upon this altar, it being the will of *Apollo*, that it should be preserved pure from blood and all manner of pollution. The whole island enjoyed the privileges of an asylum, which extended to all living creatures, and on that account it abounded with hares, no dogs being suffered to enter it ^f. *Pisistratus* tyrant of *Athens* was commanded by an oracle, as *Herodotus* informs us ^g, to purify the island, which he did accordingly, causing

^b Idem ibid. ^c ALEXANDER AB ALEXANDRO. ^d SERVILIUS in Virg. *Æn.* iv. ver. 143. ^e Epistola Cydippes ad Acont. CALLIMACHI Hymn in Apoll. ver. 88. POLITIANI Miscell. c. 52. ^f THUCYD. l. iv. ^g HERODOT. l. i. the

the dead bodies to be taken up, and removed from all places within the prospect of the temple. In the sixth year of the *Peloponnesian* war, the *Athenians*, by the advice of an oracle, purified it anew, by digging up all the dead bodies, and carrying them over to the island of *Rhenæa*, where they were interred. Having thus cleared it from sepulchres and graves, in order to preserve it from pollution, they put forth an edict, whereby it was enacted, that for the future no person should be suffered to die, nor any woman to be brought to bed, in the island; but when they were near the time of the one or the other, they should be carried over into *Rhenæa*^h. In memory of this purification, the *Athenians* instituted a solemn feast, which was celebrated every fifth year, people flocking on that occasion to *Delos* from the neighbouring islands and all parts of *Greece*. A few years after, the *Athenians*, to compleat the purification of the island, drove out all the antient inhabitants, whom they pretended to be polluted, on account of a crime by them committed in former times, but not mentioned by our historian. The *Delian* exiles retired to the continent, and settled in the city of *Adramyttium*, bestowed upon them by *Pharnaces* the *Persian* governor of *Asia Minor*. The *Athenians* suffered great losses, both by sea and land, after their expulsion; whereupon they soon recalled them, and put them anew in possession of the island. Some chose to remain in *Adramyttium*, where they were barbarously murdered by the command of one *Astacus*, deputy to *Tissaphernes* governor of *Lydia*ⁱ.

WE must not omit in this place the annual procession made by the *Athenians* to the island of *Delos*. The author of this ceremony was *Theseus*, who, being sent with other *Athenian* youths into *Crete* to be devoured by the *Minotaur*, made a vow to *Apollo*, that, if he granted them a safe return, they should make a solemn voyage to his temple in *Delos* every year. This was called *Dorias*; the persons employed in it *Theori* and *Deliaſti*, from the name of the island; the chief of them *Architheoros*, and the ship in which they went, *Theoris* or *Delias*, which was the very same that carried *Theseus* and his companions to *Crete*, being preserved, says *Platarch*, by the *Athenians*, till the time of *Demetrius* of *Phaleros*; they restored always what was decayed, and put new planks in the room of the old ones, insomuch, that it furnished the philosophers with matter of dispute, whether, after so many alterations and reparations, it might be still called

^h THUCYD. l. iii.ⁱ Idem ibid.

the same ship. The beginning of the voyage was computed, as *Plato* informs us ^k, from the time that the priest of *Apollo* first adorned the stern of the ship with garlands; and it was held unlawful to put any person to death till it returned: And this was the reason why *Socrates* was reprieved for thirty days after his condemnation ^l. Upon their arrival at *Delos*, they offered a solemn sacrifice, and celebrated a festival in honour of *Apollo*, and then repairing to their ships, sailed back to *Athen*, where they were received with great demonstrations of joy. Another feast was instituted by *Theseus* on his return from *Crete*, and celebrated every fifth year by the *Delians*, in honour of *Venus*, whose statue *Theseus* received from *Ariadne*, and left in that island. The chief ceremonies on this occasion were the following: They crowned the statue of the goddess with garlands, appointed horse-races, and performed a remarkable dance called the *Crane*, wherein they represented, by their motions, the various windings of the *Cretan* labyrinth, out of which *Theseus*, who was the inventor of the dance, made his escape ^m.

THE city of *Delos* took up, as is manifest from the magnificent ruins that are still to be seen, that spacious plain which reaches from one coast to the other, and extends eastward as far as the isthmus. It was well peopled, and the richest city of the *Archipelago*, especially after the destruction of *Corinth*, merchants flocking thither from all parts, both in regard of the immunity they enjoyed there, and of the convenient situation of the place between *Europe* and *Asia*. *Strabo* calls it one of the most frequented empories of the world ⁿ; and *Pliny* tells us, that all the commodities of *Europe* and *Asia* were sold, purchased, or exchanged there ^o. It contained many noble and stately buildings, namely, the temples of *Apollo*, *Diana*, and *Latona*, the porticoes of *Philip* of *Macedon* and of *Dionysius Eutyches*, a gymnasium, an oval basin, made at an immense expence, for the representation of sea-fights, and a most magnificent theatre.

Strabo ^p and *Callimachus* ^q tell us, that the island was watered by the river *Inopus*; but *Pliny* ^r calls it only a spring, and adds, that its waters swelled and abated at the same time with those of the *Nile*, as if there had been some communication between the *Nile* and the *Inopus*, which, in *Strabo*'s opinion ^s,

^k PLATO in Phæd. ^l Idem ibid. & XENOPH. Memorab. l. iv.

^m THUCYD. l. iii. CALLIMACH. Hymn Delon. PLUT. in Theseo.

ⁿ STRABO, l. x, ^o PLIN. l. iv. c. 6. ^p STRABO, ibid.

^q CALLIM. ver. 263. ^r PLIN. l. ii. c. 101 ^s STRABO l. vi.

is carrying prodigies too far. At present there is no river in the island; but one of the noblest springs in all the *Archipelago*, being twelve paces diameter, and inclosed partly by rocks, and partly by a wall. Mount *Cynthus*, whence *Apollo* had the surname of *Cynthius*, is by *Strabo* placed near the city, and said to be so high as to cover the whole island with its shadow; but our modern travellers speak of it as a hill of a very moderate height. On mount *Cynthus* *Latona* is said to have been delivered of *Apollo* and *Diana*; whence it was looked upon by the antients as sacred. It is but one block of granite of the ordinary sort, cut out on that side which faced the city, in regular steps, inclosed on both sides with a wall. On the top of the mountain are still to be seen the remains of a stately building, with a *Mosaic* pavement, many broken pillars, and other valuable monuments of antiquity. From an inscription, which has been lately discovered there, and mentions a vow made to *Serapis*, *Isis*, and *Anubis*, some have conjectured, that on this hill stood a temple consecrated to these *Egyptian* deities, tho' no where spoke of by the antients.

THE island of *Delos* was, it seems, in antient times, governed by kings; for *Virgil* mentions one *Anius* reigning here in the time of the *Trojan* war. He was, according to that poet, both king, and high priest of *Apollo*, and entertained *Aeneas* with great kindness. This *Anius* was descended from *Cadmus*, and had by his wife *Dorippe* three daughters, *Oino*, *Spermo*, and *Elais*, who are feigned by the poets to have received from *Bacchus* the power of changing whatever they touched into wine, wheat or seed, and oil, as their names import, *Oinos* in *Greek* signifying wine, *Sperma* seed, and *Elaion* oil. The great quantity of wine, wheat, and oil, which accrued to their father *Anius* from the offerings made to *Apollo*, gave rise to this fable^t. The *Persians*, as we have hinted above, allowed the *Delians* to enjoy their antient liberties, after they had reduced all the other *Greek* islands. In after-ages the *Athenians* made themselves masters of *Delos*, and held it till they were driven out by *Mithridates the Great*, who plundered the rich temple of *Apollo*, and obliged the *Delians* to side with him. *Mithridates* was, in his turn, dispossessed of it by the *Romans*, who granted the inhabitants many privileges, and exempted them from all sort of tribute and taxes. It is at present quite abandoned, the lands being so covered with ruins and rubbish, as not to admit of any sort of culture. The inhabitants of *Mycone* hold it now, and

^t Vide SERVITIUM in l. iii. *Æn.* ver. 80.

pay but ten crowns land-tax to the *Grand-Signior* for an island, which was once one of the richest countries in the world.

Rhenæa.

THE island of *Rhenæa*, *Rhenia*, or *Rhene*, is separated from *Delos* by a streight about five hundred paces over. It is now called the *Great Sdili* or *Deli*, and is about eighteen miles in compass. *Polycrates* tyrant of *Samos*, having made himself master of this island, consecrated it to *Apollo*, fastening it to *Delos* with a long chain ^u. It has excellent pasture grounds ; but nevertheless is at present quite abandoned, none daring to settle there for fear of the pirates who infest the *Archipelago*. On the coast facing *Delos* are still to be seen the ruins of a great city ; and near to the city was the burying-place of the *Delians*, as is plain from some inscriptions on tomb-stones found there. It is somewhat strange, that *Strabo* should call *Rhenæa* a little uninhabited island, since it is three times as big as *Delos*, and was, in former times so far as we can guess from the ruins of antient buildings, as well peopled as *Delos* itself.

Scyrus.

Scyrus, now *Sciro*, lies over-against *Eubæa*, from which it is about eight and twenty miles distant. It is sixty miles in compass, but a very barren and inhospitable country, being full of hills and rocks ; whence it had the name of *Scyros* ; that is, *rugged* or *barren*. However, in *Strabo's* time, it yielded excellent wine, and was famed, as the same author tells us, for its goats ^w ; but so unprovided with corn and all other necessaries of life, that any poor and barren country was proverbially called *the principality of Scyrus* ^x. The same writer commends the marble quarries of this island ; and *Pliny* speaks of a kind of stone found here, which swam when entire, and sunk when broken. *Scyrus* was, according to *Plutarch* ^y, first peopled by the *Pelasgians* and *Carians* (Z) ; but there is no mention made of it in history till the reign

^u THUCYD. I. iii.
Chiliad.

^w STRABO, I. xiv.

^x ERASM.

^y PLUT. in Theseo.

(Z) *Marcianus* of *Heraclea* tells us, that after the island had been long held by the *Pelasgians* and *Carians*, the inhabitants of *Chalcis*, the capital of *Eubæa*, sent thither a colony, which settled on the coast, leaving the inland places to the antient proprietors. The *Dolopes* likewise, as *Plutarch* informs us (47), inhabited part of the

(47) *Plut:* in *Cimon*.

†

island,

reign of *Lycomedes*, who was king of this island, when *Theseus* retired to it to take possession of his paternal estate. That prince, either jealous of the superior genius of *Theseus*, or not caring to provoke *Mnestheus*, who had driven him out of *Athens*, by entertaining the exile, led him to the top of a rock, under pretence of shewing him his father's lands, and from thence threw him treacherously into the sea *. In this island, and in the court of the same *Lycomedes*, *Achilles* lay concealed till he was discovered by *Ulysses*, and sent, with the other *Greek* princes, to war against *Troy*, which, according to the oracle, could not be conquered without his assistance. While he lived among the king's daughters, disguised under the apparel of a woman, he had by *Deidamia*, who was one of them, *Neoptolemus*, called *Pyrrhus* on account of his yellow hair. *Neoptolemus* was brought up in this island, and raised here the brave troops which he carried to the war of *Troy*, to revenge his father's death. Many ages after the *Trojan* war, *Scyrus* was reduced by the *Athenians*, under the command of *Cimon*, who, being ordered by an oracle to make diligent search after the bones of *Theseus*, used his utmost endeavours to find out the place where they had been buried. After he had searched in vain for a long time, he at last observed an eagle on a rising ground, digging up the earth with his beak and talons. This prompted him to search carefully the same place, where he discovered the coffin of a tall man, with a sword and pike lying by him. He made no further search, but taking for granted, that in the coffin was the body of *Theseus*, he put it on board a galley richly adorned and carried it to *Athens*, about 400 years after that hero's death †. The remains of so great a

* *Idem* *ibid.*

island, and used to seize and strip such as came to traffic with the *Chalcidians* and other inhabitants. Some of these being sentenced to restore to the merchants of *Thessaly*, the goods which they had taken from them, to prevent the execution of the sentence, betrayed the town to *Cimon* the *Athenian*, as we read in *Thucydides* (48). The city bore the same name as the island, and was famous for a magnificent temple built on the sea-side, in honour of *Pallas*, the tutelary goddess of the country. Of this temple, and of another dedicated to *Neptune*, there are still some remains to be seen near the present port called *St. George's* haven. *Goltzius* exhibits the type of a medal of this city, with *Neptune* holding his trident on one side, and the prow of a ship on the other.

† This is *Plutarch's* computation; but herein he is grossly mistaken, there having elapsed from *Theseus* to *Cimon* near 800 years.

(48) *Thucyd. l. i.*

man were received at *Athens* with great demonstrations of joy, and placed in the heart of the city, where they served as an asylum for offenders * (A). The island of *Scyrus* was taken from the *Athenians* by the *Persians*, but afterwards restored to them by the articles of the famous peace of *Antalcidas*. After the death of *Alexander*, to whom this island submitted, *Demetrius*, surnamed *Poliorcetes* or the *Town-taker*, made himself master of it, and restored the inhabitants to their antient liberty^a, which they enjoyed, till they were with the other *Greek* states brought under the *Roman* yoke.

Sciathus.

FROM *Scyrus* *Strabo* proceeds to the islands of *Sciathus*, *Peparethus*, *Icos*, and *Halonefus*, which according to him lie in the *Ægean* sea, near the coast of *Magnesia* ^b. *Sciathus*, now *Sciato* and *Sciatta*, lies about four leagues north of *Eubæa*, is thirty miles in compass, and separated from the continent of *Magnesia* by a narrow streight ^c. *Pomponius Mela* places it more to the south, over-against the *Pegasean* bay, called now the gulf of *Volo*. It had formerly two cities, one of which, called also *Sciathus*, was demolished by *Philip* the father of *Perfes*, lest the *Romans* should seize it ^d. In the *Roman* times it served as a place of retreat for pirates; wherefore *Bruttius Sura*, having made himself master of it, crucified all the slaves he found in the island, and cut off the right hands of all the inhabitants he could seize ^e. *Seneca* calls it a barren and abandoned island, and such it is to this day, being uninhabited on account of the pirates who still continue to infest it.

Peparethus

Peparethus is placed by *Stephanus* in the neighbourhood of *Eubæa*, wherein he disagrees with all the antients, who speak of it as lying between the islands of *Sciathus* and *Scyrus*, thirty leagues from mount *Athos*, and eight from the coast of *Magnesia*. Some of the modern geographers, namely *Benjamin*, gave the island of *Peparethus* the name of *Opula*; others,

* Idem ibid. & in *Cimone*.

^a DIODOR. SICUL. l. xx.

^b STRABO, l. ix. p. 300.

^c HERODOT. l. vii. c. 159. ^d LIV. l.

xxx. c. 19. ^e APPIAN. in *Mithridat*.

(A) Solemn sacrifices were offered on this occasion; and, to perpetuate the remembrance of this event, a yearly contest for tragic writers was instituted, which became very famous, and greatly contributed to the improvement of dramatic compositions, by the emulation it excited among the tragic poets. On this occasion *Sophocles* brought his first performance on the stage, and won the prize, tho' he had *Æschylus* for his competitor; which the conquered poet, who, till that time, had been considered as the best tragedian of his age, not being able to brook, left *Athens*, and withdrew to *Sicily*, where he spent the remainder of his life.

as *Niger*, that of *Lemene*; and some, particularly *Castaldus*, call it *Seraquino*; but in the sea-charts it is commonly known by the name of *Piperi*. It is about twenty miles in circumference, and formerly abounded with excellent olives, as *Ovid* informs us^f. *Pliny* boasts of the excellency of its wines, and tells us, that *Apollodorus*, a famous physician, in a book which he wrote about the choice of wines and dedicated to *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*, preferred that of *Peparethus* to any other. The same author adds, that it was not in great request, as not being palatable, till it was seven years old^g. From the excellence of its wines, it was called in the most early ages *Eucænus*, that is, *producing good wine*, or *the wine-island*^h. In this island was formerly a city of the same name, which was destroyed, together with *Sciathus*, by *Philip* of *Macedon*, in his war with the *Romans*ⁱ.

Icos is by *Stephanus* counted among the *Cyclades*, and placed near *Eubæa*; but by *Livy*^k between the islands of *Sciathus* and *Scyros*. It is a very small island, but nevertheless had antiently two cities, whence it was also called *Dipolis*,

Halonefus is placed by *Pliny*^l between *Samothrace* and the *Thracian Chersonesus* at an equal distance, that is of fifteen miles, from both. But *Strabo*^m and *Mela*ⁿ speak of it as lying between *Icos* and *Scyros*, over-against *Magnesia*. It had formerly a town of the same name, and, being claimed both by the *Athenians* and by *Philip* of *Macedon*, gave rise to a war, as *Stephanus* informs us, between those two powers. It is at present called *Pelagnisi* and *Pelagisi*.

BETWEEN these islands on the coast of *Magnesia* and *Lesbos* on the coast of *Asia*, lies a small island, called by the antients *Chryse*, and now known by the name of *S. Strato*. There were formerly two islands bearing this name, whereof one, if *Pausanias*^o may be credited, sunk into the sea, and never afterwards appeared.

THE island of *Lemnos* lies between mount *Athos* (B) and *Lemnos*.
the

^f OVID. *Metam.* vii. ver. 470.

^g PLIN. l. xiv. c. 7.

^h Idem, l. iv. c. 12.

ⁱ APPIAN. ubi supra.

^k LIV.

l. xxxi. c. 45.

^l PLIN. l. iv. c. 2.

^m STRABO, ubi

supra.

ⁿ POP. MELA, l. ii. c. 7.

^o PAUSAN. in *Arcad.* c. 33.

(B) Mount *Athos* reaches a great way into the sea, in the form of a peninsula, and is joined to the land by an isthmus twelve furlongs over. It extends towards the confines of *Thrace* and *Macedon*, between the gulfs of *Strymon* and *Singum*, of which the former is now called the gulf of *Monte Santo*, and the latter the gulf of *Contessa*.

the *Thracian Chersonesus*, being, according to *Pliny's* account ^P, distant twenty two miles from *Imbros*, eighty seven from mount *Athos*, twenty two from *Sámothrace*, and five from *Thasos*. The same author makes it an hundred and twelve miles in compass ; and *Stephanus* tells us, that it was called *Lemnos* from *Juno*, whom the antient inhabitants worshipped under that name, sacrificing yearly to her a young woman. It was also called *Hypsipylea*, from the daughter of *Thoas* king of the island ; but is now known by the name of *Stalimene* or *Stalimini*. It had in former times two cities, *Hephestias* and *Myrina*. The former was the capital of the island, and took its name from *Hephaistos* or *Vulcan*, the tutelary god of the place, and is now known by the name of *Cochino*, as the latter is by that of *Lemno* and *Stalimene*. The country is full of hills and vales, which in some places are well cultivated, and produce all sorts of fruit. The eastern part of the island is dry and barren, but the country lying on the western and southern coasts, as it abounds more with springs, is very fruitful. It has two high mountains, one of which, called by *Hesychius* and *Nicander Mesehilæ*, vomits flames like mount *Ætna* in *Sicily* ; and hence the island was called in antient times *Æthalia*, which *Bochart* derives from a *Greek* verb signifying *to burn*. The island was consecrated to *Vulcan*, whom the inhabitants worshipped as their tutelary god. They were believed to have been the first blacksmiths, which gave the poets occasion to feign, that *Vulcan*, when he was thrown down from heaven, fell in the island of *Lemnos*, where he built his forge. These fabulous opinions were recorded on their medals, some of which are still to be seen stamped with

^P PLIN. l. iv. c. 12.

Stephanus tells us, that it borrowed its name from a giant who lived in that neighbourhood. We may judge of its height by what the antient writers say of it, viz. that in the summer solstice its shade reached as far as the market-place of *Myrina* in the island of *Lemnos* ; that is, according to *Pliny*, eighty six miles. It is reckoned to be an hundred and fifty miles in circumference, and has been known since the *Greek* monks made it the place of their retreat, by the name of *Monte Santo*, or, *the holy mountain*. In the market-place of *Myrina* stood a statue of white marble, representing an ox, which being shaded by mount *Athos*, gave rise to the proverb, *Mount Athos darkens the white ox of Lemnos*, applicable to those, who, with calumnies and false reports, endeavour to tarnish the reputation of deserving men (49).

(49) Vide *Ærasm. Chiliad.*

the

the head of a *Vulcan*, and his usual symbols, viz. his anvil, pincers, and hammer, which, according to the fictions of the poets, he used in making new thunderbolts for *Jupiter*. This island has ever been famous for a certain kind of earth, or rather chalk, called *Terra Lemnia* from the place, and *Terra Sigillata*, from the seal or character that is imprinted on it. It has been always deemed an excellent remedy against poisons, stings of serpents, wounds, and bloody fluxes. In the time of *Dioscorides* they used to mix this earth with goats blood, and sell it made up in small pellets, each pellet being sealed with the figure of a goat. This manner of preparing it was no more used in *Galen's* time ; for that great man undertook a voyage to *Lemnos*, with no other view but to inquire, on the spot, into the nature, virtue, and qualities of that wonderful earth. He tells us, that it was then dug up with a great many religious ceremonies ; that the priests went in procession to a rising ground, at a small distance from the city of *Hephestias*, the only place where they supposed this earth to be found ; and there, after sowing a certain measure of wheat and barley, and performing other mysterious ceremonies, they loaded a cart with the earth, which they attended in procession to the city. The ceremonies described by *Galen* have been long since abolished, and others, which are still practised, brought in probably by the *Venetians* in their room ; for on the sixth of *August*, and on no other day, all the chief men of the island, whether *Turks* or *Christians*, assemble at a chapel called *Sotira*, standing half way between the city, or rather the village, of *Cochino*, and the hill where the earth is found, to the top of which they walk in procession. There the *Caloyers* or *Greek* priests read their liturgy ; which being done, certain persons appointed for that purpose, begin to dig, and having discovered a vein of the earth they look for, give notice thereof to the *Caloyers*, who fill with it certain small hair sacks, delivering them to the *Turkish* governor and other officers there present. When they have taken up as much as they think proper, they fill up the place again, and return in procession to the city. Some of the bags are sent to the *Grand Signior*, and the rest, marked with his seal, or with those two words, *Tin Imachton*, that is, *sealed earth*, sold by the *Sangiack*, or his deputies, to the inhabitants and foreign merchants. The *Sangiack* is accountable to the *Grand Signior's* treasury for the money arising from the sale of the whole which is yearly disposed of, it being a capital crime for any of the inhabitants to keep in their houses, export, or any ways dispose of it, without the governor's

Terra Sigillata.

governor's knowledge and licence. There is no doubt, but earth of the same nature might be found in other places of the island; but none of the orientals would make use of it, unless it were dug up with the usual ceremonies, and in the presence of the *Caloyers*; nay, it would be in no request among them, as our modern travellers inform us, unless it were dug up on the usual day, the sixth of *August*.

The Labyrinth.

THE labyrinth of *Lemnos* is much spoke of by the antients, and, in the opinion of *Pliny*⁹, preferable to those of *Egypt* and *Crete*. It was a magnificent building, supported by forty columns of extraordinary height and thickness. The architects, employed in raising this admirable edifice, were *Zmilus*, *Rholus*, and *Theodorus*, a native of the island. Some remains of this stately fabric were still to be seen in *Pliny's* time; but *Belonius* tells us, that he could not discover, in any part of the island, the least vestiges of it.

THE most antient inhabitants of *Lemnos* were the *Sapeans* and *Sintians*, a people of *Thrace*, to whom *Homer* gives the epithet of *hoarse*. These inhabited the island before the expedition of the *Argonauts*, whose descendants, known by the name of *Minyans*, settled here, but soon abandoned the country, and retired to the city of *Lacedæmon*, from whence they went to *Triphilia*, and stopt in the neighbourhood of *Arena*, in a country which in *Strabo's* time was called *Lypefia*^r. Many years after their departure from *Lemnos*, the *Pelasgians*, being driven out of *Attica*, possessed themselves of this and the adjacent islands, and governed them according to their own laws, till they were brought under subjection to *Athens* by *Miltiades*. As to the motive which prompted the *Athenians* to drive them out of *Attica*, there is a great disagreement among authors, some pretending that they were justly expelled, and others maintaining, that the *Athenians* therein were guilty of the greatest injustice and treachery. *Herodotus* leaves the cause undecided, and only relates what was reported by writers of both sides. *Hecataeus* (C),
as

⁹ PLIN. ubi supra.

^r STRABO, ubi supra.

(C) *Hecataeus* was a native of *Miletus*, flourished, according to *Suidas*, in the sixty fifth olympiad, and wrote the lives of *Cyrus* and *Cambyses*. *Laertius* says, that he was a disciple of *Heraclitus*. He is frequently mentioned by *Herodotus*, who tells us, that *Hecataeus*, being at *Thebes* in *Egypt*, had the vanity to give out, that he was descended from one of the *Egyptian* deities, whereby he became
the

as quoted by him ^c, tells us, that the *Athenians* seeing the lands about *Hymessus*, which they had given to the *Pelasgians* in payment for the wall they had built round the *Acropolis* or citadel of *Athens*, improved, from a barren and unprofitable soil, into a fruitful and well cultivated country, drove them out without any provocation whatsoever, and resumed the country which they had bestowed upon them. On the other hand, the *Athenians* affirm, that the *Pelasgians*, while they were possessed of the country under mount *Hymessus*, frequently offered violence to their sons and daughters, who were sent for water to a place called the *nine fountains*. They add, that the *Pelasgians*, not contented with these attempts, conspired to possess themselves of *Athens* itself; which conspiracy being detected, the *Athenians*, to shew themselves as generous as the others had been base, instead of punishing with death, as their treachery deserved, commanded them only to depart the country. The *Pelasgians*, being thus driven from *Attica*, passed over into *Lemnos*, and settled there; but desiring to be revenged on the *Athenians*, they fitted out a fleet, and having laid an ambuscade for the *Athenian* women, as they celebrated the feast of *Diana* in *Brauron*, they surprized a great many of them, carried them to *Lemnos*, and there kept them for concubines. These women having many children by the *Pelasgians*, taught their sons the language of *Attica* and manners of the *Athenians*. Being thus brought up, they not only refused to converse with the sons of the *Pelasgian* women, but if any of their number was injured or abused by the *Pelasgians*, they all conspired to revenge the injury. By this means they gained such an ascendant over the sons of the

^c HERODOT. I. vi.

the scorn of the priests of the country (50). The same author informs us, that he did all that lay in his power to dissuade *Aristagoras* from engaging in a war with the *Persians*, and sending colonies into *Sardinia*. Besides the lives of the two above-mentioned princes, he wrote, it seems, other books; for *Stephanus* cites the first and fourth books of his *Genealogies*, *Harpocratian* the second, and *Athenæus* the third. *Stephanus*, *Athenæus*, and *Rufus Festus* quote a description of *Asia*, *Europe*, and *Libya* compiled by *Hecatæus*; but *Callimachus*, in his catalogue of authors, ascribes this work to another *Hecatæus*, whom he surnames *the Islander*. *Diodorus Siculus* and *Pausanias* tell us, that the history of *Hecatæus*, as likewise those of *Cadmus* and *Hellanicus*, was full of fables.

(50) Herodot. I. ii.

Pelasgian

Pelasgian women, that they were obeyed by them, as masters are by their slaves. The *Pelasgians*, observing this their haughty behaviour, concluded, that if they began so early to usurp a superiority over the children of their lawful wives, they would not fail to treat them as their slaves when they attained to man's estate. This apprehension made so deep an impression in their minds, that they resolved to murder the children they had by the women of *Attica*; which they did accordingly, extending their cruelty likewise to the mothers. After this barbarous murder, their lands, as we are told, became barren, their wives unfruitful, and their flocks did not yield the usual increase; whereupon they sent persons to consult the *Delphian* oracle, about the means they might use to be delivered from their calamities. The *Pythian* advised them to give satisfaction to the *Athenians* in the manner they should require. Having received this answer, they dispatched ambassadors to *Athens*, declaring, that they were ready to undergo any punishment the *Athenians* should think fit to impose upon them, for the injuries they had received at their hands. The *Athenians* hearing their offer, prepared a magnificent feast in the *Prytaneum*, and shewing them the tables furnished with all kinds of provisions, commanded them to surrender their country in as good a condition. The *Pelasgians* answered, that they would comply with their command, when a ship should come in one day with a north wind from the territories of *Athens* to their island. This they conceived impossible, *Athens* lying to the south of *Lemnos*; but, in virtue of this solemn promise, *Miltiades* many years after summoned them to deliver up their island to the *Athenians*.

As to their government, it was at first monarchical; but *Thoas* is the only king of *Lemnos* we find mentioned in history. In his reign, and, if we believe *Herodotus*^c, with his assistance, the *Lemnian* women killed all the males of the island, with a design to turn *Amazons*; from which action, and the murder of the *Athenian* women, which happened long after, any black treachery or cruel murder was called a *Lemnian action*^d. Other writers tell us, that *Thoas* whom *Homer* honours with the epithet of divine, was no ways concerned in the above-mentioned murder, but saved by the piety of his daughter *Hypsipyle* in the common slaughter of all the other males, as we have related in a former volume^e. Some writers tell us^f, that she was banished the

^c HERODOT. *ibid.*

^e VOL. V. p. 459.

^d Idem *ibid.* & ERASM. *Chiliad.*

^f APOLL. OD. l. iii. c. 5.

island for sparing her father ; others, that she was raised to the throne, and reigned in *Lemnos* when the *Argonauts* touched at that island. *Jason*, say they, by whom she had two children, and the other *Argonauts*, were so kindly entertained by her and her female subjects, that they stopt there two years, and almost forgot their intended expedition into *Colchis* for the golden fleece¹. The *Lemnians*, after having enjoyed their liberty for many ages, were at last reduced by *Miltiades*, under the power of the *Athenians*, in the manner we have related elsewhere². In process of time they shook off the *Athenian* yoke, but were again subjected to their antient masters by the *Romans* after the *Macedonian* war, and continued in that state till *Sylla* made them tributary to *Rome*.

Imbros, now *Embro* and *Lembro*, lies over-against the *Imbros*. *Thracian Chersonesus* from which it is divided by a narrow strait, being distant, according to *Thucydides*³, from *Lemnos* two and twenty miles, and two and thirty, as *Pliny* informs us⁴, from *Samothrace*. The same *Pliny* makes it twenty seven miles in circumference ; but the modern travellers only twenty. It had antiently a very safe harbour on the east shore, and a city bearing the name of the island. The whole island was sacred to the *Cabiri* and to *Mercury* ; whence it is stiled by *Homer* the divine *Imbros*. In honour of these deities an annual solemnity was kept by the *Imbrians*, *Lemnians*, and *Samothracians* ; and such as were initiated into their mysteries were thought effectually secured against storms at sea and all other dangers⁵. The chief ceremony was this : the person who was to be initiated, being crowned with olive-branches, and girt about his loins with a purple ribband, was placed upon a throne, round which the priests and persons already initiated danced and sported⁶. *Imbros*, like the other islands of the *Ægean* sea, was governed some time by its own laws, but afterwards subjected to the *Persians*, *Athenians*, *Macedonians*, and to the kings of *Pergamus*. At the peace concluded between *Philip* and the *Romans*, it was by the latter delivered up to the *Athenians*, who held it till *Rome*, becoming powerful in the east, reduced this and the other islands to a *Roman* province.

Thasos or *Ibassus* lies on the coast of *Thrace*, at a small *Thasos*. distance from the mouth of the *Nessus*. It was formerly

¹ Vide STRAB. l. iv. & v. Thebaid.
not. (U).

² THUCYD. l. viii.

³ VOL. VI. p. 97.

⁴ PLIN. l. iv. c. 12.

⁵ DIOD. SICUL. l. v.

⁶ PLATO, EUTHYDEMO, HESYCHIUS.

known by the names of *Odonis*, *Æria*, *Æthria*, *Ogygia*, *Æte*, *Ceresis*, and *Chryse*. This last name it borrowed from its rich mines of gold much spoken of by the antients. It was called *Thasos* from *Thasus* the brother of *Cadmus*, who settled here, and built a city of the same name, as *Herodotus*^a and *Conon*^f inform us. It is about forty miles in compass, and so fruitful, that *the fertility of Thasos* was used by the antients by way of proverb, to express a country yielding great plenty of all the necessaries of life^g. The wine of *Thasos* is highly commended by *Apuleius*^h, and the *Thasian* marble by *Seneca*ⁱ. This island was first peopled by the *Phœnicians*, whom *Cadmus*, while he was going in search of his sister *Europa*, left here under the conduct of his brother *Thasus*, as we hinted above. Some ages after, the inhabitants of *Paros* sent a colony hither, being directed by an oracle to build a city in the island of *Æria*, and to send thither a sufficient number of citizens to people it^k. The city of *Thasos* was besieged in vain by *Histiæus* tyrant of *Miletus*; but afterwards taken and dismantled by *Darius Hytaspis* king of *Persia*. The *Thasians* did not continue long subject to the *Persians*, but laid hold of the first opportunity that offered to join the *Greeks* against the common enemy, entering into an alliance with the *Athenians*, from whom they revolted after the battle fought on the river *Eurymedon* in *Pamphylia*. The *Thasians* had made themselves masters of the gold mines in *Thrace* between the rivers *Nessus* and *Strymon*; these the *Athenians* laid claim to, and the *Thasians* refusing to part with them, *Cimon* was sent against them with a mighty fleet. That brave commander engaging them at sea gained a complete victory, and laid siege to their metropolis. The *Thasians*, not finding themselves in a condition to make head against so powerful an enemy, had recourse to the *Lacedæmonians*, who promised to make a diversion by invading *Attica*; but were prevented by their domestic troubles from performing the promise they had made. However, the *Thasians* with their own strength made a most obstinate defence, but, being without any hopes of relief, submitted to the *Athenians* in the third year of the siege upon very disadvantageous terms, *viz.* to raze their walls; to deliver up their galleys; to pay the usual tribute; and to quit the mines, and whatever else they possessed on the continent^l. In the twenty-third year of the *Peloponnesian* war, they revolted anew

^a HERODOT. I. ii.
 ERASM. Chiliad.
 SENECA, epist. 80.
 CYP. I. i.

^f Conon. Narrat. 37.
^h APULEIUS, Apolog. p. 289.
 STRAB. I. x. p. 335.

^g Vide
ⁱ SE-
^l THE-

from the *Athenians*, who were for establishing an oligarchy in their city, and with the assistance of the *Lacedæmonians* recovered their antient liberty, after having driven out all those who were attached to the interest of *Athens*^m. They maintained themselves a free people till the time of *Alexander*, to whom they submitted of their own accord, and continued subject to the kings of *Macedon*, till they were delivered from the *Macedonian* yoke, and declared free by one of the articles of the peace concluded between *Philip* the father of *Perfes* and *Flaminius* the Roman consulⁿ (D).

Samothrace was antiently known by the names of *Melites*, *Leucasia*, *Samothrace*, or *Lucania*, *Saocis*, *Electria*, and *Dardania*. It was called *Dardania*, according to *Pliny*^o and *Pausanias*^p, from *Dardanus*, who retired thither. The same authors add, that it changed the name of *Dardania* into that of *Samothrace*, from the time that a colony of *Thracians*, mixed with some fugitives from the island of *Samos*, settled there. But *Diodorus Siculus*^q pretends, that the *Amazon Myrina*, in the course of her conquests on the coast of the *Ægean* sea, consecrated this island to *Cybele* under the name of *Samothrace*, a term, says he, then used to signify a consecrated place. Before, and in the time of, the *Trojan* war, it was called *Samos*, and distinguished from *Samos* on the coast of *Ionia*, and from *Cephalenia* named likewise *Samos*, by the epithet of *Thracian*, *Imbrian*, or *Lemnian*. It is by *Homer* constantly styled the *Thracian Samos*, which appellation the *Latins*, as *Virgil*^r informs us, changed into that of *Samethracia*.

^m Idem, l. viii.

Exc. legat. c. 9.

SAN. in Atticis.

Æneid. l. vii. v. 208.

ⁿ LIV. l. xxxiii. c. 30. POLYB. in^o PLIN. l. 4. c. 47.^q DIODOR. SICUL. l. iv.^p PAU-^r VIRGIL.

(D) *Stesimbrotus*, who is frequently quoted by *Plutarch*, was a native of *Thasos*, and contemporary with *Cimon*, as *Plutarch* observes in the life of that great commander. The same writer owns, that in his lives of *Themistacles*, *Cimon*, and *Pericles*, he took several particulars from the history of *Stesimbrotus*. *Tatian* mentions this historian in the book he wrote against the *Gentiles*. The etymologist on the word *ἰδαῖος* tells us, that this author's book was intitled, of the beginnings or origins, and that in the said book he maintained the *Idæi Dactyli* to be the sons of *Jupiter*, and the nymph *Ida*. *Fulgentius* (51) quotes *Stesimbrotus* the *Thasian* in his account of the death of *Polycrates* tyrant of *Samos*. He is also cited by *Apollonius* and others (52).

⁽⁵¹⁾ Fulgem. de Antiq. Sermon. Euseb. l. i. c. 1.⁽⁵²⁾ Apollon. l. in Athen.

Strabo^c is of opinion, that it took the name of *Samos* from a *Greek* word signifying *high*, this island being one of the highest in the *Ægean* sea. Hence *Priscian* styles it *the high Samos*, and *Homer*^d tells us, that from this island mount *Ida*, the city of *Troy*, and the *Greek* and *Trojan* camps, might be seen. It is, according to *Pliny*^e, about two and thirty miles in compass, two and twenty distant from *Lemnos*, two and thirty from *Imbros*, and eight and thirty from the coast of *Thrace*. The modern travellers place it only at three leagues distance from the coast of *Thrace*, and allow it but twenty miles in circumference. As to the first inhabitants of *Samothrace*, *Diodorus* tells us^f, that there is nothing handed down to posterity relating to them, which we may depend on. Others say^g, that it was first peopled by *Thracians*, and that after their arrival in the island, the *Pelasgians*, *Sami*, and *Phœnicians*, sent thither numerous colonies. They had antiently a peculiar language not understood by any other people of *Greece*, whereof some words were still used in the worship of their gods, when *Diodorus Siculus* wrote his history^h. The island of *Samothrace* was famous on account of the worship paid there to the gods called *Cabiri* (E), who

^c STRAB. l. x. p. 315. ^d HOMER. Iliad. N. v. 12.
^e PLIN. l. iv. c. 12. ^f DIODOR. SICUL. l. v. ^g STRABO, PLIN. PAUSAN. ubi supra. ^h DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.

(E) There is such a disagreement among authors in their accounts of these deities, that, notwithstanding all the mythologists have said of them, we are still in the dark as to many particulars, and can only form a confused idea of their nature, origin, and attributes. *Bochart* (53) derives their name from the *Hebrew* word *Cabir*, that is, *great and powerful*. This opinion he confirms with the authority of *Euthymius* and *Cedrenus*. The former tells us, that the *Saracens*, who had been idolaters, to the time of the emperor *Heraclius*, worshipped *Venus* under the name of *Cabab*, that is, the *great* or *powerful*; the latter observes, that the same people gave the name of *Cubar* to the constellation of *Venus*; whence *Bochart* infers, that the gods *Cabiri* were the *great* and *powerful* gods; and indeed they are frequently so styled by the writers of the earliest ages. But *Stephanus*, as quoted by *Strabo* (54), says they were called *Cabiri* or *Cabires* from *Cabirus*, a hill in *Phrygia*, where they were worshipped in a very solemn manner. It is no less perplexing to discover who the *Cabiri* were,

(53) *Bochart. in Canaan. l. i. c. 15.*

(54) *Strab. l. x.*

who were had in so great veneration, that it was thought an act of irreverence even to pronounce their names. All the great heroes

than to trace out the origin of their name. Some confine the number of the *Cabiri* to two, viz. *Jupiter* and *Bacchus*; but *Manseas* enumerates four, *Ceres*, *Proserpine*, *Pluto*, and *Mercury*, whom he disguises under the mysterious names of *Axioros*, *Axiokersa*, *Axiokersos*, and *Kasmilos*; to these *Dionysiodorus* adds a fourth, whom he stiles *Casmilus*, called by others *Camillus*, and the same with *Mercury*; but he was looked upon as one of an inferior rank, and, if we believe *Varro* (55), only as an attendant or servant of the *Samothracian* deities. The same author tells us, that by the great gods of *Samothrace*, were meant only the heaven and earth. Several writers have confined the appellation of *Cabiri* to *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*. *Dionysius Halicarnassus* and *Cassius Hemina*, as quoted by *Macrobius*, took the *Cabiri* to be the same as the *Dii Penates*, or household gods. *Dardanus*, say they, brought them from *Samothrace* into *Phrygia*, whence they were carried into *Italy* by *Æneas*. In a Greek inscription quoted by *Alexander ab Alexandro* they are called *Dioskouroi*, which appellation being also given by the antients to *Castor* and *Pollux*, some have thought them the sons of *Jupiter* by *Calliope* or *Proserpine*. The most common opinion is, that they were the sons or grandsons of *Vulcan*; this the *Egyptian* priests held, as *Herodotus* informs us (56), and some medals are still extant, which seem to confirm this opinion. *Galinius* exhibits two, one of the city of *Theffalonica*, the other of the emperor *Claudius*, surnamed *the Goth*; on the reverse of both is a *Cabir*, as appears from the Greek inscription, with a hammer in his hand, which symbol signifies, as all the mythologists agree, his being of the race of *Vulcan*. Thus some writers make the *Cabiri* to have been the first who introduced and taught the art of working iron. A modern writer endeavours to prove, that the *Cabiri* were the same as the *Curetes*, *Corybantes*, and *Telchines*. The latter were called by the *Greeks*, *Destroyers*, being supposed to make use of the secrets of magic to hurt mankind. The *Telchines* were deemed the authors of all the miseries which laid waste the earth; and the ignorant populace imagined they could by their enchantments raise storms, and bring plagues, famines, and diseases, whenever they pleased (57). All we can infer from the various accounts of the antient mythologists, which are but an odd jumble of contradictions, is, that the *Pagans* themselves were ignorant of the origin of these imaginary deities. However, they were worshipped in several parts of *Greece* and *Asia*, chiefly in the

(55) *Varr. de ling. Lat. l. iv.* (56) *Herodot. l. ii.* (57) *Vide Aporium in Dissert. de Cabiris.*

heroes of antiquity were initiated into the mysteries of these deities. Such as were admitted to partake of the sacred ceremonies used to meet in a wood, which became a place of refuge for offenders, and was more respected than even the temple of *Delphos*, or the island of *Delos*. To this island *Perſes* king of *Macedon* fled for refuge, and took up his habitation in a temple dedicated to *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, hoping, that the *Romans* would not prophane a ſanctuary revered by all the nations of the world ; and indeed the *Romans* did not make any attempts upon his life or perſon ſo long as he ſtaid there ; for the pagans carried their prejudices ſo far in favour of the pretended deities, that they were ſtruck with an awful dread upon the bare mention of their names. Of all the oaths that were in uſe among the antients, that by the gods of *Samothrace* was deemed the moſt ſacred and inviolable. Such as were found not to have obſerved this oath were looked upon as the curſe of mankind, and perſons devoted to deſtruction. *Diodorus* ² tells us, that theſe gods were always preſent, and never failed to aſſiſt thoſe who were initiated, and called upon them in any ſudden and unexpected danger ; that *Jafion*, *Di-*

² DIODOR. SICUL. l. v.

cities of *Lemnos*, *Theſſalonica*, *Thebes*, *Rhodes*, &c. *Pauſanias* tells us, that the country of *Pergamus* was conſecrated to the *Cabiri*, and that they had a temple at *Memphis* in *Egypt*, which no one, except the prieſt who performed the ſacred rites, was allowed to enter (58). *Lactantius* ſpeaks of a god named *Cabirius*, to whom the *Macedonians* paid a particular worſhip. But the iſland of *Samothrace* was, as it were, the center of the ſuperſtitious ceremonies obſerved in honour of the *Cabiri*. There, and no-where elſe, people were initiated into their mysteries. Thoſe who were to be admitted were placed on a kind of throne, and crowned with laurel, having bands of purple tied round their bellies. Then the prieſts and others there preſent danced round them, and this ridiculous mummary ended in oaths and execrations on the perſon, who ſhould ever reveal what paſſed in their aſſemblies. *Heſychius* tells us, that even children were initiated, their parents fancying them, when under the protection of the *Cabiri*, ſafe from thunder, lightning, tempeſts, and all ſorts of dangers. Several writers, namely *Clemens Alexandrinus* and *Doſebart*, have collected the various opinions of the fabulous ages concerning the names origin, number, mysteries, offices, and worſhip of the *Cabiri*, and their ſiſters, called the *Caturætes* ; to theſe we refer our readers for a more full account of what relates to the *Samothracian* deities.

oscurus, *Hercules*, *Orpheus*, &c. being initiated into their rites, prospered by their favour in all their wars, and that none ever duly performed their ceremonies without being amply rewarded for their piety.

Diodorus Siculus speaks of an inundation, which laid great part of *Samothrace* under water, drowned all the cities on the coast of *Asia*, and overwhelmed several islands in the *Ægean* sea, some of which never afterwards appeared. In *Samothrace* the waters rose to such a height, that they not only covered the champaign country, but reached near the tops of the highest mountains, and changed the face of the whole country. This deluge is supposed to have happened before the *Argonautic* expedition, and is said to have been occasioned by the overflowing of the *Pontic* sea; which being swelled by the waters of the many great rivers that fall into it, discharged itself through the *Bosphorus Thracius* into the *Propontis*, and through the *Hellepont* into the *Egean* sea. When the waters abated, the inhabitants of *Samothrace* consecrated to the gods the places where they had been preserved, erecting altars, and offering up yearly sacrifices in memory of their deliverance. This they continued to do in *Diodorus's* time, who adds, that even then chapiters of pillars and other pieces of architecture were frequently found under water; which shews, says he, that this deluge is not a poetical fiction, but real truth^a. In the opinion of the antients the *Pontus Euxinus* was only a lake or standing pool, which being overcharged with waters broke first into the *Propontis*, and then into the *Egean*, washing away by degrees the earth, which kept it within its first bounds, and forming the two channels of the *Bosphorus Thracius* and the *Hellepont*, which *Hellepont* in the sense of the antients is another *Bosphorus*, that is, an arm of the sea narrow enough for an ox to swim over. In the hypothesis of the antients the *Palus Mæotis*, the *Pontus Euxinus*, the *Propontis*, and *Mediterranean* were originally so many lakes, which, after having broke down, as it were, the dikes that parted them, with the impetuosity of their waters, opened themselves a passage between the mountains of *Atlas* and *Calpe* into the ocean. It is perhaps more likely, that the ocean, having with the impetuosity of its waters dismembered the mountain of *Calpe* from the lands of *Africa*, poured itself into that vast space now called the *Mediterranean*, and penetrating to the north produced the *Propontis*, the *Pontus*, and the *Palus Mæotis*.

AFTER the abovementioned deluge, one *Saon* a native of *Samothrace*, the son of *Jupiter* and *Nympha*, as some say,

^a Idem. ibid.

or as others will have it, of *Mercury* and *Rhena*, gathered the inhabitants, before living scattered and dispersed, into a body, made laws for their better government, and divided them into five tribes, which he called after the names of his sons. Some time after the government was thus settled, *Dardanus*, *Jasion*, and *Harmonia* were born in the island. They were the children of *Jupiter* and *Electra* one of the daughters of *Atlas*. *Dardanus* passed over into *Asia*, where he founded a new kingdom, which was afterwards called the *Trojan* kingdom from the city of *Troy* built there. *Jupiter*, desirous likewise to advance his other sons to a high degree of honour and reputation, discovered to them the rites of the sacred mysteries antiently observed, but then newly revived, in the island, which it was not lawful for any to see, but those who were initiated. About this time *Cadmus*, arriving in the island to seek after his sister *Europa*, was initiated into the sacred mysteries, and married *Harmonia* the sister of *Jasion*. *Jasion* married *Cybele*, by whom he had *Corybas*, who, after his father's death, passing over into *Phrygia* with his mother and *Dardanus*, taught the *Phrygians* the mysteries of *Cybele*. *Corybas* called those who celebrated the sacred mysteries of his mother, after his own name, *Corybantes* ^b.

THE island of *Samothrace* was in antient times governed by its own kings; for *Coritus*, *Dardanus*, and his brother *Jasion* are said to have reigned there, as we have related elsewhere ^c. The monarchical form of government gave place to the republican, which continued till the island was reduced by the *Persians*. *Alexander* restored this, as most of the other *Greek* islands to the enjoyment of their antient liberties; but his successors in the kingdom of *Macedon* brought the *Samothracians* again into subjection. The *Romans* after the defeat of *Perfes* declared them a free people; whence *Pliny* ^d styles *Samothrace* a free island. They lived according to their own laws from the reduction of the kingdom of *Macedon* to the reign of *Vespasian*, who reduced all the states of *Greece* to a Roman province ^e.

Islands on
the coast of
Greece.

FROM the *Egean* we shall proceed with *Strabo* to the *Ionian* sea (F), giving a succinct description of the islands on the coast

^b Idem, l. v. c. 47. & seq. ^c Hist. Univer. Vol. V. p. 369.
^d PLIN. l. iv. c. 12. ^e SUTTON. in Vespas.

(F) The *Ionian* gulf, or the *Ionian* sea, lies between *Sicily* and *Greece*, extending from the island of *Cycte* to the *Acroceraunian* hills in *Epirus*, or, as others will have it, to the city of *Apollonia* in *Macedonia*.



ART OF THE
ADRIATIC
SEA

ITALY
Tarentum
Gulf of
Tarento

IONIAN
SEA

EGÆAN

SEA

SEA OF CRETE



ANCIENT GREECE
with the
ISLANDS
adjoyning it

D.P. Sculp.

coast of *Greece*, of which the most northerly is that of *Sasón*, lying between *Aulon*, now *La Valona*, a city of *Macedon*, and *Brundisium* in *Italy* at the entrance of the *Ionian* sea. *Lucan* counts it among the islands of *Italy* ^f, and *Ptolemy* ^g among those of *Macedon*. It is mentioned by *Polybius* ^h, *Scylax* ⁱ, *Mela* ^k, *Pliny* ^l, &c. and described by *Silius Italicus* as a barren, sandy, and inhospitable place ^m.

Corcyra, now *Corfu*, was in more ancient times called *Corcyra*, *Drepane*, *Scheria*, and *Phæacia*. The name of *Corcyra*, which was also given to another island lying in the *Adriatic*, over-against *Illyricum*, it took from a nymph so called, whom *Neptune* is said to have ravished in this island. It is about forty five miles in length, twenty two in breadth, and two hundred and ten in compass. *Corcyra* was once famous for the delightful gardens of king *Alcinous*, who with great courtesy entertained *Ulysses* after his shipwreck ⁿ. The southern parts of the island are barren, mountainous, and but indifferently provided with water; the northern coast is very fruitful, and yields all kinds of delicious fruit, excellent wines, olives, all sorts of grain, &c. whence it is stiled by *Homer* the fruitful *Scheria* ^o. It had antiently two cities of no small note, viz. *Corcyra* and *Cassiope*; the former was the metropolis of the island, and once very powerful, as appears from *Thucydides* and others, who have given us an account of their wars; the latter is commended by *Pliny* ^p and *Ptolemy* ^q as a wealthy and well-built city; but *Cicero* calls it only a haven ^r. This island is said to have been first inhabited by the *Phæaces*, whence it was named *Phæacia*; but afterwards the *Corinthians* sent thither a numerous colony, which made *Thucydides* ^s reckon *Corcyra* among the countries peopled by the *Corinthians*. The *Corcyreans* were skillful mariners, and, as the same *Thucydides* informs us, for some time masters of the sea. Their government was first monarchical; but afterwards they formed

^f LUCAN l. xi. v. 627. ^g PTOL. l. iii. c. 12. ^h POLYB. l. v. c. 110. ⁱ SCYLAX. in Illyr. ^k POMP. MELA, l. iv. ^l PLIN. l. iii. cap. ult. ^m SILIUS ITAL. l. v. v. 480. ⁿ HOMER. Odyss. 7. v. 34. ^o Idem ibid. ^p PLIN. l. iv. c. 12. ^q PTOL. l. iii. c. 4. ^r CIC. l. xvi. epist. 9. ad Tiron. ^s THUCYD. l. vii. p. 528.

Macedon. It was so called either from *Ionius* the son of *Dyrrhacius*, *Hercules* having given it that name to preserve the memory of his friend whom he had killed by mistake, and thrown into the sea; or from *Ionia*, a country, according to *Solinus*, in the extremity of *Calabria*; or from *Io*, the daughter of *Inachus*, as *Lycofleon* has it.

themselves into a republic, and made a very considerable figure in the flourishing times of *Greece*. *Herodotus* tells us ^t, that they were very powerful by land, and had more ships than any other people of *Greece*, except the *Athenians*. That author greatly blames them on account of their deceitful conduct with respect to the assistance they promised the *Greeks* against *Xerxes*; for, being invited by the *Athenian* and *Lacedæmonian* ambassadors to join in the common cause, they readily promised to send powerful succours, assuring them, that they would not neglect the safety of *Greece* in so imminent a danger, well knowing that, if the enemy prevailed, they should soon be reduced to the condition of slaves. The *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* departed well satisfied with this answer; but the *Corcyreans* having fitted out a squadron of sixty ships sailed to the coast of *Peloponnesus*, and having anchored about *Pylus* and *Tænarus*, waited in that station to see the event of the war, being resolved to join the party that should prevail. When news was brought them that the *Persians* were defeated at *Salamis*, they left their station, and joined the rest of the *Greeks*, pretending that they had been prevented by the *Etesian* winds from doubling the cape of *Malea*, and being present at the battle ^w. Their war with the *Corinthians* and *Epidamnians*, which brought on the *Peloponnesian* war, and the dreadful sedition which happened in their island (whence all seditions, when terrible in their effects, were stiled *Corcyrean*) we have related elsewhere ^{*}. The *Corcyreans* submitted to *Alexander*, and continued subject to his successors kings of *Macedon*, till they were delivered by the *Romans* in the reign of *Perfes*, from which time they enjoyed their liberty till the reign of *Vespasian*, when they underwent the common fate of the other islands and *Greek* states both in *Europe* and *Asia*.

Sybota
&c.

BETWEEN *Corcyra* and the continent lie two small islands, called by *Strabo* ^y and *Thucydides* ^z *Sybota*; and at a small distance from the eastern coast of *Corcyra*, the island of *Ptychia*, which *Ptolemy* confounds with a city of that name in the island of *Corcyra*, but *Thucydides* describes it as a distinct island. Five miles east of *Corcyra* are the islands *Paxi* or *Paxæ*, mentioned by *Pliny* ^b, and other antient writers, but containing nothing remarkable. They are but two in number, and at present known by the names of *Paschu* and *Antipaschu*. *Pliny* enumerates several other islands on the coast of *Epirus*,

^t HERODOT. l. vii. ^w HERODOT. ibid. ^{*} Hist. Univer. Vol. VI. p. 154, & seq. & 170, & seq. ^y STRABO, l. vii. p. 224. ^z THUCYD. l. i. p. 32. ^a Idem, l. iv. p. 283. ^b PLIN. l. iv. c. 12. viz.

viz. *Ericusa*, *Marathe*, *Elaphusa*, *Malthace*, *Trachie*, *Pythionia*, and *Tarachia*, of which *Ericusa* was also known to *Ptolemy*, who places it between *Corcyra* and *Cephalenia*.

Leucas, now known by the name of *Santa Maura*, was Leucas.] antiently a peninsula, joined to the main land of *Acarmania* by an isthmus, which was cut by the *Carthaginians*, or, as others will have it, by the *Corinthians*. We have described this island elsewhere^c, and therefore shall only add here, that in the middle of it was a stately temple consecrated to *Venus the mother of Æneas*, who is supposed to have landed here on his voyage to *Italy*. *Homer* speaks of three cities of no small note in this country, viz. *Nericus*, *Crocylea*, and *Agylipe*. *Isaac Vossius* is of opinion, that in the time of *Thucydides* it was still a peninsula, since that historian, in describing the countries of *Leucas* and *Acarmania*, makes no mention of the isthmus being cut^d. In *Homer's* time it was, without all doubt, joined to the land, since he calls it the coast of *Epirus*^e. It is about seventy miles in compass, and was in antient times called *Neritis*, as *Pliny* informs us^f.

THE islands known to the antients by the names of *Taphiæ* and *Teleboides*, lay to the east of *Leucas*, near the coast of *Achaia*. They were so called from *Taphus* and *Telebous* the sons of *Pterelas*, and grandsons of *Neptune* by *Hippothoe* the daughter of *Nestor*^g. *Bochart*^h derives the name of *Taphiæ* from from the *Hebrew* word *bataph*, which signifies *to rob*, the inhabitants of these islands being antiently famous pirates. The *Echinades* were five small islands on the coast of *Acarmania* over-against the mouth of the river *Achelous*, from which the farthest distant is but fifteen furlongs, and the nearest only five. They were thought to have been formed by the mud, which this river carried into the sea; whence arose the fable of their having been once sea-nymphs, but afterwards by the god *Achelous* changed into islandsⁱ. Some writers tell us, that they were called *Echinades* from the *Greek* word *echinos*, because that part of the *Ionian* abounded with sea-hogs. They are now known by the name of *Curzolari*. *Dulichium*, which formerly belonged to *Ulysses*, is counted by *Strabo*^k among the *Echinades*.

Ithaca, between *Dulichium* and *Cephalenia*, was once famous for being the birth-place of *Ulysses* the son of *Laertes*. Ithaca.

^c See before, p. 29, note.

^d Vide Voss. in Scylacem.

^e Vide STRABONEM, l. x. p. 311.

^f PLIN. l. iv.

^g STRAB. l. x. & PLIN. l. iv. c. 12.

^h BOCHART.

ⁱ OVID. Metamorph. l. viii.

^k STRABO, l. x.

P. 315.

It is about five and twenty miles in compass, and at present known by the name of *Val di Compare*. It had a town in former times bearing the name of the island, and situated, according to *Homer*¹, at the foot of mount *Neius*, which by most geographers is thought to be the same with mount *Neritus* mentioned by *Virgil*^m. *Pomponius Mela*ⁿ mistakes mount *Neritus* for another island in the *Ionian* sea.

Cephale-
nia.

Cephallenia, or *Cephalenia*, known in *Homer*'s time by the names of *Samus* and *Black Epirus*, or *Epirus Melæna*, is about eighty miles in length, forty in breadth, and a hundred and thirty in compass. It had antiently four cities, but *Ptolemy* takes notice of one only, which bore the name of the island. *Strabo* tells us, that in his time there were only two cities remaining; but *Pliny*^p speaks of three, and adds, that the ruins of *Same*, which had been destroyed by the *Romans*, were still to be seen. *Same* was the metropolis of the island, and is supposed to have stood in the place which the *Italians* call *Porto Guiscardo*. The names of the four cities were, according to *Thucydides*, *Same*, *Prone*, *Cranii*, and *Palæ*^q. This island was subdued by the *Thebans* under the conduct of *Amphitryon*, who is said to have killed *Pterelas*, who then reigned here. While *Amphitryon* was carrying on the war in *Cephallenia*, then called *Samos*, one *Cephalus*, a man of great distinction at *Athens*, having accidentally killed his wife *Procris* in shooting at a deer, fled to *Amphitryon*, who, pitying his case, not only received him kindly, but made him governor of the island, which thenceforth was called *Cephallenia*. After it had continued long subject to the *Thebans*, it fell under the power of the *Macedonians*, and was taken from them by the *Ætolians*, who held it till it was reduced by *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, who, having made himself master of the metropolis after a four months siege, and sold all the citizens for slaves, added the whole island to the demesnes of his republic^r. The island of *Zacynthus*, which lies twelve miles south of *Cephallenia*, we have described at length elsewhere^s, and therefore shall proceed to the *Strophades*, which are two small islands lying over-against *Arcadia* in *Peloponnesus*, and now known by the name of *Strivali*. They are about thirty five miles south of *Zacynthus*, and, according to *Strabo*^t, four hundred furlongs from the continent, the largest of the two

¹ HOMER. *Odyss.* γ'. v. 81. ^m VIRGIL. *Æneid.* iii. v. 270.

ⁿ POMP. MELA, l. ii. c. 7.

^p PLIN. l. iv. c. 12.

^q THU-

CYD. l. ii. p. 120.

^r LIV. l. xxxviii. c. 28, & 29.

^s Vide

Hist. Univer. Vol. VI. p. 502, note.

^t STRABO, l. viii.

p. 248.

being but five miles in compass. They were first called *Plotæ*, that is, *swimming islands*, as *Pliny* informs us ^u, and afterwards *Strophades*, from a *Greck* verb signifying *to return*, because *Zethus* and *Calais*, the winged issue of *Boreas* and *O-rithyia*, are feigned to have pursued the *Harpyes* to these islands, and thence to have returned, being admonished by *Iris* or *Jupiter* to give over the pursuit. *Virgil* describes them as frequented in the time of *Æneas* only by these ravenous monsters ^w. At present they are inhabited by *Greek* friars, who, to the number of thirty, live there, and enjoy the islands to themselves. In one of them there is a fine spring of fresh water, which is said to have its fountain in *Peloponnesus*, and to pass under the sea. The other islands mentioned by *Pliny* ^x, as lying between *Zacynthus* and the *Asinean* gulf, are *Letoia* or *Letoa*, now *Cristina*, near *Cephalenia*, the three *Sphagiæ* or *Sphaçteria*, opposite to *Pylus* of *Messenia*, and as many known by the name of *Oriusæ*, lying over-against the city of *Messene*. The islands of *Sphaçteria* are famous in history for a victory gained there by the *Athenians* over the *Lacedæmonians*, after which *Cleon* possessed himself of the islands, taking the *Lacedæmonians* who garisoned them prisoners ^y. These islands are now called *Le Sapienze*, and the sea round them *the sea of Sapienza*. In the *Laconic* gulf are, according to *Pliny*, the following islands *Teganusa*, *Cothon*, and *Cythera*. *Teganusa*, or *Theganusa*, is placed by *Strabo* ^z and *Pausanias* ^a, not in the *Laconic*, but the *Messenian* gulf, before the promontory *Acritas*, between *Metho* and *Caron*, two cities of *Messenia*. *Pomponius Mela* ^b places *Cothon* in the *Ægean* sea, and *Salmasius* on the coast of *Africa*, but *Stephanus* agrees with *Pliny*. Over-against *Gythium* in *Peloponnesus* lies the small island of *Cranæ* mentioned by *Pausanias* ^c, and said by *Homer* to have been the first place, where *Paris* stopt as he was carrying off *Helena* ^d.

Cythera, now *Cerigo*, lies over-against *Malea*, a promontory of *Laconia*, from which it is distant, according to *Strabo* ^e, forty furlongs. It was named *Cythera*, if *Stephanus* is to be credited, from one *Cytherus* a *Phænician*, who is said to have settled here. Before his arrival it was known by the name of *Porphyris* or *Porphyrißa*, either because it abounded

Cythera.

^u PLIN. l. iv. c. 12.^w VIRGIL. *Æneid*. 3. v. 209.^x PLIN. ubi supra.^y THUCYD. l. iv. p. 256. DIODOR.

SICUL. l. xiii. c. 24.

^z STRAB. l. viii. p. 248.^a PAU-SAN. *Messen*. c. 34.^b POMP. MELA, l. ii. c. 7.^c PAU-SAN. *Lacon*. c. 22.^d HOMER. *Iliad*. 7. v. 445.^e STRAB.

l. viii. p. 250.

with

with porphyry, as *Solinus* is of opinion, or by reason the best scarlet was dyed here, as *Stephanus* affirms on the authority of *Aristotle*. It is about sixty miles in compass, blessed with a fruitful soil, and has several havens, one especially very safe and capacious, called antiently *Scandea*, about ten furlongs from the city of *Cythera*, a city once famous for the temple of *Venus*, surnamed *Urania*, or *Heavenly*. In this temple, which was believed to be the most antient which *Venus* had amongst the *Greeks*, was a statue of that goddess in complete armour, holding, like *Pallas*, a javelin in her hand. She is said, upon her first springing out of the froth of the sea, (for such was her origin) to have been by gentle zephyrs carried to this island, and from hence to *Cyprus*; on which account both islands were in a peculiar manner sacred to her. From *Cythera* *Venus* had the surname of *Cytherea*, often used by *Virgil* and other poets. We have already related how this island, formerly subject to *Lacedæmon*, was reduced by the *Athenians* under the conduct of *Nicias* [†], and therefore shall pass to the other islands. In the *Argolic* bay *Pliny* places the following [§], *Pityusa*, *Irine*, *Ephyre*, *Tipareus*, *Aperopia*, *Colonis*, *Aristeria*, and *Calauria*. This last lay, according to *Strabo* ^h, in the bay of *Hermione* over-against *Træzen*, a maritime city of *Argia*, from which it was distant four furlongs, being thirty in compass. It was famous for a temple consecrated to *Neptune*, and an asylum ⁱ. Here *Demosthenes* poisoned himself, and was buried within the inclosure of the temple ^k. The other islands contain nothing remarkable.

Ægina.

IN the *Saronic* gulf (G) are the islands of *Ægina* and *Salamis*, both equally famous in antient history. The former was antiently

[†] Hist. Univers. Vol. VI. p. 128, & seq. [§] PLIN. l. iv. c. 12:
^h STRAB. l. viii. p. 254. ⁱ Idem, ibid & PAUSAN. Corinth.
 c. 33. ^k PLUT. in vita. PAUSAN. ubi supra, & POMP. MELA,
 l. ii. c. 7.

(G) The *Sinus Saronicus*, or *Saronic* gulf, now called the gulf of *Engia*, lies between *Attica* to the north, and *Peloponnesus* to the south, extending from *Cenchreæ* on the isthmus of *Corinth* to the promontory of *Sunium* (59). It was named the *Saronic* gulf according to *Pliny* (60) from a grove of oaks called by the antient *Greeks* *Saronides*. Some derive this appellation from a city, others from a harbour, and some from a river, which fell into this bay (61). It was also called the bay of *Salamis* from the island of that name,

(59) Strab. l. viii. p. 254. (60) Plin. l. iv. c. 5. (61)
 Vide Hesych. in hac voce.

and

tiently known by the names of *Oenone* or *Oenopia*¹, and *Myrmidonia*; but *Æacus*, who reigned here, called it *Ægina*, from his mother the daughter of *Asopus* king of *Bœotia* (H). It was called *Myrmidonia* because inhabited by the *Myrmidones*, so famous among the poets. It lies between the territory of *Athens* and that of *Epidaurus*, a city of *Argia*, being distant eighteen miles from the coast of *Athens*, and fourteen from *Peloponnesus*. It is about twenty six miles in compass, and had antiently a city of the same name^m, which being destroyed by an earthquake, the inhabitants were exempted by *Tiberius* for the space of three years from paying any kind of tributeⁿ. *Pausanias* ^o speaks of two magnificent temples in this island, the one consecrated to *Venus*, the other to *Jupiter*; the ruins of a stately edifice, which are still to be seen at a small distance from the present village of *Engia*, are probably the remains of one of these temples. The country is said to have been at first very stony and barren, but being inhabited by a laborious and thriving people, who, digging up the earth, cleared it of the stones, it became very fruitful. From this their industry they were surnamed *Myrmidones*, that is, *emnets*, as *Strabo* informs us^p, and not because the *emnets*, as the poets feign, were, at the prayers of *Æacus*, changed into men to repopulate the island, after all the antient inhabitants, king *Æacus* alone excepted, had been swept away by a plague. This island was first peopled by the *Epidaurians*,

¹ PLIN. l. iv. c. 12. ^m STRABO, l. viii. p. 258. ⁿ TACIT. Annal. l. ii. • PAUSAN. in Corinth, c. 12. ^p STRAB. ubi supra.

and bay of *Elenfis* from that city. The entrance into the *Saronic* gulf is formed by two promontories, that of *Sunium* on the side of *Attica*, now stiled *Capo delle colonne*, from certain columns that are still standing there, and supposed to be the remains of the temple of *Minerva*; and that of *Scylla*, now *Capo di Scilli*, on the side of *Peloponnesus*. The bay, where broadest, is three and twenty miles over, its length twenty five, and its compass fourscore (62). *Strabo* and other geographers call the islands in this gulf the *Æacides*, because they were held by the descendants of *Æacus* the son of *Jupiter* and *Ægina*.

(H) This is related by *Ovid* in the following lines (63):

O Enopiam Minos petit Æacidalia regna.
O Enopiam veteres appellavere, sed ipse
Æacus Æginam genitricis nomine dixit.

(62) Spon. Voyage, &c.
 v. 472.

(63) *Ovid Metamorph. l. vii.*

who

who were originally *Dorians*, and afterwards by colonies from *Crete* and *Argos*^a. These were in process of time driven out by the *Athenians*, who, making themselves masters of the island, divided the lands among themselves, but did not hold them long, being driven out by the *Lacedæmonians*, who restored the island to the antient proprietors^c. The *Myrmidones* were not a distinct people from those we have already mentioned, this being only a surname given to the inhabitants on account of their industry. The *Æginetes* applied themselves very early to trade and navigation, and sent colonies into the neighbouring islands, namely *Imbros* and *Crete*, the city of *Cydon* in the latter having been built, according to *Strabo*^d, and peopled by them. In the time of *Amasis* king of *Egypt* they erected a magnificent temple in *Neucratis*, a city of that country, to *Jupiter*, following therein, as *Herodotus* informs us^e, the example of the *Samians*, who, in the same kingdom, had built one in honour of *Juno*. *Ephorus*, as quoted by *Strabo*^f, tells us, that the first money was coined in *Ægina* by one *Phidon*. *Pliny* commends the brass of this island, preferring it even to that of *Delos*, and adds, that the famous statue of brass, representing an ox, which stood in the *forum boarium* at *Rome*, was carried from hence to adorn that capital^w.

THE *Æginetes* were first governed by kings, and afterwards formed themselves into a republic, which in process of time became so powerful as to vie with *Athens* herself. The first king that reigned there was *Actor*, the son of *Dioneus*, and grandson, as the poets feign, of *Æolus*. He was born in *Phocis*, whither his father *Dioneus*, or, as others call him, *Deion*, had carried a colony out of *Æolia*; from *Phocis* he led a colony into *Phthia*, where he married *Ægina*, the daughter of *Asopus* king of *Bæotia*, and, by a second migration, went into the island of *Oenone*, where he settled. By his wife *Ægina* he had three sons, *Æacus*, *Mænetius*, and *Irus*. *Æacus* the eldest succeeded his father *Actor* in the kingdom of *Oenone*, which he called from his mother's name *Ægina*, and peopled with new colonies invited thither from the continent and neighbouring islands. His piety and justice in the administration of public affairs gave rise to the fable of his being appointed by *Pluto* judge of the *Europeans* after their death. He had by his first wife, named *Endeis*, *Telamon* and *Peleus*, and by *Pfamathe*, his second, *Phocus*. *Telamon* and *Peleus*, conspiring against *Phocus*, put him to death,

^a STRAB. *ibid.* HERODOT. I. v. ^c STRAB. *ibid.* ^d STRAB. *ibid.* ^e HERODOT. I. v. ^f STRAB. I. viii. p. 258. ^w PLIN. I. iv. c. 12.

on which account they were both banished the island by their father. *Æacus* is said to have assisted the *Athenians* against *Minos* king of *Crete*, and to have been the first who paid divine honours to *Hercules*. His descendants were called *Æacidae*, and are much spoken of by all the antients, having reigned in different countries, and most of them attained to a great pitch of power and glory. *Cicero* observes², that they were for the most part better warriors than statesmen; and *Justin*, that few of them attained to the thirtieth year of their age. *Æacus* was, according to *Arnobius*³, about two generations older than the *Trojan* war, and the first who built a temple in *Greece*. As to the successors of *Æacus* in the island of *Ægina*, we are quite in the dark. The monarchical form of government being abrogated, the *Æginetes* became subject, on what occasion we know not, to the *Epidaurians*, depending upon them, as *Herodotus*⁴ informs us, in all things, and particularly in matters relating to the administration of justice. But afterwards applying themselves to navigation, and the building of ships, they acquired great power by sea, revolted from the *Epidaurians*, ravaged their territory, and carried off, among other things, the two famous statues of *Damias* and *Auxesias* (I). This gave rise to

RII

² CIC. l. ii. de Divinat. ³ ARNOB. adversus Gent. l. vi. p. 131. ⁴ HERODOT. l. v.

(I) The *Epidaurians*, seeing their country become unfruitful, sent to consult the oracle of *Delphos* about the cause of that calamity. The *Pythian* answered, that if they erected statues in honour of *Lamia*, or, as *Herodotus* calls her, *Damias*, and *Auxesias*, their affairs would prosper. *Lamia* and *Auxesias* were two virgins, who, coming from *Crete* to *Træzen*, a city of *Argia*, in time of a tumult, had fallen a sacrifice to the fury of the people, by whom they were stoned to death. The *Epidaurians*, having received the abovesaid answer, consulted the oracle anew to know whether the statues should be made of stone or brass; the *Pythian* replied, of neither, but of the wood of an olive-tree. Upon this answer, the *Epidaurians* desired leave of the *Athenians* to cut down an olive-tree in their territory, either because they believed those of that soil to be the most sacred, or, as others say, by reason olive-trees at that time grew in no other country. The *Athenians* shewed themselves ready to grant their request, provided they promised to come annually to *Athens*, and there to offer sacrifice to *Minerva* and *Erechtheus*. This condition the *Epidaurians* accepted, and having obtained their request, they formed out of that wood two statues, which were no sooner erected than their country became fruitful a-

an irreconcilable enmity between the *Æginetes* and *Athenians*, the effects whereof we have elsewhere related at length ^a,
The

^a Hist. Univers. Vol. VI. p. 81, & seq. 138, & 235.

gain. In process of time the *Æginetes* having overcome the *Epidaurians* carried off these statues, and having erected them at a place called *Oia*, in the middle of their island, to render them propitious they appointed sacrifices accompanied with dances, to be performed by women in their honour, assigning to each statue ten men to preside in the solemnity. On this occasion the women who danced were allowed to abuse one another with opprobrious language, but not the men who presided. This they did in conformity to the former practice of the *Epidaurians*, who, besides these, used other ceremonies on this occasion not fit to be mentioned. After these statues were carried away by the *Æginetes*, the *Epidaurians* would no longer perform their contract with the *Athenians*, which they had religiously observed till that time, alledging that the *Æginetes*, who were in possession of the statues, and not they, who were, to their great sorrow, deprived of them, lay under that obligation. Hereupon the *Athenians* dispatched a messenger to *Ægina* to demand the statues, which the *Æginetes* refusing to deliver, they sent a ship with some of their citizens to *Ægina*, enjoining them, in case of a refusal, to use violence. These attempting to pull down the statues, were so terrified by a dreadful earthquake, accompanied with thunder and lightning, that they became outrageously mad, and fell upon one another with such fury, that one only remained alive, who made his escape to *Phaleron* in *Attica*. Thus the *Athenians* relate the story. But the *Æginetes* tell us, that the *Athenians* arrived in their island with a numerous fleet, and not, as is pretended, with a single ship, which they could have easily resisted. They add, that having landed their men without opposition, they marched directly to the statues, which, as they endeavoured to pull them down with ropes, fell on their knees, and ever after continued in that posture. Notwithstanding this miracle, the *Athenians* persisted in their resolution of carrying off the statues; but in the mean time the *Argians*, at the request of the *Æginetes*, having privately entered the island, cut off their retreat to the ships, and put them all to the sword, one man only excepted, who, as the *Athenians* affirm, soon perished in the following manner: Having, on his return to *Athens*, given an account of this disaster, the wives of those who had been killed in the island of *Ægina*, highly incensed that one man alone should be left alive of the whole number, crowded about him, and, asking for their husbands, killed him with the points of their pins. This action gave the *Athenians* more uneasiness than their defeat; and as they could not any other ways punish the women, they obliged them to change their dress, which was after the *Dorian* fashion,
and

The island was at last reduced by the *Athenians*, and continued subject to them, till it was at the end of the *Macedonian* war declared free by the *Romans*, enjoying its liberty till the reign of *Vespasian*, when it underwent the same fate as the other states of *Greece*.

Salamis, now *Coluri*, lies in the same *Saronic* gulf about three leagues west of *Ægina*, over-against the city of *Eleusis*, from which it is separated by a streight about a league over called antiently *Porthmos*, and at present *Perama* ^b. It was formerly known by the names of *Cychria*, from *Cychereus* the first king of the island, and of *Pityussa*, because abounding with pine-trees called by the *Greeks* *Pytus* ^c. The name of *Salamis* it borrowed from *Salomine* the daughter of *Asopus* king of *Bœotia*, whom *Neptune* is said to have ravished and carried into this island. By her he had *Cychreus*, or *Cychereus*; the first who reigned in the island. As *Cychreus* died without children, he was succeeded by *Telamon*, the father of *Ajax*, by *Hesione*, the sister of *Priam* and daughter of *Laomedon* king of *Troy* ^d; whence *Salamis* is stiled by *Virgil* the kingdom of *Hesione* ^e. It is according to *Strabo* between seventy and eighty furlongs in length, fifty miles in compass, and had antiently a city bearing the same name, and facing the island of *Ægina*. The city was destroyed, and another, called also *Salamis*, built on the coast over-against *Attica*, which was well peopled, and governed by its own laws in the time of *Augustus* ^f. This island will be ever famous in history for the signal victory gained here by the *Greeks* over the *Persians*. It was first peopled by the *Ionians*, and afterwards by colonies from different cities of *Greece*. The form of government which first prevailed here was monarchical; but monarchy

^b STRAB. l. viii. PAUSAN. Attic. c. 35. ^c PLIN. l. iv. c. 12.
STRAB. ubi supra. ^d SCHOLIAST. in Lycoph. ^e VIRGIL.
Æneid. v. 157. ^f STRAB. ubi supra.

and to wear the *Ionian* habit, that is, a linen vest not fastened with any pins. From this event a custom was introduced among the *Argians* and *Æginetes* of making pins by three-fourths larger than before. Of these pins consisted the chief offerings that were dedicated in the temples by the women of *Ægina*, who in despite to the *Athenians* used, even in our historian's time, pins of an extraordinary size (64). This was the original of the enmity between the *Æginetes* and *Athenians*, which at last ended in the ruin of the former, as we have related in the history of *Athens* (65).

(64) *Herodot. l. v. Pausan. in Corinth.*
Vol. VI. p. 138, & seq.

(65) *Hist. Univers.*

was of no long continuance, *Cychreus*, *Telamon*, *Euryfaces*, and *Philæus* being the only kings who reigned over the *Salaminians*. *Cychreus* is said by *Diodorus* to have killed a dragon which infested the island; whence he had the name of *Ophis*; but *Stephanus* tells us, that he was so named on account of his crafty and inhuman temper. As *Cychreus* had no male issue, he appointed *Telamon*, the father of *Ajax*, his successor. *Telamon* was succeeded by *Euryfaces*, the son of *Ajax* by *Tecmessa* the daughter of *Teuthras* the *Mysian*, *Teucer* the other son of *Telamon* being on his return from the siege of *Troy* banished by his father, as we have related in the history of *Cyprus*, for not revenging on *Ulysses* the death of his brother *Ajax*. After the death of *Telamon*, *Teucer* attempted the recovery of his paternal kingdom; but *Euryfaces*, entering into an alliance with the *Athenians*, defeated his designs, and left the sovereignty of the island to his son, or, as others will have it, to his brother, *Philæus*, who of his own accord yielded the island to the *Athenians*, and retiring to *Athens* led there a private life. From him the tribe of the *Philiadæ*, of which was *Pisistratus*, borrowed its name^b; but his descendants, among whom were *Miltiades* and *Alcibiades*, were called *Euryfacidæ* from *Euryfaces*. The island of *Salamis* was taken from the *Athenians* by the *Megareans*, and held by them till the time of *Solon*, who, being originally a *Salaminian*, prevailed upon the *Athenians* to attempt the recovery of that island. Their attempt was attended with success, and the *Salaminians*, again brought under subjection to *Athens*; in which state they continued till the reign of *Cassander*, whom they joined against the *Athenians*, and were on that account driven from their antient habitations, a new colony being sent from *Attica* to take possession of their lands and estates. After the reduction of *Athens* by *Sylla*, *Salamis* was declared free, and enjoyed its freedom till it was with the other states of *Greece* reduced by *Vespasian* to a *Roman* province.

Eubœa.

THE island of *Eubœa* went antiently by the names of *Chalcis*, *Ellopiea*, *Aonia*, *Abantis*, or *Abantia*, *Macris*, *Oche*, *Bomo*,^c &c. The name of *Chalcis*, which was common to the island, with its capital, *Stephanus* derives from *Chalce*, the daughter of *Asopus* king of *Bœotia*, and *Pliny* from a *Greek* word signifying *brass*, which he supposes to have been first made use of here^d. It was called *Ellopiea* from *Ellops* the son of *Ion*, who settled in this island; *Aonia*

^b PAUSAN. in Attic. PLATO. in Alcibiad. CALABER. l. iii. HERODOT. l. i. PLUT. ubi supra.

^c PLIN. ibid.

^d STRAB. l. x. PLIN. l. iv.

from the *Aones*; *Abantia* from the *Abantes*, or, as *Strabo* insinuates, from one *Abas* an antient hero; *Macris* or *Maccra* from its narrowness, that being the import of the *Greek* word, or from a nymp^h of that name, as the poets will have it, by whom they feign *Bacchus* to have been nursed in a cave of this island; *Oebe* from a high mountain; *Bomo* from the cattle, with which it was well stored, the antient *Arabian* word *Bomo* or *Bohmo*, signifying, according to *Hesychius*, cattle or herds of cattle. This appellation is perhaps the most antient of all, the island having been first peopled, as *Strabo* informs us, by the inhabitants of *Arabia* and *Phœnice*. The name of *Eubœa*, according to some writers, was borrowed from an antient heroine, according to others from a famous cave on the eastern coast of the island, called by the *Greeks* *Boos Aule*, or the *Ox-stall*; but the common opinion is, that it was so named from its excellent pastures. The name of *Eubœa* was changed in latter ages into that of *Egripos*, which is perhaps a corruption of the word *Euripus*; from *Egripos* was probably formed the modern name of *Negropont*; for the *Franks* or western *Christians*, who first resorted to this island, being unacquainted with the *Greek* tongue, and hearing the inhabitants say, *eis ton Egripon*, that is, to *Egripos*, took the name of the country to be *Negripon*, or *Negripont*. In like manner from misunderstanding the words *eis ton Delon*, to *Delos*, they formed *Sdelos*, *Sdillos*, and *Lisdelos*, all modern names of the said island. Some have foolishly imagined, that *Eubœa* was called *Negroponte* from its being joined to the continent by a bridge of black stone, the word *Negroponte* signifying in *Italian* a black bridge. This island lies opposite to the continent of *Attica*, *Bœotia*, and *Locris*, extending from cape *Sunium*, now *Capo delle collonne*, in *Attica* as far as *Thessaly* *. It was formerly joined to *Bœotia*, as *Pliny* informs us †, by an isthmus, as it is at present by a bridge; so narrow in some places is the *Euripus* (K), which

* STRAB. ubi supra.

† PLIN. l. 4. c. 12.

(K) That canal, or streight, which divides *Eubœa* from *Attica*, *Bœotia* and *Locris*, was called by the antients *Euripus*. It is so narrow over-against the capital, that a galley can scarce pass through it. The agitations of the *Euripus* are, as every one knows, much spoke of by the antients. Some, among whom *Antiphrastus* of *Byzantium*, say, that the whole canal has a flux and reflux only six times in four and twenty hours; but *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Pomponius Mela*, *Seneca* the tragedian, and *Snidas* agree, that it ebbs and flows seven times a day. *Livy* does not allow this flux and reflux to be so regular.

which divides it from the continent, It extends from north east to south-west a hundred and fifty miles ; but its breadth bears no proportion to its length, being, according to *Pliny* and most of the modern geographers, forty miles over where broadest, and only twenty where narrowest. It is three hundred and sixty-five miles in compass, and has several remarkable promontories stretching a great way into the sea. *Pliny* and *Mela* mention three, *Geraſtus*, and *Caphareus* to the south, and *Cenæum* to the north ; *Geraſtus* faces *Attica*, *Caphareus* the *Helleſpont*, and *Cenæum* the country of *Locris* and *Thermopylæ* ^m. *Strabo* mentions a fourth, which he calls *Petalia* and places over-againſt *Sunium* ⁿ. *Artemiſium*, which faces the *Pegaſæan* gulf and is famous for the firſt victory gained by the *Greeks* over the fleet of king *Xerxes*, is counted by *Correlius Nepos* ^o and *Plutarch* ^p among the promontories of *Eubœa*. The ſame writers tell us, that on the top of *Artemiſium* ſtood a temple or rather a chapel conſecrated to *Diana*, ſurnamed *Proſœa*, that is *eaſtern*. *Pliny* ſpeaks of *Artemiſium* as a town, and not a promontory. The doubling of cape *Caphareus* was in former times, when navigation was, we may ſay, in its infancy, reckoned very dangerous, on account

^m PLIN. *ibid.* ⁿ STRAB. l. x. ſub. init. ^o CORN. NEPOS. in Themist. c. 3. ^p PLUT. in Themist. p. 115.

regular. Father *Babin*, a jeſuit of great learning, who made many obſervations on the ſpot, during his long abode in the iſland of *Negropont*, tells us, that the *Euripus* is regular in its ebbing and flowing the firſt eight days of the moon ; the ſame regularity he obſerved from the fourteenth to the twentieth day incluſively, and in the three laſt days ; but in the other days of the lunar month it is not ſo regular, for it ſometimes ebbs and flows eleven, twelve, thirteen, and fourteen times in the ſpace of a natural day. This irregularity, the cauſes of which both antients and moderns have ſought for in vain, became proverbial among the *Greeks* ; whence the expreſſions ⁿ *Ἀθροπος Εὐρίπος, Εὐρίπος δ' ἀνοία, Εὐριπίζη, &c.* to ſignify the caprices of an uncertain and fluctuating mind. In this ſenſe *Cicero* compares the *Comitia* or aſſemblies of the *Roman* people to the commotions and agitations of the *Euripus* (66). *Juſtin* the martyr and *Gregory* of *Nazianzum* ſay, that *Ariſtotle* died of grief, becauſe he could not diſcover the cauſes of the flux and reflux of the *Euripus* ; and the teſtimony of theſe fathers, uncertain as it is, gave riſe to the fabulous tradition, that this philoſopher leaped into the *Euripus*, out of vexation at his not being able to account for its irregular motions, ſaying at the ſame time, *Since I cannot comprehend the ſea, let the ſea comprehend me.*

(68) *Cic. in orat. pro Murena.*

of

of the many rocks and whirlpools on that coast much spoke of by the antients ⁹. Among these rocks the Grecian fleet, returning from *Troy* under the command of *Agamemnon*, was shipwrecked by the treachery of *Nauplius* king of *Eubœa*, who, understanding that his son *Palamedes* had been unjustly condemned by the artifice and intrigues of *Ulysses* and *Diomedes*, resolved to revenge his death with the destruction of the whole fleet. To this end, as the *Greeks* were in all likelihood to sail that way on their return from *Troy*, he caused fires to be made on the tops of the most dangerous rocks, not doubting but they would take them, according to the custom of those times, for tokens of a safe harbour, and thither steer their courses. This malicious device had the desired effect, two hundred ships and upwards being dashed to pieces, and many thousands of men perishing in the whirlpools. However, *Ulysses* and *Diomedes*, whose ruin *Nauplius* chiefly designed, had the good luck to escape the common calamity, which so grieved the king of *Eubœa*, that he threw himself headlong from one of those very rocks, and perished in the sea. *Caphareus* is at present, according to *Sophian* and *Niger*, called *Capo d'Oro*, *Capo Chimi*, and *Capo Figera*. Cape *Cenæum*, now *Capo Liter* from a neighbouring town of that name, is supposed by the poets to have been called *Cenæum* from *Cenæus* an antient hero, whom *Neptune*, say they, rendered invulnerable. On this promontory stood a temple consecrated to *Jupiter*, surnamed from the place *Cenæus*. From *Cenæum* to *Gerastrus*, now *Capo Rosso*, *Strabo* measures the length of the island, these two promontories being according to him twelve hundred furlongs distant from each other, which measure agrees exactly with the length of the island, as set down by *Pliny*. In *Eubœa* are several high mountains covered great part of the year with snow; namely, *Oche* the highest of the whole island, *Telethrus*, *Dryphis*, *Nedon*, *Cotyleus*, and *Chalcis*, whence the city of that name, which stood under it, was called *Hypochalcis*. On mount *Dryphis* was a famous temple dedicated to *Diana*, worshipped there under the name of *Dryphas*. The following rivers are mentioned by *Strabo*, viz. *Callas*, *Budorus*, *Circæus*, and *Neleus*, or, as others call it, *Melas*. The two latter, if that author is to be credited, had very different or rather opposite qualities, the wool of the sheep that drank their waters turning white by those of the *Circæus*, and black by those of the *Neleus* ¹. The

⁹ Vide *SENEC.* *Agamem.* v. 558. *VIRGIL.* *Æneid.* l. ix. v. 260. *OVID.* *Trist.* l. i. *Eleg.* i. v. 83. *SIL.* *Ital.* l. xiv. 144. *TERTULLIAN.* *de Animal.* c. 52.

¹ *STRAB.* l. x.

same virtue *Pliny* ascribes to the *Melas* and *Cephiſſus*, two rivers of *Bœotia*. That writer ſpeaks of another river in *Eubœa* called *Lelas*, which watered the territory of *Lelantum*; and *Strabo* of a fountain in the ſame territory, which he calls *Arethufa*; but *Stephanus* will have *Arethufa* to be the name of a city, and not of a fountain. The champain country of *Eubœa* is exceeding fruitful, yielding great plenty of corn, oil, wine, and all ſorts of delicious fruit; but it was chiefly famous for its rich paſtures, which the *Athenians*, as *Thucydides* informs us^c, made uſe of even before the *Peloponneſian* war to fatten their cattle.

THIS iſland had in former times many cities of great note, mentioned by *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, and *Mela*. On the eaſtern coaſt, between the two promontories of *Geræſtus* and *Caphareus*, ſtood the cities of *Geræſtus*, *Petalia*, and *Caryſtus*. *Petalia* is mentioned only by *Strabo*^d; and *Geræſtus* by *Homer*^e and *Livy*^f, who ſpeak of it not as a city, but a famous haven. In the time of *Stephanus* it was a village. *Caryſtus*, or, as *Ptolemy* writes it, *Caryſte*, now *Caſtel roſſo*, ſtood, according to *Strabo* and *Livy*, at the foot of mount *Oche*, and was ſo called from *Caryſtus* the ſon of *Chiron*. It was alſo known by the names of *Chironia* from *Chiron*, and *Ægea* from *Ægon*, who reigned here, and is ſuppoſed by *Stephanus* to have given his name to the *Ægean* ſea. The inhabitants of *Caryſtus* worſhipped the giant *Briareus*, who according to *Homer* was the ſame with *Ægean*, adored by the *Chalcidians*, the name of *Ægeon* being given him, as that poet informs us, by men, and that of *Briareus* by the immortal gods. Near *Caryſtus* were the two ſmall villages of *Styra* and *Marmarium*, and at a ſmall diſtance from the latter the famous quarries of marble in great requeſt among the *Romans*, to whom it was known by the name of *Caryſtian* marble^g. Here alſo was dug up the wonderful ſtone called *Amianthos* or *Aſbeſtos*, whereof cloth was made, for it was ſpun and drawn into thread like hemp or flax, which, however ſtained, recovered, if *Strabo* is to be credited^h, its firſt gloſs and beauty, if kept ſome time in the flames. *Styra* was firſt peopled by the inhabitants of *Marathon*, a city of *Attica*, and was deſtroyed in the *Lamian* war by *Phædrus* the *Athenian* commander, who, beſtowed its territory on the *Eretrians*. About five miles from *Caryſtus*, on the coaſt facing *Attica* and *Bœotia*, ſtood the village of *Amarynthus*, famous for a temple of *Diana*, ſurnamed

^c THUCYD. l. i. ^d STRAB. ubi ſupra. ^e HOMER. Odyſſ. Γ. v. 177. ^f LIV. l. xxxi. c. 45. ^g PLIN. l. xxxvi. c. 6. ^h TIBULL. l. iii. Eleg. 3. ⁱ STRAB. ubi ſupra.

from thence *Amarynthia*. *Stephanus* speaks of *Amarynthus* as a separate island, wherein he was certainly mistaken. On the same coast, over-against *Oropus* in *Attica*, stood the antient city of *Eretria*, the next, according to *Strabo*, in greatness, beauty, and wealth to *Chalcis*. It borrowed the name of *Eretria* from *Eretræus* the son of *Phæton*, one of the *Titans*, and was built, according to *Strabo*, by the *Athenians* before the *Trojan* war. *Herodotus* tells us^a, that it was peopled by *Æclus* and *Clothus*, two *Athenians*, after the destruction of *Troy*. Other writers will have it to be a colony of another city in *Attica* bearing the same name. Be that as it will, *Eretria* was in the earliest ages a place of great renown, and at the height of its glory, as *Strabo* informs us^a, in the reign of *Darius Hystaspis*. The same writer mentions a pillar erected by the *Eretrians* in the temple of *Diana Amarynthia* with an inscription, the purport of which was, that they had triumphed with three thousand soldiers, six hundred horses, and sixty chariots. They were long masters of the islands of *Andros*, *Tenos*, and *Cos*, and carried on a war with the *Chalcidians*, which *Thucydides* styles the antient war. *Strabo* mentions a school of philosophers founded here by *Menedemus*, and called the *Eretrian* school. The antient city of *Eretria* was destroyed by the *Persians*, and another, known by the name of *New Eretria*, built near the ruins of the former, which were still to be seen in *Strabo's* time. The new city was overstocked, as we read in *Livy*^b, in proportion to its bigness and other riches, with pictures, statues, and ornaments of the like nature. The *Eretrians* in their speech used not only to add the letter *R* to the end, but insert it in the middle of their words; for which uncouth pronunciation they were ridiculed by the other *Greeks*^c. The city of *Eretria* in *Thessaly* and those which stood in the neighbourhood of *Pellene*, and *Athos* in *Macedonia*, are said by *Strabo* to have been built and peopled by the *Eretrians* of *Eubœa*. In the territory of *Eretria* stood *Oechalia*, formerly a city, but in *Pliny's* time a village. *Strabo* likewise calls it a village, and adds, that the antient city was destroyed by *Hercules*^d, which is confirmed by *Ovid*^e. On the same coast, over-against *Ægis* in *Ætolia*, stood *Chalcis* the metropolis of the whole island, known to the antients by the names of *Eubœa*, *Strophæa*, *Helicarna*, and *Hypochalcis*. The name of *Chalcis*, which prevailed over all the rest, is supposed to have been borrowed

^a HERODOT. l. v. ^b STRAB. ubi supra. ^c LIV. l. cxii. c. 16. ^d STRAB. ubi supra. ^e OVID. de Ponto, l. iv. Epist. 3. v. 61.

from the daughter of *Asopus* king of *Bœotia*, called *Combe*, and surnamed *Chalcis* from her having first invented brazen armour. *Chalcis* was built by *Æclus* and *Clothus*, according to some before, according to others after the *Trojan* war, and is celebrated by all the antients as a most magnificent, populous, and wealthy city. The *Chalcidians* applied themselves early to navigation, and sent numerous colonies into *Thrace*, *Macedon*, *Sicily*, *Corcyra*, *Italy*, *Lemnos*, &c. in all which places were cities, as *Aristotle* quoted by *Strabo* informs us, built and peopled by the inhabitants of *Chalcis* *. The *Chalcidians* are more commended by the antients on account of their courage and bravery than for their morals, having been in all times infamous even among the *Greeks* for their unnatural lust. Their avarice was a standing topic of ridicule, as *Hesychius* informs us, among the antient comedians†. *Chalcis* stood on the narrowest part of the *Euripus*, being joined to *Bœotia* by a bridge; which situation agrees with that of the present city of *Negropont*. It was one of the three cities, which *Philip* the son of *Demetrius* used to call *the fetters of Greece*‡. Between *Chalcis* and the promontory *Cenæum* stood the cities of *Ædæpsum* and *Oreos*. The former was famous for its hot baths mentioned by *Pliny* and *Strabo*, who commend them under the name of the hot baths of *Hercules*. Near these issued suddenly out of the earth, if *Athenæus* is to be credited, in the reign of *Antigonus*, a spring of cold water, which, as it performed most stupendous cures, drew crowds of people to it from the most remote nations. But the governors of *Antigonus*, to whom *Eubœa* was then subject, obliging those who used the waters to pay a certain tax, the spring immediately disappeared. The city of *Oreos*, built, according to *Homer*, during the *Trojan* war, was formerly one of the most powerful cities of *Eubœa*, the fourth part of the island belonging to the *Oreans* in the time of *Philip* the father of *Alexander*. In the several revolutions of *Greece* it became subject to different masters, and, after it had undergone many changes, was by *Pericles* brought under subjection to the *Athenians*, who sent thither a new colony, after having driven out the antient inhabitants, and obliged them to retire into a canton of *Thessaly*, called *Hesliotides*. The newly transplanted *Athenians* changed the name of *Oreos*, which was given it because built on a hill, into that of *Istiaea* on *Hesliæa*, which was the name of their tribe. The territory of *Oreos* was famous for its vineyard,

* STRAB. *ibid.*
l. xvii. c. 40.

† Vide ERAS. *Chiliad.*

‡ POLYB.

whence it is by *Homer* distinguished with the epithet of *Poly-staphylos*, that is, *abounding with vines*. *Goltzius* produces a medal of *Istiaea* with an ox on one side, alluding to the excellent pastures of *Eubœa*, and bunches of grapes on the other, to shew the nature of the soil. In *Pliny's* time this city was no-ways considerable; and now it is only a small village called *Oreo*. These are the cities of note on the coast facing *Attica* and *Bœotia*. On the north-side of the island, over-against *Thessaly* and extending from *Cenæum* to *Artemisium*, stood *Dia* or *Athenæ Diades*, founded by one *Dias* an *Athenian*, who called it after his own name and that of his native city, *Athenæ Diades*. This *Dios* was, according to *Stephanus*, the son of *Abas*, and brother of *Aleo* and *Arethusa*. The inhabitants of *Dia* peopled the city of *Canæ* in *Æolis*. *Ptolemy* calls *Dia* or *Dium* only a promontory. On the coast, which is washed by the *Ægean* sea, stood the city of *Cerinthus*, built, according to *Strabo*, by *Ellops* the son of *Ion*, and brother of *Æclus* and *Clothus*. *Pliny* counts this among the antient cities of note in *Eubœa*^b. *Homer* mentions both *Dium* and *Cerinthus*, calling the latter a maritime city, and the other a high town^c. The inland cities mentioned by *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, &c. are *Ellopia*, *Nysa*, *Eubœa*, *Orabiæ*, *Rhamnus*, *Porthmus*, *Algæ*, and *Tamyne*. *Ellopia*, according to *Strabo*, stood at the foot of mount *Telebrium*, and was so called, as was also the whole island, from *Ellops* its founder, who, as the same author tells us, was the son of *Xuthus* and grandson of *Helleus*. The inhabitants of this city after the battle at *Leuctra* were obliged by the tyrant *Philistides* to abandon their native country and settle at *Istiaea*^k. *Algæ* stood over-against *Anthedon*, the last maritime city of *Bœotia* on the side of *Locris*. *Strabo* calls it the *Eubœic Algæ*, and also *Æges*, to difference it from two other cities of that name, the one in *Achaia* near the river *Crathis*, the other in *Æolis*. The same author is of opinion, that from this place, once famous for a temple of *Neptune*, the *Ægean* sea borrowed its name. In the sixth year of the *Peloponnesian* war the city of *Orobiæ* was in great part overthrown by an earthquake, and laid under water by the sea, which on that occasion broke in^l.

THE most antient inhabitants of *Eubœa* were the *Titans*, according to *Solinus*^m, who by the kingdom of the *Titans* understands the island of *Eubœa*. But this opinion is only

^b PLIN. l. iv. c. 12. ^c HOMER catalog v. 45. ^k STRAB. l. x. sub initium. ^l THUCYD. l. iii. ^m SOLIN. c. 10.
Y v y ? founded

founded on the religious worship which the inhabitants paid to *Briareus* and *Ægeon*, two of that race, or rather one known by two different names. Other writers, taking no notice of the *Titans*, suppose the *Abantes* to have first peopled the island. These took the name of *Abantes* from *Abas* a city of *Thrace*, whence they passed over into *Eubœa*, which from them was named *Abantis* and *Abantia*. This is the opinion of *Aristotle*, as quoted by *Strabo*; but others pretend, that they were called *Abantes* from *Abas* their leader, who was the first that reigned in the island. The learned *Reinacius* takes the *Abantes* to be the *Arabians*, who, according to *Strabo*, followed *Cadmus* into *Eubœa* and settled there. *Herodotus* counts the *Abantes* of *Eubœa* among the people of *Ionian* extractionⁿ. *Homer* gives them the epithet of *brave*, and represents them with a long lock of hair on the back-part of their head; from which description his interpreter *Eustathius* concludes the *Curetes* and *Abantes* to be one and the same people; which was the opinion of *Archemagus*, an ancient *Eubœan* writer quoted by *Strabo* (L). 'Tis remarkable, that *Homer*, who often styles the island *Eubœa*, yet never calls the inhabitants *Eubœans*, but constantly *Abantes*. The *Pelasgians* likewise abandoning *Peloponnesus* settled in this island^o, which on that account is called *Pelasgia* by the scholiast of *Apollonius*. To these *Diodorus Siculus* adds the *Dorians*, *Æolians*, *Eleans*, and *Dryopes*. The latter being driven from *Phocis* by *Hercules*, after the death of their king *Phylas*, settled partly in *Eubœa*, where they built *Carystus*, and partly in *Cyprus* and *Peloponnesus*^p.

Eubœa must have been formerly a very considerable state, since it is by the antients stiled *the queen of the Ægean*, and

ⁿ HERODOT. l. i.
SICUL. l. x.

^o DION. HALICAR. l. i.

^p DIODOR.

(L) *Archemagus* was a native of *Eubœa*, wrote several books on the animals, and other remarkable things of that island, and is often quoted and commended by *Athenæus*. This ancient writer tells us, that the inhabitants of *Chalcis* and *Eretria*, disagreeing about a certain field called *Campus Lelantus*, came to an engagement, wherein the *Eretrians* closing with the *Chalcidians*, and taking hold of them by their long hair, easily overcame them. Whereupon the *Chalcidians*, to prevent misfortunes of the like nature for the future, cut off their hair, leaving out of superstition but one lock on the back part of their heads. From this manner of shaving they were called, according to *Archemagus*, *Curetes*; so that the *Curetes*, who are said to have once inhabited *Chalcis*, were originally *Abantes*.

by *Herodotus* equalled to the island of *Crete* itself. The *Chalcidians*, *Eretrians*, and *Carystians* were deemed expert mariners, and courted by the contending powers of those days. They sent forty ships, a grand armada in those times, to the war of *Troy* under the conduct of their king *Elephenor*, and are said, at least by the poets, to have given on that occasion proofs of an uncommon valour.

THE first form of government which prevailed in *Eubœa* was monarchical. *Solinus* dates the beginning of the *Eubœan* kingdom from the time of the *Titans*, which it is no easy matter to define. Others, taking no notice of the *Titans*, suppose *Abas* to have been the first who reigned in *Eubœa*. He was, according to *Homer* and *Eustathius* ^a, the son of *Neptune* and the nymph *Arethusa*. By the sons of *Neptune* the antients meant expert mariners, or princes powerful by sea. *Isaaci* *Tzetzes* tells us, that he was killed inadvertently by his grandson *Elephenor*, who being provoked at seeing a slave, who led him in his old age, perform that duty without the due care, discharged a blow at him with a club; but missing the slave unfortunately killed the prince ^r. *Abas*, according to *Homer* and the scholiast of *Apollonius*, had by his wife *Aglaia* two sons, *Chalcodon* and *Canethus*. *Chalcodon*, who succeeded his father, made war upon the *Thebans*, reduced their city, and obliged them to submit to an annual tribute. He was afterwards overcome and killed by *Amphitryon* the father of the *Theban Hercules*. Upon his death the *Thebans* recovered their antient liberty. *Plutarch*, who mentions this war, calls the place, where the battle was fought and *Chalcodon* killed, *Leucitra* ^s. From this king *Homer* styles the *Eubœans* *Chalcodontidæ* ^t. *Canethus*, who, according to *Apollonius* ^u gave his name to a mountain of *Eubœa*, had a son named *Canthus*, who attended *Jason* in his expedition into *Colchis*, and lost his life in that enterprize. *Chalcodon* had by his wife *Imonarete* two sons, *Elephenor* and *Pyræchmes*. The latter renewed the war against the *Thebans* and *Bœotians*; but being overcome and taken prisoner by *Hercules*, he was tied to two horses, his arms to one, and his legs to the other, and cruelly torn asunder ^w. *Elephenor* was banished for killing his grandfather, as we have related above. But as his countrymen were preparing to set out for the *Trojan* war, he drew near the *Euripus*, and standing on a

^a HOMER. *Iliad*. β'. ^z ISAAC. TZETZES in *Cassandr.* *Lycophron*.
^r PLUT. in *amat. narrat.* ^t Vide EUSTATH. in *Iliad*, β'.
^u APOLLON. *Argonaut.* l. i. & iv. ^w PLUT. in *parall.*

rock on the *Bœotian* side of the streight, he invited them to assemble, convinced the assembly of his innocence, and prevailed upon them not only to restore him to his native country, but to entrust him with the command of the fleet, consisting of forty ships, which was ready to set sail for *Troy*. In this war *Elephenor*, if we believe *Homer* *, gave proofs of an extraordinary valour; but was at last killed by *Agenor*. After the destruction of *Troy* the *Abantes* or *Eubœans* on their return home joined the *Locrians* of *Thronium*, and landing near the *Ceraunian* mountains possessed themselves of the adjacent country, and built there a city; the city they called *Thronium*, but the country *Abantis*, and held them both till they were many years after driven out by the inhabitants of *Apollonia* †. Some writers tell us, that, upon the death of *Elephenor*, *Nauplius* the father of *Palamedes* was placed upon the throne of *Eubœa*; but others are of opinion, that the *Eubœans* immediately after the *Trojan* war formed themselves into a republic, or rather into several small republics, most of their cities being governed by their own laws and quite independent of each other. In the reign of *Darius Hystaspis* the cities of *Chalcis*, *Eretria*, *Carystus*, and *Oreos* were so many distinct republics, governed by the nobles, whom they called *Hippobates*, that is, *horsemen*, none being admitted into the administration, but such as could maintain a certain number of horses; whence it is manifest, that oligarchy prevailed at that time in those cities. But this form of government was frequently disturbed, either by the unruly multitude introducing in its room a democracy, or by domestic tyrants, who, taking all the power into their own hands, ruled in their respective cities without controul. Among these we find the following tyrants mentioned by the antients as reigning in the city of *Chalcis*, *Antileon*, *Phoxus*, *Menesarchus*, *Callias*, and *Taurosthenes*. The two first are spoke of by *Aristotle*, who tells us, that *Phoxus* was put to death by the incensed multitude ‡. *Menesarchus* committed great devastations in the territories of the *Athenians* without any sort of provocation; but in the mean time the *Thebans* having made a descent in the island, with a design to drive out the tyrants, and restore the cities to their former state of liberty and independence, *Menesarchus* had recourse to the *Athenians*, who, notwithstanding the injuries he had done them, hastened to his assistance, and in the space of thirty days, obliged the

* HOMER. *Iliad* 3.
POET. l. v. c. iv. & 12.

† PAUSAN. in *Æœot.*

‡ ARIST.

Thebans to abandon the island, and leave the tyrants in the possession of their usurped power. *Menesarchus* had two sons, *Callias* and *Taurosthenes*, and was succeeded by the former, who, unmindful of the favours his father had received from the *Athenians*, joined *Philip* of *Macedon*, their declared enemy ; but, being overcome by *Phocion* the *Athenian* general, and disgraced by *Philip*, he was obliged to sue for peace, which the *Athenians* generously granted him, and even assisted him to the utmost of their power against *Philip* and the *Thebans*, who had invaded his territories. When he saw himself attacked at once by two such powerful enemies, he went in person to *Athens*, and there in an assembly of the people pronounced an oration composed by *Demosthenes*, which had so good an effect on their minds, that they not only forgot his ungrateful behaviour, but resolved to send troops without delay to his assistance. By this means he withstood the efforts of his enemies, and maintained his power to his death^a. *Taurosthenes*, according to some writers, succeeded him, according to others died before him. If he outlived him, he did nothing after he was vested with the supreme power, which authors have thought worth transmitting to posterity.

In the city of *Eretria* reigned the following tyrants ; *Diagoras*, who, as *Aristotle* informs us^b, having driven out the *Hippobates*, took the whole power into his own hands : *Themison*, who took the city of *Oropus* from the *Athenians*, and stirred up the *Thebans* against them ; but afterwards changing his mind entered into an alliance with *Athens*, and assisted his new allies in the recovery of *Oropus*^c. *Plutarchus*, who, being overcome in a pitched battle by the *Macedonians*, notwithstanding the succours sent him from *Athens*, was driven out by his own subjects, and obliged to abandon the island^d. Upon his flight the *Eretrians* recovered their antient liberty, which they did not long enjoy ; for divisions and parties arising among the citizens, some of them favouring *Philip* of *Macedon*, and others the *Athenians*, *Philip* took advantage of these disturbances, and by means of one *Hipponicus* having made himself master of the city, put the whole power into the hands of *Hipparchus*, *Automedon*, and *Clistarchus*, who were all at the head of the *Macedonian* faction.

^a *ÆSCHIN.* in Orat. contra Ctesiph.

^b *ARISTOT.* Polit. l. v.

c. 6. ^c *DEMOSTH.* pro Ctesiph. *DIODOR.* SICUL. l. xv.

ÆSCHIN. de falsa legat. & contra Ctesiph. ^d *PLUT.* in Phocione.

PAUSAN. in Attic. *ULPIAN.* in Orat. contra Midiam.

ÆSCHIN. ubi supra

But they were soon driven out by *Phocion* the *Athenian*, who restored the *Eretrians* to the enjoyment of their former liberty ^e. The city of *Oreos* was cruelly harrassed by one *Philistides*, who was supported in his tyranny by *Philip*. He held also the city of *Ellopia*, which he obliged the inhabitants to abandon, and retire to *Oreos* ^f. Besides the tyrants of particular cities, we find one *Tynnondus* mentioned by *Plutarch* ^g as lord of the whole island; but all we know of him is, that he was contemporary with *Solon* the legislator, and that he governed with great equity and moderation ^h. The wars of the *Eubœans*, with the *Athenians*, *Persians*, and *Spartans*, we have described in the foregoing Volume ⁱ; and therefore shall only add here, that they submitted first to *Philip*, and then to his son *Alexander*, after whose death they shook off the *Macedonian* yoke, but were by *Antigonus* brought anew under subjection. When the *Romans* first passed over into *Greece*, the island of *Eubœa* was subject to the kings of *Macedon*, but soon after declared free by a decree of the senate, in order to weaken the power of *Philip* in those parts. *Antiochus*, surnamed *the great*, and *Mithridates* king of *Pontus* were in their turns masters of *Eubœa*; but the *Romans* prevailing in the east restored the *Eubœans* to their former state of liberty. *Mark Anthony* subjected them to *Athens*; but *Augustus*, incensed against the *Athenians* for siding with his rival, declared free first the city of *Eretria*, and soon after the whole island, which was governed by its own laws, and continued in a flourishing condition till the reign of *Vespasian*, when it underwent the same fate as the other states of *Greece*.

In the *Euripus*, now gulf of *Negrepont*, *Pliny* places the island of *Atalanta*, which is mentioned also by *Ptolemy* and *Strabo*, and the *Petalia*, so called because they lie over-against the city of *Petalia* in *Eubœa*. They are four in number, but rocks rather than islands. Some writers rank *Anticyra*, famous for its hellebore, among the islands of the *Ægean* sea, and place it in the *Pegasean* bay between *Eubœa* and *Thessaly* over-against mount *Oeta*; but *Strabo*, a most accurate writer, though well acquainted with the other *Greek* islands, seems to have been quite a stranger to this. He mentions indeed two cities of this name, the one on the coast of

^e DIODOR. SICUL. l. xvi. PLUT. in Apoph. DEMOST. Orat. 3. in Philippum, & in Orat. pro Ctesiph. ^f STRAB. l. x. DEMOSTH. Orat. 3. in Philip. & Orat. pro Ctesiph. ^g PLUT. in Solon. ^h Idem ibid. ⁱ Hist. Univers. Vol. VI. p. 80, 85, 210, & 356.

Phocis near *Cissa* on the side of *Bœotia* * ; the other, which he commends for its hellebore, as *Pausanias* does the former †, on the banks of the *Sperchius*, at an equal distance from mount *Oeta* and the *Maliac* gulf ‡ ; but he no where speaks of an island bearing the name of *Anticyra* ; and his silence inclines us, notwithstanding the authority of *Pliny*, *Gellius*, and some modern geographers, to believe that there was no such island ; the more because neither *Pliny* nor *Gellius* give us any account of its situation, but only tell us, that the island of *Anticyra* was famous for its hellebore, mistaking in all likelihood one of the abovementioned cities for an island. But it is now time to dismiss this subject, and take our leave of the *Ægean* or *Archipelago*, having visited with *Ptolemy*, *Strabo*, and *Pliny*, the best guides of antiquity, all the islands of note in that sea, without suffering any thing to escape our notice, which those eminent antiquaries have thought worthy of observation. The present account, with that which we have delivered in the foregoing volumes, of the several *Greek* states in *Europe* and *Asia*, completes, we may say without presumption, the most distinct and extensive history of *Greece* that has hitherto appeared in any language.

* STRABO. l. ix. p. 299.

† PAUSAN. in Phoc. c. 26.

‡ STRAB. ibid. p. 296.

C H A P. II.

The History of the MACEDONIANS.

S E C T. I.

The Description of MACEDONIA.

AS this country was antiently inhabited by various nations, so it was, in a long succession of ages, distinguished by different appellations, being sometimes called by the name of one of its districts, and sometimes by that of another, as the nation inhabiting those regions prevailed. Thus in the most antient times it took its name from *Æmathia*^b, which received its appellation from *Æmathius*, a prince of great antiquity; but afterwards the whole country, which the *Greeks* called *Macedonia*, received that denomination from king *Macedo*^c, a descendant from *Deucalion*, as some think, or, as others affirm, by an easy mutation of *Mygdonia*, the name of one of its provinces, into *Macedonia* (A).

THE

^a JUSTIN. l. vii. c. 1. LIV. l. xl. c. 3. ^b JUSTIN. ubi supra. PLIN. Natur. Hist. l. iv. c. 10. ^c CLUVER. Geog. l. iv. c. 9.

(A) The antient names of countries are, generally speaking, various, and hardly to be traced to their sources. It is the opinion of many commentators on the holy scriptures, that by the **כְּתִימ** *Chittim*, or the descendants of *Cheth*, we are to understand the inhabitants of this country (1). The learned *Bochart* is of a different sentiment, and will have the *Chittim* to be the people of *Italy* (2). The judicious *Mr. Shuckford* supports the former notion,

(1) Gen. x. 4. Isaiah. xxiii 1, 12, 13. 1 Maccab. i. 1. viii. 5.
(2) Pol. Synop. Critic. in locis supradict. Bochart. Phaleg.

and



D. Pomarode Sculpt

The Kingdoms of
MACEDON-
THESALY-
AND EPIROS-

THE bounds of this country are not very easily assigned, because, according to the fortune of its princes, they have been sometimes esteemed larger, and sometimes less. We shall, however, endeavour to accommodate our description to the succeeding history in such a manner, as that the reader may easily perceive what accessions it received from time to time from the valour of its antient kings. And as to the alterations which it sustained, after it fell under the dominion of the *Romans*, and was reduced into a province, we shall consider them in another place^d. Of old then it was bounded on the east by the *Ægean* sea, on the south by *Thessaly* and *Epirus*, on the west by the *Adriatic* or the *Ionian* sea, and on the north by the river *Strymon* and the *Scardian* mountains, afterwards by the river *Nessus* or *Nestus* (B).

Pliny

^d CLUVER. Geogr. ubi supra. CELLAR. Geogr. Antiq. l. ii. c. 13. p. 1030.

and hath offered many probable reasons in justification of his reviving it (3). Some critics have fancied, that the old name might easily be reconciled to the new thus, *ἡντίτοι Μακεῖται*, *Μακεδόνες*; but whether in length of time this permutation of names might really happen, the reader's judgment must determine. As to *Cluverius* his conjecture, that *Macedonia* was derived from *Mygdonia*, through the different pronunciation of the *Greeks*, we can affirm nothing concerning it (4). The old opinion, however, seems preferable, that it was so called from the antient hero *Macedo*, whom *Diodorus* asserts to have been the son of *Osiris* (5); but *Solinus* will have him to be a descendant from *Deucalion* (6). They agree, however, in this, that from him this country received its name, which was before called *Æmathia*. Concerning the antient king *Æmathius*, from whom this appellation came, we find nothing in history, except that he lived in the oldest times, and was probably the first king of that little district which retained his name, though it was a province only of *Macedonia* (7). It is from *Livy* that we learn *Pæonia* was once the general name of this country, which afterwards became peculiar to a people thrust up in the northern part thereof lying under mount *Scopus* (8). Thus much may suffice on this subject, which, however dry, the intelligent reader will find to have its uses.

(B) The accessions of territory which *Macedonia* received, from the wisdom and virtue of its kings, were made at different times,

(3) *Connection of sacred History with profane*, Vol. I p. 155. (4) *Crophi Antiq. Maced.* l. i. c. 4. (5) *Biblioth. Histor.* l. i. c. 2. (6) *Polybist* c. 14. (7) *Justin.* l. vii. c. 1. (8) *Hist.* l. xi. c. 3.

Pliny^e tells us, that no less than an hundred and fifty different nations were seated within this territory ; and ^f *Pom-*

^e *Hist. Natur.* l. iv. c. 10.

^f *De Situ Orbis,* l. ii. c. 3.

and on account of their different wars. *Caranus* and his immediate successors were pent up in the very midst of *Macedonia*, and the conquests they made were either towards the north, at the expence of the *Pelagonians*, *Edonians*, and other nations, or on the south, where they gained some very rich and fruitful countries from the *Theffalians* (9). In process of time, when the *Persian* king came to have great affairs in this part of the world, the tributary princes of *Macedon* found their account in it, and, as the reward of their attachment to that crown, had several of the western provinces bestowed on them (10). This enabled them to contest the possession of the sea-coasts with the most powerful republics of *Greece*, who, under pretence of settling colonies, sought by all possible methods to establish large principalities, and to draw immense riches to themselves. The jealousy the *Macedonian* kings had of this, their art in procuring supplies from one republic to distress another, and their dexterity in negotiating treaties, when they were no longer able to carry on war, restored them to the possession of the eastern coast, and left them on that side no other boundary but the sea. On the west they had still many nations between them and the *Adriatic*, when *Philip* the father of *Alexander* came to the throne ; but he, contemning all limits not set by nature, forced all those nations to submit to his sway ; and having conquered all the country to the sea on this side, turned his arms to the south-east, where driving out the *Athenians*, *Thracians*, and other nations, he added all the rich and plentiful regions between the rivers *Strymon* and *Nessus* or *Nestus* to *Macedonia*, adorning the old city of *Crenides* with rich and stately buildings, and calling it from his own name *Philippi* (11). This account will free the reader from those difficulties, which otherwise in the perusal of this work might frequently give him trouble. He will therein meet with accounts of wars carried on by the *Lyncestians*, *Almopians*, and other nations against the *Macedonians*, tho' it should seem that the countries inhabited by these nations were within the limits of *Macedonia* ; he will find the *Athenians*, *Corcyrians*, and *Corinthians* holding large districts in this country ; and he will hear the river *Strymon* sometimes, at other the river *Nessus*, named as the boundary of *Macedonia* on the east, and the authorities of the antients quoted for both (12) ; all of which this short account will render perfectly clear and intelligible.

(9) *Justin. hist.* l. vii. c. 1.

(10) *Herodot. Thucyd. Diodor.*

Strab. Pausan. &c.

(11) *Demosthen. in Orat. Philip. Plutarch.*

in Vita Demosthen. & Phocion.

(12) *Diodor. Sicul. Biblioth lib.*

xxi, xxii, xxxiii. *Plin. Hist. Natural.* l. iv. c. 10. *Solin. Polyhist.*

c. 14, 15. *Tit. Liv.* l. xlv. c. 29, 30. *Strabon. Geogr.* l. vii. *Pomp.*

Mela, l. xlv.

ponius Mela confirms the multitude of different states in this country, by saying it had as many nations as cities. Of those the ^a *Taulantii* inhabited the western part on the coasts of the *Adriatic* sea. Within this territory stood the city ^b *Epidamnum* or *Epidamnus*; which, for its unlucky name, the *Romans* afterwards thought fit to change into *Dyrrachium*; it is now called *Durazzo* ^c (C).

Apollonia

^a STRAB. Geogr. l. vii p. 326. Edit. Paris, 1620. ARRIAN. Exp. Alex. l. i. c. 5. ^b DIO. CASS. l. xli. p. 176. CICERO, pro Ligar. c. 9. PLIN. Hist. Natur. l. iii. c. 23. ^c STRABO, Geograph. l. vii. p. 322. CICERO, Philip. II. c. 11. VELL. PATER. l. ii. c. 59.

(C) The city of *Epidamnus* was seated on the entrance of the *Ionian* gulph (13). It was a colony of the *Corcyrians*, but settled under the command of *Phalius* the son of *Heratoclidus*, a *Corinthian* by birth, and, as to family, descended of *Hercules*. At the time of their settlement here, the *Taulantii* looked upon the territory they seized as justly belonging to them; on which account the rising city and its inhabitants were frequently disturbed by them and other barbarous nations; but by degrees the *Epidamnians* grew powerful, and stood in little awe of their neighbours, till their own seditions furnished both with opportunity, and force the *Taulantii* their antient enemies. This happened about the second year of the eighty fifth olympiad, when the commons having expelled the nobility, constrained them to fly to the barbarians. These excited by the exiles, presently invaded the territories of the *Greeks*, and shortly after besieged the city, which they reduced to great straits. The *Epidamnians* in great distress applied themselves for assistance to the *Corcyreans*, but were refused. They then, at the instance of the oracle, made suit to the *Corinthians*, who furnished them speedily and effectually with all things they desired. This terribly incensed the *Corcyrians*, who thought the *Corinthians*, in relieving their colony, had meddled where they had nothing to do, notwithstanding that they themselves were a colony from *Corinth*, and that part of the original colony settled at *Epidamnus* were *Corinthians* also. The next year therefore after the *Corinthians* had relieved this city, the *Corcyrians* fitted out a great fleet, attacked the *Corinthians* and their allies, and also besieged *Epidamnus*; which proceeding of theirs induced what was called the *Corinthian war*, of which we have given the reader an account elsewhere (14). In succeeding times this, like the rest of the *Macedonian* cities, laid hold of every opportunity of asserting its freedom; and tho' we cannot be very particular as to the accidents

(13) Cluver. Geogr. l. iv. c. 9.
Iopon l. i.

(14) Thucyd. de bello Pa-

which

Apollonia stood also within the confines of this people, seven Roman miles from the sea-shore, a city remarkable for its excellent laws, and in latter times celebrated as a seat of learning, tho' now fallen into such decay, that authors are not well agreed about its modern name (D). South of the
Taulantii

which befel it in so long a series, yet we know, that the fact was so ; for we find *Diodorus Siculus* setting down the reduction of this place by *Cassander*, who left a garison therein ; however, in a short time afterwards the city dismissed the garison, and sided with *Glaucias* king of the *Illyrians* (15). After *Epidamnus* fell under the jurisdiction of the *Romans*, they are said, to have changed its name into *Dyrrhachium*, on account of the unluckiness of its former appellation (16); tho' *Appian* says, that the *Corcyrians* made this change ; holding its antient name *Dyrrachium*, to be ominous, they called it *Epidamnus* (17) ; however, the former seems to be the more probable opinion of the two, since *Plautus* gives us the reason why the last mentioned name was thought unlucky, it being expressive of the nature of the inhabitants, who were, generally speaking, knaves, sycophants, and prostitutes ; his words are these.

*Nunc ita est hæc hominum natio Epidamnia ;
 Voluptarii atque potatores maximi ;
 Tum sycophantæ & palpatores plurimi
 In urbe hac habitant ; tum meretrices mulieres
 Nusquam perhibentur blandiores gentium.
 Propterea huic urbi nomen Epidamno inditum est :
 Quia nemo ferme huc sine Damno divortitur* (18).

Some have thought, that *Dyrrachium* was rather the name of the port than the city ; and others again have suggested, that the antient city of *Epidamnus* stood on the continent, whereas *Dyrrachium* was seated in a peninsula (19). It is now without doubt called *Durazzo*, and is a port of considerable note, that is, considering the condition of other maritime places on this coast, which once made a considerable figure in story (20).

(D) *Apollonia* stood seven miles from the sea on the river *Laus*. It was a colony of the *Corinthians*, and also of the *Corcyrians*, perhaps in the same manner as *Epidamnus*. It had some time the name of *Gylace* from *Gylaces* a *Corinthian*, who probably was the leader of the first colony (21). There is a very remarkable story relating to this city related by *Herodotus* ; and, inasmuch as we

(15) *Diodor. Sicul. Biblioth. l. xix. l. iii. c. 23.* (16) *Plin. Hist. Natur. l. iii. c. 23.* (17) *Appian. l. ii. Scen. i. ver. 33.* (18) *Menæchm. Act ii.* (19) *Scaliger. Animad. in Euseb. p. 78.* (20) *Bunon. in Cluver. Geogr. ubi sup. a.* (21) *Erasm. Vinding. Hellen. * 272*

Taulantii, but still on the coast of the *Adriatic*, lay the country of the *Elymiotæ*, whose chief cities were *Elyma* and *Bul-*

shall have no occasion to speak of it elsewhere, it is but just the reader should meet with it here. “ In the territories of *Apollonia*, “ a flock of sheep sacred to the sea, fed by day on the banks of “ a river, which, descending from the mountain *Laemon*, runs “ through that country into the sea at the port of *Oricus*; but by “ night they are folded in a cave far distant from the city, and “ guarded by men chosen annually to that end, out of the most “ eminent among the citizens for birth and riches; because the “ people of *Apollonia* set a high value upon these sheep, pursuant “ to the admonition of an oracle. *Euenus* being chosen keeper “ of this flock, neglecting his charge, fell asleep, and in the mean “ time wolves entering the cave destroyed about sixty of the “ sheep. When he awaked, and saw what was done, he said “ nothing to any man, thinking to purchase the like number, “ and to put them among the rest; but the *Apollonians*, being “ soon informed of the thing, caused him to appear without “ delay before the court of justice, and sentenced him to lose “ his eyes for sleeping when he ought to have watched. Never- “ theless, when they had thus punished *Euenus* with blindness, “ the sheep brought forth no more lambs, nor the earth its usual in- “ crease, as the oracles of *Dodona* and *Delphi* had predicted. And “ when they applied themselves to the prophets to know the “ cause of the present calamities, they told them, that they “ had unjustly put out the eyes of *Euenus* the keeper of the sa- “ cred sheep; that they themselves had sent in the wolves, and “ would not discontinue their vengeance till the *Apollonians* should “ make him full satisfaction, and such amends for the injury as he “ himself should chuse and judge sufficient; after which they would “ make so valuable a present to *Euenus*, that the greater part of “ men should think him happy. These predictions the *Apolloni-* “ *ans* kept secret, and appointed some of their citizens to act in “ conformity to their intentions; which they did in this manner: “ Having found *Euenus* sitting on a chair, they sat down by him, “ and, after other discourse, expressed their sorrow for his afflicti- “ on, taking occasion from thence to ask him what reparation he “ would chuse, if the *Apollonians* were disposed to give him satis- “ faction. *Euenus*, who had not heard of the oracle, said, if they “ would give him the lands of inheritance belonging to two citi- “ zens he named, and which he knew to be the best of that “ country, and would moreover add to that gift, the most mag- “ nificent house of the city, he would be reconciled to them, and “ contented with that satisfaction. Those who sat by him, “ immediately taking hold of his answer, *Euenus*, said they, the “ *Apollonians* offer you the reparation you demand for the loss of “ your eyes, in obedience to an oracle they have received: Which “ when

Bullis κ, both sea-ports and both mentioned by *Pliny* ¹. Eastward of the *Elymiotians* lay a little inland district, called the kingdom of *Orestes* (E), said to have received its name from the settling here of the son of *Agamemnon*, after he had slain his mother ^m. Its capital was *Gyrtohe*, mentioned by *Pliny* ⁿ. The *Eordians* lay behind the country of the *Tau-*

κ *Thucyd.* *Bél. Pelop.* l. xi. p. 169. ¹ *Hist. Nat.* l. iv. c. 10. p. 53. l. iii. c. 5. p. 40. ^m *Liv.* l. xxxiii. c. 34. & l. xlii. c. 38. *Steph.* in voce 'Ορεσταί. ⁿ *Hist. Natur.* l. iii. c. 5. p. 40.

“ when *Euenus* heard, he was not a little mortified, to find him-
 “ self deceived by this artifice. However, the *Apollonians*, having
 “ first satisfied the possessors, made him a present of the lands he
 “ demanded, and in a short time he obtained the spirit of divina-
 “ tion, and acquired a considerable name (22) ” In the days of
Cassander king of *Macedon*, it ran the same risque that *Epidamnus*
 did, that is of being reduced under his dominion ; but, by the
 help of the *Illyrians*, it threw off his yoke (23). Under the *Ro-*
mans it flourished and was very famous, particularly on account
 of its pleasant situation, which invited many persons to settle
 therein and form a kind of academy. It is now (as we think) call-
 ed *Pallina* (24).

(E) The little district in the kingdom of *Macedonia*, which re-
 tained for ages the denomination of *Orestes's* kingdom, is said to
 have derived that title thus : *Orestes* the son of *Agamemnon*, after
 he had been acquitted of his mother's murder and had stolen a-
 way *Hermione*, retired with such *Greeks*, as, out of regard to his
 virtue, were content to follow his fortunes, through *Thessaly* and
Epirus into this region, which lay on the borders of the latter,
 and there settled himself. Here by *Hermione* he had a son, whom
 after his own name he called *Orestes*, who succeeded him in the
 kingdom, and by his just and gentle sway so endeared himself to his
 people, that, in memory of his and his father's goodness towards
 them, they called their country and themselves after the name of these
 princes (25). This people, tho' they lived within the bounds of
 the *Macedonian* kingdom, and were obedient to its kings, at least
 after the reign of *Philip*, yet they preserved such privileges, and
 vindicated their liberty with such firmness, that when the *Romans*,
 after the overthrow of *Perseus*, possessed themselves of *Macedon*,
 they left this people in freedom, and allowed them to set up the
 form of a dependent commonwealth, acknowledging the *Roman*
 protection, but not the jurisdiction of the provincial magistrates
 (26).

(22) *Herodot.* l. ix. (23) *Diodor. Sicul.* l. xix. *Cluver. ubi*
supra. (24) *Buno. in Not. Cluver. Introd. Geog.* l. iv. c. 9.
 (25) *Stephanus in voce* 'Ορεσταί. (26) *Tit. Liv. Hist.* l. xliii.
 lantii,

lanti, and between it and the kingdom of *Orestes* ^o. To the north of these lay the territory of the *Dassareæ* ^p, whose chief cities were *Lychnides* and *Evia*. *Polybius* ^q indeed calls the former *Lychnidia*. It was a place remarkable for its fine situation near a lake of the same name, and is at this day called *Ochrida* ^r. East of this country lay *Æmæthia* ^t properly so called, a region from whence, as we have said, the whole country since called *Macedonia* derived its most antient name. It stretched itself quite to the *Sinus Thermaicus*, or, as it is now called, the gulph of *Salonichi*, and contained several famous cities, particularly *Ægæa* or *Edessa*, the antient capital of the *Macedonian* kingdom, of which we shall have hereafter occasion to speak at large, it having been the royal seat of *Caranus* the first king of *Macedon*, and the burial-place of the kings of his line to the time of *Alexander the great* ^u. *Pella*, antiently called *Bunomos* or *Bunomia*, seated at the mouth of the river *Ætius*, famous for being the birth-place of *Philip* and his son *Alexander*, and for having in its neighbourhood the tomb of *Euripides* the celebrated tragic poet ^v. *Eurofus*, a place seated, as *Pliny* tells us, on the river *Ætius* ^x, and *Beræa*, where a sedition was raised against the apostle *Paul* by the *Jews* ^y. South-east from *Æmæthia*, and close on the shore of the gulph of *Salonictis*, lies the little country of *Pieria* ^z, famous for its being the region of the muses, who were from thence stiled *Pierides*. Its chief cities were *Pydna*, antiently called *Citron*, standing between the mouths of the rivers *Aliaemon* and *Lydius*, in which *Olympias* the mother of *Alexander*, *Roxana* his wife, and *Alexander* his son were put to death by *Cassander* ^a. In its neighbourhood was fought the decisive battle between *Paulus Æmilius* the Roman consul and *Perseus* king of *Macedon*, wherein the latter was utterly defeated ^b. *Polyce* and *Dion* or *Dium*, a strong town, in which *Alexander the great* is said to have seen a vision, wherein he

^o HERODOT. l. vii. c. 185. STRABO, Geogr. l. vii. p. 273.
^p LIV. xlii. c. 9. ^q l. v. p. 455. ^r EUBON. in Cluver. geog. l. iv. c. 9. ^t JUSTIN. l. viii. c. 1. LUCAN. l. i. ^u JUSTIN. ubi supra. ^v PLIN. H. N. l. iv. c. 10. ^x DIODOR. SICUL. l. xix. c. 12. ^y HEROD. l. vii. c. 123. LIV. l. xlv. prop. li. P. M. l. de Sit. Orb. l. ii. c. 3. ^z Hist. Natur. STRABO. Excerpt. l. vii. ^a PHILORT. l. ix. c. 8. ^b Act. Apost. c. xvii. ^c STRABO, ubi supra. ^d STRABO, ubi supra. ^e DIODOR. SICUL. l. xix. ^f JUSTIN. l. xiv. c. 6. ^g TIR. LIV. l. xlv. c. 8.

was promised the conquest of the *Persian* empire^c. On the other side of *Æmathia*, that is, to the north, lay the country of *Mygdonia*, in which were the cities of *Antigonina*, *Letæ*, and *Terpilus* ^d. East of this we find the region of *Amphaxitis*, in which stood the noble city of *Theſſalonica*, antiently called *Therma*, or rather built near the place where that old city stood. Its founders were *Cassander* and *Theſſalonica*, the daughter of *Philip* and ſiſter to *Alexander the great*. It is celebrated in hiſtory on many accounts, and is at this day the moſt conſiderable place in *Macedonia*; under the name of *Salonichi*^e. *Stagira*, a city famous for producing *Hipparchus* the philoſopher and the celebrated *Ariſtotle*, preceptor to *Alexander the great*, whoſe knowledge was as extenſive as the conqueſts of his pupil ^f (F). South-eaſt of

^c TIT. LIV. l. xlv. c. 9. THUCYD. l. iv. p. 305. POLYB. l. iv. c. 42. ARR. l. i. ^d THUCYD. l. ii. p. 170. ^e HEROD. l. vii. THUCYD. l. i. p. 40. ^f DIODOR. SICUL. l. xvii. HEROD. l. vii. c. 115. THUCYD. l. iv. p. 311.

(F) *Theſſalonica* had the good luck to remain always conſiderable in the miſt of that almoſt total ruin, which various conqueſts brought on *Macedonia*. *Strabo* tells us, that in his time, it was the moſt flouriſhing city in the kingdom (27). *St. Paul* found it no leſs flouriſhing, when he preached the goſpel therein; and how great regard he had for the church there, appears from the epiſtles directed thereto (28). Even at this day it makes a very great figure under the name *Salonichi*, and is not only very remarkable for the great trade carried on there, by which its inhabitants are ſtill rich, at leaſt in proportion to their neighbours, but alſo for the noble ruins which teſtify its antient magnificence. There are the remains of ſeveral triumphal arches, as well as one which is ſtill almoſt entire, erected in honour of the emperor *Antoninus*. There are alſo churches now turned into moſques of ſurpriſing beauty, particularly that which was conſecrated to *St. Demetrius*, containing two churches, one over the other, both of excellent marble, and adorned with upwards of a thouſand columns of jaſper, porphyry, &c. In this, and in other churches, are the tombs of ſeveral illuſtrious perſons, and without the city are numerous fragments of antiquity with variety of inſcriptions. There are alſo quantities of medals frequently found here; but the *Turks* are ſo incurious, that they ſet no value upon them, and ſo careleſs, that they will not preſerve them for thoſe that do: inſomuch, that travellers are conſtrained to make uſe of various arts to obtain

(27) *Geograph. l. vii. p. 330.*
Theſſalonians.

(28) *Two epiſtles to the*

of this country lies the region of *Chalcidica*, in which were the towns of *Angæa*, *Singus*, and *Acanthus*, now called *Eristo*⁸. Next lay the country of *Paraxis*, full of gulfs and inlets formed by the *Ægean* sea. In it were the cities of *Palena*^h, antiently called *Phlegra*, as *Herodotus* tells us, in the neighbourhood of which there dwelt of old certain cruel and inhospitable giants, who were extirpated by *Hercules*ⁱ. *Potidæa*, a colony of *Corinthians*, but afterwards possessed by the *Athenians*, from whom it was taken by *Philip* the father of *Alexander*. It was afterwards re-edified by *Cassander*, who called it from his own name *Cassandria*, which appellation it still retains^k. *Torone*, from whence the neighbouring bay received the appellation of *Toronaicus*^l. *Olynthus*, a city famous for the several sieges it sustained, and for being the birth-place of *Calisthenes*, the philosopher^m. The *Bisaltæ* held a small country bordering on the *Sinus Strymonicus*, and in the northern part of *Macedonia*. Their chief cities were *Euporia*, *Ossa*, and *Calitera*ⁿ. North-west from them lay the region of *Edonia*, on the confines of which ran the river *Strymon*. In it stood the cities of *Amphipolis*, *Scotusa*, and *Berga*; the first famous for being a colony of the *Athenians*^o; and some think that the antient city *Crenides* stood also within its bounds, which *Philip* the father of *Alexander* rebuilt and called *Philippi*^p. North-west of this territory lies the country of *Pelagonia*, bordering on mount *Hæmus*, the chief city of which was *Stobi*, now called *Starachino*^q. West of it lies *Orbelia*, in which were seated the cities of *Orma* and *Gariscus*^r. Next, bending to the south-west,

⁸ HEROD. l. vii. c. 22. ^h THUCYD. l. i. p. 41. ⁱ HEROD. l. vii. c. 123. ^k TIT. LIV. l. xlv. c. 11. STRAB. Excerpt. l. vii. ^l DIODOR. SICUL. l. xvi. c. 55. POMP. MELA, l. ii. c. 3. ^m DIODOR. SICUL. l. xvi. c. 54. ⁿ TIT. LIV. l. xxxv. c. 29. PLIN. H. N. l. iv. ^o THUCYD. l. iv. p. 320. HEROD. l. vii. c. 114. TIT. LIV. l. xlv. c. 45. ^p PLIN. H. N. l. iv. c. 11. ^q STRABON. Geogr. l. vii. p. 225. ^r CLUVER. l. iv. c. 9.

from this illiterate nation, pieces of which they neither know the use, nor account them of any value (29). It is very probable, that the excellent situation of *Theffalonica* hath been the chief cause of that respect which all conquerors have shewn it. It has certainly such advantages therefrom as are scarce to be met with elsewhere, and which have been celebrated by the antients, as well as admired by the moderns.

lies the country of *Joria*, in which stood the city of *Jorum*. West from it is situate the territory of the *Almopians*, in which stand the cities of *Europus*, *Albanopolis*, and *Apfalus*^f. Directly south of these we find the region of the *Æstrians*, the chief city in which was antiently called *Æstrium*^g. East of them, and in the very heart of *Macedonia*, lies the country of the *Lyncesti*, the chief city in which was called *Heraclea*^h; north of which lay the inland country of *Sintica*, the principal towns in which were *Paræcepolis* and *Tristolus*ⁱ.

*The use of
this de-
scription.*

THE reader may possibly think he might have been spared so particular a detail of nations and cities now no more; but he will easily perceive from the following history, that an accurate description of the ancient *Macedonia* was absolutely necessary to render it intelligible; and he will be the better satisfied, when we assure him, that the foregoing description was not collected without great pains taken, not only in comparing antient historians, but modern geographers also, and the relations of such travellers as have seen the ruins of those cities, which make such a figure in antient history, and are yet very differently placed in our maps.

*The extent
of Mace-
donia.*

Macedonia, according to *M. del' Isle's* map of *Greece*, lies between the 40th and 42d degrees of north latitude, and between the 37th and 42d degrees of longitude. *Brixius* reckons from mount *Orbelus* to *Pindus*, that is, from north to south 2000 *stadia*, and from *Epidamnus* to mount *Athos* 2500 *stadia*^j from west to east. According to the map before mentioned it is from north to south about 160 miles, and from west to east about 220. Its form is very irregular; but its situation is excellent, in respect that it is washed on the east by the *Ægean* sea, and on the west by the *Ionian*; which advantages, however, were never cultivated as they might have been, nor were the *Macedonians* ever powerful at sea, notwithstanding that many noble bays and excellent harbours are to be found in their country.

Mountains.

AMONGST the most considerable mountains in this region, we may reckon that great ridge running across the north part thereof, stiled the *Scardian* mountains. In this part also of *Macedon* stood mount *Pangæus*, lofty and well covered with wood, yet infinitely more valuable from its contents, which were both gold and silver, as we shall shew elsewhere^k. *Hæ-*

^f PLIN H. N. l. iv. c. 10. THUCYD. l. ii. p. 170.

VER. ubi supra.

^g THUCYD. l. iv. p. 333.

VER. ubi supra. ^j Les Etats & Empires, Tit. Macedonic.

^k PLIN. Hist. Nat. l. iv. c. 11. D. Cass. l. xl. ii. p. 347.

^h CLU-

* CLU.

ⁱ PLIN.

mus, or rather *Aemus*, the western spurs of which, joining the *Scardian* hills, divide this country from *Thrace*^a. *Athos* in the *Chalcidian* region, one of the most celebrated mountains in the world^b. *Mela* reports, that it is so high as to reach above the clouds^c. *Martianus Capellus* affirmed it to be six miles high^d; and it was a received opinion, that it never rained thereon, because the ashes, left on the altars erected near its summit, were always found as they were left, dry and unscattered; but if on many accounts it was famous among the antients, it is no less so among the moderns. The *Greeks*, struck with its singular situation, and the venerable appearance of its towering ascent, erected so many churches, monasteries, and hermitages thereon, that it became in a manner inhabited by devotees, and from thence received the name of the *holy mountain*, which it still retains, tho' many of those consecrated works are now decayed (G). *Olympus*, another

^a PLIN. Hist. Nat. l. iv. c. 11. DIOD. SICUL. l. iv. c. 84.

^b HERODOT. l. vii. c. 22. PLIN. Hist. Nat. l. iv. c. 11. ^c De Situ Orbis, l. ii. c. 2. ^dAp. VAREN. Geogr. l. i.

(G) This mount *Athos* is thought to have received its name from a giant, who, the scholiast on *Theocritus* informs us, was the son of *Neptune* and *Rhodope*; but in this there is a concealed meaning, because he is said to have removed this mountain from the neighbourhood of a lake of the last-mentioned name: Hence he is called the son of *Rhodope*, because from her he came; and the son of *Neptune*, because he came to him. There are coins, which on their reverse have the summit of mount *Athos*, with a man of a gigantic size lying on the rocks, with his right hand over his head. Whether this be the *Giant*, the *Genius* of the *Mountain*, or *Jupiter Athous*, is not clear (21). As to the cutting of the isthmus which unites it to the land, *Herodotus* gives us the following account of it, and therein an admirable description of the mountain: “ *Athos* is
 “ a mountain of great fame and magnitude, leaning upon the sea,
 “ and well inhabited. It terminates to the landward in the form
 “ of a peninsula, and makes an isthmus of about twelve stades in
 “ length, containing a plain with some mixture of little hills from
 “ the coast of *Acanthus* to that of *Torone*. On this isthmus, which
 “ lies at the foot of mount *Athos*, stands *Sana* a *Grecian* city; but
 “ *Xerxes* determined to cut off from the continent all the other
 “ cities, which, being built upon the mountain and beyond this
 “ place, were *Dion*, *Olophyxus*, *Acrothoon*, *Thysus*, and *Cleone*.
 “ The operation was carried on in this manner; the barbarians
 “ having drawn a line before the city of *Sana*, divided the ground
 “ among the several nations, and when the trench was consider-

(21) Gronov. *Antiquit Græc. Vol. I. Tit. Athos.*

“ ably

another lofty mountain, supposed not only to pervade the clouds, but to reach almost the confines of heaven ; whence the
 “ ably sunk, those who were in the bottom continued to dig, and
 “ delivered the earth to men standing upon ladders, who handed
 “ the same again to such as were placed in a higher station, till
 “ at last others who waited to receive the burden at the edge of
 “ the canal, carried it away to another place ; but by digging
 “ in a perpendicular manner, and making the bottom of equal
 “ breadth with the top, all the workmen, except the *Phœnicians*,
 “ drew double labour upon themselves, because the earth, as is
 “ natural, fell down continually in great quantities from the upper
 “ parts. The *Phœnicians* alone shewed that ability on this occasi-
 “ on, of which they are so much masters at all times ; for they
 “ opened the part which was assigned to their care twice as large
 “ as others had done ; and sloping the ground gradually till
 “ they came to the bottom, they then found the measure equal
 “ with the rest. In a meadow adjoining to this place they had a
 “ court of justice, and a market furnished with a great abundance
 “ of corn brought over from *Asia*. My conjectures lead me to
 “ think, that *Xerxes* undertook this enterprize upon a motive of
 “ ostentation, in order to shew the greatness of his power, and
 “ to perpetuate the memory of his name ; for tho’ he might have
 “ caused his fleet to be conveyed over the land without much
 “ difficulty, yet he would rather command the isthmus to
 “ be cut, and a canal to be made’ to receive the sea of such
 “ a breadth as might be sufficient to carry two ships sailing in
 “ front (22).” From *Thucydides* we learn, that the inhabitants of
 the five cities abovementioned were barbarians, speaking two
 tongues, that is, the *Greek* and a language of their own. *Plu-*
tarch and *Pliny* have both written, that this mountain is so high, as
 to project its shade, when the sun is in the summer solstice, on
 the market-place of the city *Myrrhina* in the island of *Lemnos*.
 On account of this it is said, that the inhabitants of this city e-
 rected a brazen calf at the termination of the shadow, on which
 was inscribed this *Monostic* :

Ἄθος καλύψει πλευρὰ Ἀημνίας βοός.

Half Lemnos’ calf doth Athos shadow hide.

Pliny asserts the distance between the foot of mount *Athos* and the
 island of *Lemnos* to be 87,000 paces. He does not tell us at what
 hour of the day this shadow was observed, yet this may be sup-
 plied by supposing it to have been a little before sun-set, the sun
 being then in the vertical circle, which passeth over *Athos* and
Myrrhina ; or rather it may be supposed two degrees higher, be-
 cause otherwise the shadow could not be so exactly observed in
Lemnos (23). These points settled, it will appear from the prin-

(22) *Herodotus*, l. viii.

(23) *Id.* l. iv. c. 12. p. 58.

the poets took the liberty of making it the seat of the gods^e ; yet, with the leave of these towering wits, men of cooler imagi-

^e STRABON. Geogr. l. ix. VIRGIL. Georg. i. ver. 281.

ciples of trigonometry, that the altitude of *Athos* is thirty two furlongs, which, however, is not very consistent with truth. The reason in all probability is, because *Pliny* hath assigned too great a distance between the mountain and the island. The best maps we have make that distance but 55 *Italian* miles ; which being assumed reduces it nearer the true height, viz. of eleven furlongs, or a little more (24). As to the modern state of this celebrated mountain, we cannot inform the reader better thereof, than by translating the accurate description of a *French* traveller : “ As I staid a
“ good while at *Salonichi*, and as that city is not far distant from
“ *Monte Santo*, which is mount *Athos*, so much celebrated by the
“ antient poets for its height, and so famous among the modern
“ *Greeks* for the monks and hermits residing thereon, I could not
“ be satisfied without going to see it. In the space of a few
“ days I examined this wide and so much talked of field of
“ wonders, leaving no part of it unexplored, no not even the
“ chapel on the summit, which is very little visited. As I ascend-
“ ed, I found a good deal of snow ; but as it was in the finest
“ season of the year, (in the month of *June*) the sun began to
“ operate upon it every where, and to turn it into water. Its
“ summit is a perfect rock and absolutely naked ; but the snow
“ did not lie there so long as in the vallies. Passing to the south-
“ side, we found it shady. Arriving at the chapel, which was
“ seated on a high rock, we were informed, that it was consecra-
“ ted in memory of the transfiguration, and that on the sixth of *August*
“ they sung a solemn mass in the presence of a multitude of peo-
“ ple, who out of devotion remained there all night. As to o-
“ ther things, we found them in pretty good order, considering
“ that it is a place not to be visited but in summer weather.
“ The building too was well enough, especially if we consider
“ its situation, it being not a little surprizing to find a chapel e-
“ rected, where one cannot stay a quarter of an hour without a
“ great fire. That which our geographers call *Monte Santo* com-
“ prehends not only mount *Athos*, but the whole chain of moun-
“ tains which unites it to the continent of *Macedonia*. This
“ chain is seven or eight leagues long, and three or four broad,
“ and it is true, that the *Greeks* call this ridge *Oros Agion*, or
“ the holy mountain ; but when they speak of mount *Athos* in
“ particular, they call it still *Athos*. Of the twenty monasteries
“ erected in this solitude, there is but one, which stands on this
“ mountain, and that is dedicated to St. *Laura*, which is indeed
“ richer and more considerable than all the rest ; and it is owned,
“ that from the monks inhabiting therein, the rest took the rule

(24) *Varenius's Geography, Vol. I p. 12.*

imaginations conceived it no impossible task to measure it. This *Xenagoras* attempted and performed with success, where-

“ under which they live. These convents, generally speaking
 “ resemble fortresses rather than religious houses. They are
 “ surrounded with good walls, flanked with towers, or at least
 “ surmounted by a vast *donjon*, well furnished with artillery, and
 “ all things else necessary for defence. This is a very necessary
 “ precaution, considering their situation in the midst of thieves.
 “ As these monasteries are generally five or six stories high, the a-
 “ partments in them are numerous and very large, but not over
 “ well disposed. They are covered with lead, which by the re-
 “ flection of the sun-beams shines like silver ; and all things consi-
 “ dered, we may rather wonder at their being in so good a state,
 “ than at their being in no better. These monasteries are inde-
 “ pendent of each other in point of government ; and though in
 “ the center of these monasteries there is an episcopal see in a
 “ pretty large town called *Kapiarb*, yet the monks pay no sort of
 “ obedience to this bishop. The cathedral, however, is stiled *A-*
 “ *crotaton*, i. e. *the most high*, and is served by monks sent by the
 “ superiors of the respective convents for that purpose. There is
 “ also on mount *Athos* a considerable church, dedicated to St. *Anne*,
 “ where the *Anchorites* resort for the performance of their devo-
 “ tions at certain festivals, and other settled times. These poor
 “ people are quite secluded from the rest of human race. They
 “ may be about sixty in number, and live most of them alone ;
 “ the rest, two in a cell ; they live by the labour of their hands,
 “ as did the antient monks, and are under the direction of a chief,
 “ who is called *Dicaïos*, i. e. *the Just* ; yet he himself is depend-
 “ ent on the monastery of St. *Laura*, because their cells are built
 “ on the ground belonging to that religious house. All the mo-
 “ nasteries have little farms belonging to them, which are ma-
 “ naged by certain monks for the benefit of the house. All these
 “ religious, as has been said before, live under a common rule,
 “ which rule consists chiefly in the strict observance of the follow-
 “ ing points : 1. The keeping certain stated fasts, which they re-
 “ commend vehemently in their sermons, and which, to do them
 “ justice, they recommend no less by the severity with which they
 “ keep them. 2. The passing whole nights in certain churches
 “ consecrated to the honour of God, where they either make
 “ solemn prayers, or else join together in chanting psalms, con-
 “ forming herein to the practice of the antient church, in which
 “ these devotions were stiled *Vigils*. 3. They suffer no woman
 “ to approach the holy mountain, which they carry yet farther,
 “ by excluding all kind of animals of the *feminine gender* ; and on
 “ this principle they were wont also to cause their younger monks
 “ to be instructed in separate houses, as if youth itself had some
 “ thing in it feminine (25.)”

by he found, that its height did not much exceed an *English* mile. Many geographers reckon this mountain to *Theffaly*, but we think it belongs rather to *Macedonia* (H).

WE have heretofore observed, that the *Scardian* hills and mount *Athos* were well covered with woods; and indeed the whole kingdom of *Macedonia*, being every-where intermixed with mountains, hills, and rising grounds, abounded with all sorts of trees, which are valuable in *Europe*, either on account of timber, fruit, or shade. As to deserts or large wastes, we find not that there were any such in antient times; on the contrary, it appears, that no part of *Europe* was more thoroughly peopled; but since it has been in the hands of the *Turks*, great part of it is become uninhabited, a thing not unfrequent in other parts of the *Ottoman* empire.

THE peculiar happiness of *Macedonia*, in having the sea on each side of it, we have already remarked. It is our duty

(H) As *Athos* astonished by its height and bulk, so the mountain *Olympus* struck the beholder with reverence by its amazing loftiness, and at the same time invited his ascent by the beauty and variety of prospects which it afforded. The river *Peneus*, one of the clearest, gentlest, and most beautiful streams in the universe, ran at its foot, dividing it from *Ossa*, and making a multitude of small but charming isles, covered with shady trees, and adorned with magnificent temples, grottoes, porticoes, and other stately buildings (26). Its height is certainly very great; but as we observed above, not near so great as it was imagined by the antients. As to the notion of its being above the second region of the air, it depended intirely upon a fact, *viz.* that letters traced on the ashes of *Jupiter's* altar, remained undefaced for a long space of time. This altar stood on the very summit of *Olympus*, and the god was worshipped there with peculiar devotion. On the south east side of the hill ran the famous river *Helicon*, and near it stood a noble temple of *Jupiter*, in the midst of a shady grove. The mountains *Ossa* and *Pelion* were in its neighbourhood, much spoken of in antient authors, and very considerable for their height, tho' they come far short of *Olympus*. *Desiar-chus Siculus*, at the command of some of the neighbouring princes, measured mount *Pelion* with great exactness, and found it to be in height 1250 paces, or about an *Italian* mile and half. It is now called *Petras*, and has some little forts on its sides (27). There is some doubt amongst geographers, whether this region ought to be reckoned to *Laconia* or *Theffaly*; but, as we make the river *Peneus* their common boundary, *Olympus* and the territory about it falls under our cognizance here.

(26) *Tempe, secund Descript. Ortelii.* (27) *Strabon Geogr. l. ix. p. 807. Vog. Georg l. i. c. 281. Pausan. Geogr. p. 128. Pan. Hist. Nat. l. iv.*

Seas, rivers, lakes
&c.

here, however, to be a little more particular. The *Adriatic* washes its western coast, and, besides the great haven of *Epidamnus*, now *Durazzo*, makes several safe ports, which are now most of them neglected. On the east the *Ægean* sea was still more advantageous, opening to *Macedonia* not only the trade of *Greece*, but that of *Asia* also; which commerce was especially forwarded by the spacious bays every-where formed on the coast. Four of these were chiefly remarkable, viz. *Sinus Strymonicus*, having on its north-side part of *Thrace*, and on the south the long extending promontory of *Athos*, including in its bosom the island of *Thasus*. It was called the *Strymonic* bay, because the river *Strymon* ran there into the sea. It is now called *Golpho di Contessa*. *Sinus Singiticus*, having on one side mount *Athos*, and on the other a long slip of land, once full of rich and populous towns, of which there is now no appearance; the bay therefore takes its present name from a neighbouring mountain, and is stiled *Golpho di Monte Santo*. *Sinus Toronaicus*, having the ridge of land before-mentioned on the one side, and part of the region *Paraxia* on the other. It received its old name from the city *Torone*, but is now called *Golpho d' Aiomama*. *Sinus Thermaicus*, having on the one side *Macedonia*, on the other, for the most part, *Thessaly*. It is at least sixty miles in length, and received its name from the antient city *Therma*, called afterwards *Thessalonica*, now *Salonichi*. In speaking of the rivers of *Macedon*, we will begin with those which run into the *Adriatic*, and after speak of such as run into the *Ægean* sea. *Panyasus* rises not far from the city *Pitheum*, and, after a winding course of upwards of a hundred miles, from the southern borders of *Macedon* to *Epidamnus* or *Durazzo*, near it discharges itself into the *Adriatic*⁵. The *Apsus*, rising not far from the city of *Eordea*, after a short course of thirty miles, discharges itself about ten miles below the mouth of the *Panyasus*. The *Laous*, called also *Æas* and *Aous*, has its source near the city of *Antigonis*, and, after a north-west course of forty miles, enters the *Adriatic* a little below the city of *Apollonia*. *Celydnus* or *Pepylichus* running from the *Acroceraunian* mountains directly into the *Adriatic*, would not be worthy of mention, if it were not regarded as the boundary between *Macedon* and *Epirus*. The rivers running into the *Ægean* sea, are, The *Aliacmon*; it rises in the mountains lying above the city *Lilymea*, and running for some time parallel to the *Panyasus*, after a course of seventy miles

⁵ CLUVER. Geogr. l. iv. CELLAR. Geog. Antiq. l. ii. c. 13.

⁶ See in the map the course of this and other rivers.

almost due east, enters the bay of *Theſſalonica*, between the cities of *Pydna* and *Dium*. The *Erigon* riſes in the country of the *Lynceſtæ*, and running directly north about thirty miles, turns then to the eaſt, and declining by degrees to the ſouth, falls, after a farther courſe of forty miles, into a lake formed by the waters of the river *Axiuſ*, and with them runs into the ſea. The *Axiuſ*, which is by far the greateſt river in *Macedon*, riſes from two fountains in the *Scardian* mountains, and, after a courſe of eighty miles, it ſpreads itſelf into a large and noble lake below the city of *Edeſſa*, and having received the *Erigon* there, falls into the bay of *Theſſalonica* almoſt over-againſt that city. The river *Strymon* riſes in *Thrace*, and rolling with a rapaid ſtream almoſt directly ſouth, after a courſe of ſeventy miles, it enters by two broad and deep mouths that bay, which from it was ſtiled the *Strymonic*. This river was the antient boundary of *Macedon* towards *Thrace*; but *Philip* the father of *Alexander* took in all the country between it and the river *Neſtuſ*, or, as ſome write it, *Meſtuſ*; which running almoſt parallel to the river *Strymon*, falls into the ſame bay near the city of *Abdera*, about forty miles diſtant from the mouths of the *Strymon*. Smaller rivers there are many, ſuch as the *Chidoruſ*, *Aſtræuſ*, *Pontuſ*, &c. As to lakes, beſides thoſe formed by the overflowing of the river *Strymon*, and the junction of the rivers *Axiuſ* and *Erigon*, there is almoſt in the heart of *Macedon*, not far from the *Candavian* mountains, a large and famous lake called the lake of *Lychniduſ*, or the lake of *Preſpa*. There is another famous lake in the province of *Mygdonia*, and another near the antient city of *Sintia*, called afterwards *Heraclea Sintica*. As for ſprings and fountains, they are innumerable; ſuch as on account of their properties are remarkable, we ſhall mention elſewhere.

THE air of *Macedonia* is, generally ſpeaking, clear, *The climate, ſoil, commonly to a very great age. This is eaſily accounted produce, for, when we conſider, that it lies in the middle of the north riches, &c.* temperate zone, and in the fixth and ſeventh climates, its longeſt day containing about fifteen hours. The ſoil is every-where tolerable, in moſt places fruitful, on the ſea-coaſt eſpecially abounding with corn, wine, and oil, and indeed with every thing that could be deſired either for the uſe or convenience of men; but the principal riches of *Macedonia* conſiſted in its mines, of which it had many, and of almoſt all kind of metals, but of gold particularly. In *Pieria* under its antient kings there were found large quantities of this precious metal in the ſand, in lumps of conſiderable bignets^b. There

^b ARIST.

were also gold mines in the country between *Theſſalonica* and *Stagira*, which mines are ſaid to have been wrought by the *Turk* ; but by far the moſt conſiderable were in the mountain *Pangæus*, which king *Philip* added to his dominions. The *Thaſians*, inhabitants of a little iſland lying in the *Strymonic* bay, had rendered themſelves very conſiderable by the wealth they drew from them. This made the *Athenians* ſo covetous of this tract of country, which, after many expeditions and much-ado, they attained, and loſt it to the *Thracians* afterwards. *Philip* drove them out, and having rebuilt the antient city of *Crenides* in a magnificent manner, called it by his own name *Philippi* ; and carefully eſta bliſhing perſons ſkilful in the art of refining there, he made much greater advantage of thoſe mines than any of their former poſſeſſors had done ; nay, it is ſaid, that he obtained the empire of *Greece* chiefly by means of the treaſures extracted hence ; which muſt appear very probable, if what *Diodorus* tells us be true, that he received annually a thouſand talents of gold^l. The *Romans*, when they reduced *Macedonia* into a province, reſtrained the inhabitants from digging or refining gold or ſilver, leaving them at liberty, however, to manufacture any other metal^k.

Animals.

As there are not in *Macedonia* any animals peculiar thereto, we are under no neceſſity of entering into a detail of thoſe common to it and to the reſt of *Greece* ; we ſhall content ourſelves therefore with mentioning only one thing which is very remarkable, and that is the abundance of horſes which were in *Macedonia* under its antient princes. This will be ſet in a clear light by a ſingle fact : There were kept in the royal ſtud near *Pella* three hundred ſtone-horſes and thirty thouſand mares^l. It is evident from hence, that it was the military prudence of the *Macedonian* kings which determined them to place their hopes not in horſe but in foot, which might be ſerviceable in all countries, whereas cavalry could act only in plains. Their inordinate love of hunting engaged them, however, to keep up ſo large a breed of horſes, which were excellent in their nature, fleet, high-mettled, ſtrong-hoofed, and able to ſubſiſt on very little and very ordinary provender. We need not wonder therefore, that the *Macedonian* armies were ſo terrible, when their horſe were extraordinary good, and their foot excellent.

Rarities.

As to the rarities of *Macedonia*, which, according to the order obſerved in this work, ought to cloſe the deſcription, we will begin with the *Picrian* hills and ſhades, which, on

^l DIODOR. SICUL. l. xvi.
^k TIT. LIV. l. xlii.
^l ÆLIAN. Var. Hiſt. lib. vii.

account of their lovely verdure and pleasant solitude, were stiled the habitations of the muses, who thence also were called *Pierides*. Amongst them rose the fountain *Pimplia*, from whence they were called *Pimpliades*^m. *Vitruvius* tells us, that near the sepulchre of *Euripides* there flowed from a fountain waters of so poisonous a nature, as if swallowed brought on immediate and inevitable deathⁿ. A modern traveller informs us, that in passing mount *Jougous*, which seems to be part of that ridge formerly called the *Scardian* mountains, he found a certain flower, which he takes to be a kind of *Lunaria major*, which produced, as he apprehended, a stem or button according to the increase of the moon, till those buttons equalled the days of the moon's age. He brought some roots and seeds of this flower with him into *France*, that this curiosity might be more leisurely observed and considered^o. We might add to these abundance of other curiosities, if we could give credit to all the fragments of natural history left us by the antients, or to the ordinary collections on the same subject which have been made by the moderns; but as many of these relations are apparently absurd, many more very injudiciously recited, and the authorities in most cases but very weak, we shall content ourselves with reporting these, and so conclude a chapter, wherein the reader hath at least a more complete description of *Macedonia* than he can find else-where; for though its kings subdued so great a part of the known world, yet hath no historian, antient or modern, written explicitly of this country; but have contented themselves with brief and general descriptions, such as might suit well enough with the form of their histories, but were absolutely incompatible with the nature of this, which is universal, not in title and shew only, but in a particular consideration of all the kingdoms, empires, and states treated therein.

S E C T. II.

Of the antiquity, government, customs, laws, manners, and military discipline of the Macedonians.

IT has been heretofore observed, that *Macedonia* was originally inhabited by many nations. In our geographical descriptions, we have recorded their names, pointed out originally their seats, and delivered whatever remarkable passages we Argives.

^m CLUVER. l. iv. c. 9.

ⁿ l. viii.

Sieur P. LUCAS. Tom. I. p. 195.

^o Voyages du

could find about them in antient authors. Those from whom that race sprung, which from small beginnings became lords of *Greece* and afterwards of the world, were *Argives*. Under the leading of *Caranus*, who was descended from *Hercules* by his son *Temenus*, they came into this country, and with their swords carved out themselves fair possessions^a. By degrees they enlarged their dominions, not more by their valour than by their prudence and condescension; for erecting no trophies after victories, and treating those they subdued with the tenderness of brethren, they vanquished not only their persons, but their minds; and thus taking away all distinctions, they in time reduced various tribes into one nation, which of course became too potent for its neighbours, and continually made incroachments upon them, unless restrained by their united force, or the fear of provoking the *Persian* monarch, or some of the most powerful *Greek* republics. As the *Macedonians*, whose history we are now writing, were composed of many nations mixed with each other, and as all those nations were remarkable for bravery, hardiness, and contempt of luxury, it is easy to conceive, that the *Macedonians* were not unlike them. If we were to follow the method hitherto used, we should be obliged to repeat many things already said of the *Greeks*; to avoid which, and at the same time to deliver all that the reader can expect under this section for clearing the subsequent history, we shall reduce what we have to offer under three general heads: The first shall regard the government of *Macedon* and the administration of its princes: The second the customs of the people religious and civil: The third their military discipline.

*Their form
of govern-
ment.*

THE *Macedonians* had always kings; yet under their administration they preserved as great or greater liberty than was enjoyed under most of the *Grecian* commonwealths^b. Their monarchs ruled but they ruled according to law, or rather according to the maxims of natural equity, and did not commit any flagrant injustice merely to gratify their wills. This was the original constitution, and it may be said to the glory of this nation, that it was not subverted but with the kingdom. On this account *Lucian* introducing *Philip* and *Alexander* in his dialogues, makes the former call the *Macedonians*, *Freemen*^c. In cases where the punishment was capital, the cause was

^a JUSTIN. Hist. lib. vii. c. 1. EUSEB. Chronic. p. 47. ^b AR-
RIAN. Exp. Alexand. lib. iv. p. 265. CURT. vit. Alexand. lib. vi.
^c ἐλευθέρους ἀνδρας, in Dial. Phil. & Alex.

heard by the army, or by the people; and, till they condemned the party, the king did not pretend to put him to death. We shall meet with many instances of this in the reign of *Alexander*, who maintained the customs of his native soil when far from it, and did not think, that all his victories could release him from the obligations he was under of acting according to the constitution of his country. When in his passion he killed *Clitus*, he on recollection would have punished himself with death, if the army had not interfered and taken his guilt upon them^d. *Polybius* informs us, that when king *Philip*, the last but one of the *Macedonian* princes, had caused *Leontius*, whom he suspected of conspiring against him, to be seized, a body of targeteers, who were advanced before the army, sent deputies to desire that he might not be proceeded against till they should rejoin it, that the king might not seem to have no regard for them or their sentiments^e. It is true, the same author tells us, that the king provoked by this message, put *Leontius* sooner to death than he would have done; but he excused himself from the necessity of the thing, and punished the rest of the conspirators after the antient manner, *By verdict of the army*. It is not to be concluded from hence, that the *Macedonians* were always jealous of their liberties, and quarrelling with their princes about them, for that was not the case. They did not call themselves a free people, but acknowledged that they were subject to their prince; yet with this hope, that he would govern them as he ought, which when he did, they were most loyal; but were not so obedient, when he digressed from the paths of reason: They clamoured loudly at *Alexander*, when he began to affect the eastern mode of governing; nor would they be reconciled to him by gifts and fair speeches, but shewed a visible dislike, not of the king, but of such actions as he committed unworthy of his royal dignity^f. The throne was hereditary, and continued in the race of *Caranus* till the slaughter of *Alexander's* family; but it does not appear, that the *Macedonians* were very strict as to the succession, so it was of the royal house, though generally speaking the eldest son succeeded. The antient kings of *Macedon* were very modest in the ensigns of their dignity; for *Alexander the great* seems to have been the first who wore a diadem and rich robes of state; which, however, he transferred to his successors, yet the old kings had what was sufficient to distinguish them from their subjects, splendid ar-

^d CURT. l. viii. 11. 12.
 RIAN. lib. iv. p. 264. CURT. lib. viii.

^e Hist. lib. v. cap. 27.

^f AR-

mour, and a chair of state^s. The generality of the people were always wonderfully loyal, and not only chearfully obeyed, but were zealously addicted to the service of, their prince ; nay, they seem to have carried their affection towards his person too far, by making a law, or else adopting it from the *Persians*, that not only conspirators, but all who were related to them, should be put to death, with which, however, *Alexander* dispensed^h. Their love for their princes, however, did not carry them into any indecent or idolatrous submission, when they approached them ; on the contrary, they conversed with them freely, and saluted them with a kissⁱ. When therefore *Alexander* would have introduced the *Persian* custom of adoring him, the *Macedonians* were extremely displeased, and did not forbear declaring their sentiments, *that reverence was due to kings, but adoration to the gods*^k. In point of marriage the *Macedonian* kings seem not to have been very strict ; for it appears from history, that they had frequently many wives, and concubines not a few^l. In the education of their children they were exceedingly strict ; their sons were brought up under the best masters in the love and knowledge of all things great and glorious ; their daughters in the practice of all things virtuous. What *Alexander* said to *Sisygambis* will better demonstrate this than any description ; *Mother, the robe I have on was not only the gift of my sister, but the work of her hands*^m. In the conduct of their affairs the kings of *Macedon* were remarkably moderate, and behaved with the greatest prudence ; they did not affect magnificent entertainments, but eat plainly with their friends. They admitted all sorts of persons to their presence, and by a continual habit of business made themselves at once necessary and agreeable to their subjectsⁿ. Hunting was their chief diversion, and *Alexander* was so addicted to it, that he would follow it for a whole day without taking refreshment^o. These princes were generally speaking learned, or at least favourers of learned men. *Archelaus* was the great patron of *Euripides*, and not only honoured him living, but mourned for him when dead. *Philip* the father of *Alexander* was one of the best speakers of his age ; he was generous to such men of learning as sought his friendship, because he thought him-

^s JUSTIN. Hist. l. xii. c. 3. CURT. lib. vi. cap. 6. ^h CURT. lib. vi. cap. 11. ⁱ CURT. lib. x. cap. 5. JUSTIN. Hist. lib. xii. c. 15. ^k ARRIAN. lib. iv. p. 264. ^l PLUT. in Anton. circa fin. ^m CURT. lib. v. c. 11. ⁿ CURT. l. iii. c. 12. J. JUSTIN. lib. ix. c. 8. ^o PLUT. in vit. Alex. CURT. l. viii. cap. 6.

self honoured thereby ; and he pardoned libellers, because he would not punish wit even in an enemy ^p. If his son *Alexander* had not been the most active prince in the world, he would have been celebrated for being the most knowing ^q. As in the ordinary occurrences of life the kings of *Macedon* did not affect that pomp which in those days was frequent enough with princes, so in the most solemn acts of their administration they preserved such a modest decorum as rather endeared than awed their subjects. They heard causes in person, and suffered those who pleaded before them to speak with the utmost freedom. Thus, when *Philip* after drinking hard had decided contrary to right against a poor woman, she cried out, *I appeal*. To whom, said the king ? *Why*, replied she, *from Philip, with his head disturbed by the fumes of wine, to Philip, when he shall be sober and in his right senses* ^r. Which the king received as a just rebuke, and without the least resentment. This custom by a felicity peculiar to this people continued as long as they had kings ; for *Livy* tells us of *Perseus*, the very last of them, that, after the manner of his ancestors, he sat in an ivory chair, and heard all sorts of causes, even those which were of little consequence ^s. The kings of *Macedon* spoke even to private soldiers with great freedom and condescension ; they took as much care of them as if they had been their children, or at least their intimate friends, and such of them as were slain in the wars were always carefully interred with all military honours. Such as behaved themselves with extraordinary valour were honoured with particular marks of distinction ; and it is especially recorded of *Alexander the Great*, that he suffered no one to go without a just recompence of his merit ^t. The great men of the kingdom were honoured with the titles of the king's friends and counsellors, nor were they so in name only, but in reality ; they gave their advice as statesmen, but they gave it with all the freedom the most intimate friendship should confer ^u. *Hephaestion* the friend of *Alexander* was not afraid even of the resentment of the queen mother, answering her angry letters with a manly freedom, telling her, that, secure in his innocence, he was in no pain from her

^p JUSTIN. lib. ix. c. 8. SOLIN. Polyhist. cap. 14. HORAT. Epist. lib. ii. E. i. v. 232. ^q PLIN. Natur. Hist. lib. viii. cap. 16. ATHENÆUS Deip. lib. ix. c. 13. ^r PLUT. Apophthegm. ^s TIT. LIV. xlii. 67. & xli. 20. ^t CURT. ix. 6. ARRIAN. lib. ii. p. 113. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xvi. ^u JUSTIN. lib. vii. c. 2. ARRIAN. lib. ii. p. 113. & lib. i. p. 48. VALER. MAX. lib. v. c. 1.

threats, since *Alexander* was to judge of all things^a. And that this was not peculiar to *Hephestion* or *Alexander*, we may guess from the observation in *Justin*, that the friends of the Macedonian kings were not only companions in war, but associates in empire^b. They were allowed to wear purple, were intrusted with armies without instruction, and when the *Macedonian* greatness triumphed over kingdoms, they were appointed governors of them with the court and state of kings^c. The king's life-guard, which consisted but of a small number, was a post of high honour; *Oxathres* the brother of *Darius* was received into this number: Besides these there were other household troops, the commanders of which were not only honourable persons, but even the private men, who, as occasion served, were from thence preferred to great commands^d. With respect to civil officers, we find that the king's secretaries were very much considered; they not only drew up orders, but saw them executed^e. The king's seal, or signet, which was on his ring, remained generally speaking in his own custody; but sometimes he delivered it for special purposes to one of his friends, because whatever was sealed therewith was by the *Macedonians* held sacred and inviolable. *Alexander*, when dying delivered his signet to *Perdiccas*, which was thought to explain an expression he had before made use of, that the government should be vested in the most worthy. Not that he meant to disinherit his own family, but that by this act he constituted *Perdiccas* protector of the kingdom; and in this sense *Perdiccas* understood it, when in the presence of the *Macedonians* he desired to decline that mighty load of business, which the king in his last moments would have laid upon his shoulders^f. The royal physicians were highly considered in the court of *Macedon*, and were treated by their masters as if they had been their intimate friends^g. When the kings were sick, the whole nation made prayers and vows for their recovery, the meanest people shewing the same sorrow in their looks, their habits, and their speeches, as if their nearest relations were on their death-beds^h. When *Alexander* lay ill at *Babylon*, the grief of the soldiers some days before his death was so tumultuous, that he condescended to shew himself, and, not-

^a CURT. l. iii. & vii. ^b Hist. lib. xiii. cap. iv. ^c TIT. LIV. lib. xlv. cap. xxxii. CURT. lib. vi. cap. 11. JUSTIN. lib. xii. c. 1. ^d CURT. lib. x. cap. vi. ARRIAN. lib. ii. p. 113. lib. iii. p. 128. & lib. iv. p. 268. ^e ARRIAN. lib. iii. p. 167. ^f CURT. lib. x. c. 6. ^g ARRIAN. lib. ii. p. 89. CURT. III. c. 6. ^h CURT. lib. iii. c. 5.

withstanding his great weakness, extended his hand and suffered every one of them to kiss it ^a. After their deaths the *Macedonian* kings were interred in the royal sepulchre, built by *Argeus* at the command of his father *Perdiccas*, with this assurance, that while the kings were buried there, his race should never fail, and after their interment the people mourned for them as for their common parents ^b. Such was the ease, such the excellent constitution of *Macedon*, such the paternal piety of its princes, and such the filial obedience of their people. Let us now proceed to the second head.

THE *Macedonians* in point of religion followed the opinions embraced by the rest of the *Greeks*, worshipping many gods, and indulging a vast variety of vain and ridiculous rites. *Jupiter*, *Hercules*, and *Diana* were especially revered by them, the first as their protector; the second as the patron of the brave; the last as the goddess of hunting, to which they were universally addicted ^c. As they were strict in their morals, so according to the mode of those times they were very religious. Their princes disdained not to act on special occasions as priests, and to offer sacrifices for themselves and their people. All the historians who have wrote of the life of *Alexander* agree in furnishing us with many instances of his devotion, not only in sacrifices, but in erecting altars, instituting games, dedicating statues, and many other things. Omens were greatly heeded by this people; two eagles fluttering the whole day over the royal palace when *Olympias* was in labour was construed to portend, that the two empires of *Europe* and *Asia* would center in the child of which she was then delivered ^d. Many other instances of a like nature occur in the history, as the reader will observe; and therefore we need not anticipate them here.

The customs of the Macedonians religious and civil.

IN their ordinary manner of living this nation was remarkably temperate; but when they feasted, they were always magnificent, and loved to eat well and drink hard. *Caranus* the king of *Macedon*, is recorded to have made a marriage feast remarkably splendid ^e, and the same taste appeared in his successors, particularly in *Philip*, who was a

^a ARRIAN. CURT. PLUTARCH. in Vit. Alex.

^b JUSTIN.

Hist. lib. vii. c. 2.

^c ARRIAN. lib. i. p. 32. JUSTIN.

Hist. lib. xi. c. 5. CURT. l. iii. cap. 12.

^d JUSTIN.

Hist. lib. xii. c. 16.

^e ATHEN. Deipnosoph. lib. iv.

prince of high spirit. At these feasts the young men were admitted to sit down as soon as they had killed a wild boar fairly, that is with their spears, without toils or nets ^m. From their very infancy they were accustomed to ride, to hunt, and as soon as they were able to go into the field. At their banquets no women were admitted, and it was an inviolable rule with them, that nothing said at them should be repeated. At marriage-feasts they had an extraordinary custom, a piece of bread was cut in two with a sword, one part of which was given to the bridegroom, and the other to the bride, which had no doubt some concealed meaning ⁿ. Their captives they made use of as concubines, but it was held dishonourable to marry them; yet *Alexander* broke through this by his marriage with *Roxana*, and numbers followed his example. It is certain his victories changed the manners of his soldiers as well as his own; for whereas before they were content with plain and light arms, they afterwards adorned themselves with the spoils of the vanquished, and became not only well, but richly, clad, at the expence of the *Persians* ^o.

*Little
versed in
maritime
affairs.*

IN affairs of government we have shewn them to be wise and prudent; in one thing, however, they were very defective, *viz.* in their care of maritime affairs, which, notwithstanding the great advantage they had, they neither practised nor understood, as is evident from the accounts we have of *Alexander's* fleets and naval expeditions, and the fright and terror his seamen were under at every new sight they saw ^p. We can account for this no otherwise than from their being continually engaged in wars with their neighbours upon the continent, and having their ports at the same time either in the hands of, or blocked up by, the maritime powers of *Greece*. *Philip*, who first freed his country from these inconveniencies, had not time to think of naval affairs before he was cut off by an immature death; his successor, amongst other great designs he had formed, had that of settling and increasing his fleets in his mind when he died at *Babylon* ^q. Whatever contributed to make them strong and warlike was particularly affected by the *Macedonians*, which was the true reason why hunting was their great exercise and prime diversion; besides this, they were addicted to all the

^m HEGESAND. apud. ATHEN. Deipnosoph. lib. i. ⁿ HERODOT. lib. v. c. 17. CURT. lib. viii. c. 4. ^o CURT. lib. ix cap. 3. ^p ARRIAN. lib. iii. CURT. lib. ix. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xvii. ^q DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xviii.

Grecian exercises, particularly wrestling and boxing, for which sports there was a place set apart in all their camps, and their commanders, when the business of the war allowed them leisure, diverted themselves with seeing the activity of their soldiers in these exercises ^r. They also practised a kind of military dancing, which was at once both pleasant and wonderfully graceful ^r.

WE have already said, that their laws consisted only in the decrees of their princes, which were, however, founded on ^{Their laws.} the principles of natural equity, or otherwise would have exposed him, whose decisions they were, to the hatred and ill-will of his subjects. We have likewise observed, that in capital cases judgment was given by the people of the army; here it will be fit for us to observe, that the accused was always suffered to defend himself with the utmost freedom, though even at his trial he appeared bound in a habit of distress and without any ensigns of dignity, let his quality be what it would. In doubtful cases the torture was permitted without any respect to birth or former services, of which we shall find frequent instances in the history of *Alexander*, whose reign, as it was tinged purple with the blood of his enemies, so it was also stained with the gore of his countrymen. The punishments among them were of different kinds; sometimes the criminal was thrust through with darts, at other times crucified with his head downwards: Sometimes they were thrown chained into rivers; yet these seem to have been either foreign customs or punishments inflicted in extraordinary cases; that which was most frequent, and which consequently seems to have been legal, was stoning ^s to death, wherein the army, as they had been made judges, were executioners, which perhaps was no ill expedient to prevent rash judgments.

THE *Macedonian* year, or, as it is usually called, the *The Ma-Greek* year, to distinguish it from the *Attic* year, was composed of twelve months; but as to the number of days in ^{The Ma-} each of these months and the method of the *Macedonian* ^{cedonian} ^{calendar.} calendar, there are great disputes, we shall set down the scheme of the judicious archbishop *Usher*, and shall inform the learned and inquisitive reader where he may receive further satisfaction in a note ^u.

^r *ÆLIAN*. Var. Hist. lib. ix. c. 3. *PLUT.* in vit. *Alexand.*
^s *ATHEN.* Deipnos. lib. xiv. ^t *CROPHII* Antiquitates,
Macedon. lib. ii. c. 4. ^u *USSERI* Dissertatio, &c.

A TABLE of the MACEDONIAN Months.

Dius consisted of thirty days, the first of which answered to the 24th of *September*, the last to the 23d of *October*.

Apellacus, containing thirty days, the first of which answered to the 24th of *October*, the last to the 22d of *November*.

Audynaenus, consisted of thirty one days, the first answering to the 23d of *November*, the last to the 23d of *December*.

Peritius, containing thirty days, the first answering to the 24th of *December*, the last to the 22d of *January*.

Dysstrus, consisting of thirty days, the first answering to the 23d of *January*, the last to the 21st of *February*.

Xanthicus, containing thirty one days, the first answering to the 22d of *February*, the last to the 24th of *March*, excepting the intercalated year, when it answered to the 23d. In this month there was a lustration solemnly performed, which from the name of the month was called *Xanthica*, in this manner: They divided a bitch in the middle, laying one side with the intrails on their right hand, the other on the left; between marched the army in battalia, and after they had passed, they separated into two corps, and maintained a mock fight.

Artemisius, consisting of thirty one days, the first answering to the 25th of *March*, and the last to the 24th of *April*.

Daesius, containing thirty days, the first answering to the 25th of *April*, the last to the 24th of *May*; this month the *Macedonians* held to be extremely unfortunate, which *Alexander* observing, and knowing how dangerous superstition is, when strongly seated in vulgar minds, he as a remedy in the present case decreed, that this month should not be for the future called *Daesius*, but, by a repetition of the name of the former month, called it the second *Artemisius*.

Panemus, consisting of thirty one days, the first answering to the 25th of *May*, the last to the 24th of *June*.

Lous, containing thirty days, the first answering to the 25th of *June*, the last to the 24th of *July*.

Gorpiacus, consisting of thirty one days, the first answering to the 25th of *July*, the last to the 24th of *August*.

Hyperberetaeus

Hyperberetaes, containing thirty days, the first answering to the 25th of *August*, the last to the 23d of *September*.

THUS the *Macedonian* year consisted of seven even months, that is of months of thirty days each, making in all two hundred and ten days, and of five unequal months consisting of thirty one days each, making in all a hundred and fifty five days, together three hundred and sixty five days; but every fourth year the month *Hyperberetaes*, consisted of thirty one days, which answered the end of our leap year (A).

As there were very rich mines in *Macedonia*, so under several kings there were great variety both of silver and gold pieces coined; of the latter sort were the *Philippics* so called from bearing the bust of *Philip* the father of *Alexander*, which are so often mentioned in antient authors, and were for a long time the most current money in *Greece*; and such were many others, descriptions of which are to be found among the writings of antiquaries, as some of the pieces are yet extant in the cabinets of the curious. There is a singularity in the *Macedonian* coins, which ought not to be passed

Their coin.

(A) *Lalamantius* wrote three dissertations on the antient methods of computing time, the second of which relates only to the *Macedonian* year, which he tells us consisted of twelve months, making *Xanticus* the first, and *Dysstrus* the last. One half of these months he asserts to have consisted of twenty nine days, and the other half of thirty; taken together, the *Macedonian* year according to him consisted of 354 days; to reconcile which to the solar year, at the end of each third year they intercalated a month of thirty three days. He does not attempt to support all he says by authorities, but contents himself with laying them down as matters of fact. The very learned and judicious primate *Usher* in his excellent work, intitled, *A Dissertation on the Macedonian and Asiatic solar year*, has examined this matter to the bottom; and, with all the skill of a learned astronomer, and all the knowledge of a critic in the *Greek* literature, hath made this matter as plain as can be made, supporting every thing which he advances by reason and authority; to him therefore we have adhered in this hitherto intricate matter, and to his most excellent treatise we must refer the inquisitive reader for a perfect account of the construction of the *Macedonian* kalendar (1).

(1) *Ioannis Lalamantii Dissertationes tres, de Tempore & ejus Partibus, de Anno Macedonum seu Græcorum, & de Anno Attico, apud Gronov. Thes. Græcar. Antiq. Vol. XI. Jacobi Usserii de Macedonum & Asianorum Anno solari Dissertatio, apud Gronov. T. G. Antiq. Vol. XI.*

over,

over, and it is this ; they not only bear the busts and inscriptions of the princes under whom they were coined, but also the names of the cities in which they were coined, and the figures on their reverses frequently refer to those cities ^a.

Their language.

THE *Macedonian* tongue differed very much from the *Greek*, that is, from all the several dialects of that language, as is evident from *Strabo* ^y and *Athenæus* ^z ; but especially from *Curtius* in his account of the proceedings against *Philotas* ; from whence it is clear, that the natives of *Greece*, who served in *Alexander's* army, were not able to understand a discourse delivered in the *Macedonian* tongue ^a.

Their military discipline.

WE come last of all to the military discipline of the *Macedonians* which was their peculiar glory, and which raised them from a mean and obscure people to be lords of *Greece*. They were in their first beginning obstinately brave, as well as naturally warlike ; by degrees they acquired knowledge in discipline, and became at last invincible from a happy mixture of superior courage with superior skill. We are indebted for these observations to *Polybius*, an author of equal character for veracity and penetration, who, in his description of the military virtues of the *Macedonians*, does them all the justice that the best of writers could afford the bravest men ^b. But it may be objected, if the *Macedonians* were always so fierce and so unconquerable a nation, how they came to be so long under the dominion of the *Persians*, to be awed by the *Illyrians*, *Thracians*, and other neighbouring nations, and to be tributary to the *Athenians* even to the time of *Philip* ? The reader will find an answer to all this in the course of the succeeding history, whence it will appear, that these were so many obstacles placed in the way of the *Macedonian* greatness from the natural situation of things, against which they continually struggled, and in the end overcame them all. True it is, that the *Macedonians* were often less powerful, though never less brave than their neighbours, that till the time of *Philip* they were far from being rich, and that till his reign they had not either shewn hopes or ambition of assuming the sovereignty of *Greece* ; but when once the genius of their prince had opened a path to empire, they seconded his efforts by undertaking chearfully the most arduous expedition, and undergoing, in order to their accomplishment, the severest discipline. War from this time forward was the business of

^a CROPHI Antiquitat. Macedon. lib. ii. cap. 5. WOLFGANGI LAZII Græc. Antiq. ^y STRAB. Geograph. lib. vii. p. 687.

^z Deipnosoph. lib. iii. c. 33.

^a CURT. lib. iv. p. 9.

^b Hist.

lib. iv. c. 11.

the whole nation, insomuch, that the youth of *Alexander's* army were not only bred but born in the camp ; but it is necessary for us to be more particular, and therefore we will subdivide the remaining part of this head into five considerations.

THE first shall relate to the choice of the army, that is, the troops of which it was made up ; and these, after the *Macedonian* kings became considerable, were, first, their natural-born subjects ; secondly, their allies ; and thirdly, mercenaries. The natural *Macedonians* served at their own expence, and contented themselves with the spoil of their enemies ^c. The allies were composed of the respective quotas of *Thessaly*, *Pæonia*, and other dependent provinces, as also of the auxiliary troops furnished by *Greece* after the kings of *Macedonia* were elected captains general ^d. The mercenaries were soldiers of fortune, who never inquired the cause, if they stood in no doubt about their pay ^e. When *Alexander* marched on his grand expedition, his infantry consisted of thirteen thousand *Macedonians*, seven thousand auxiliaries, and five thousand mercenaries ^f. The *Thessalians* furnished, generally speaking, horse, and there were also many troops of *Macedonian* cavalry ; their discipline was strict, for in case the private men lost their horses, either by sickness or in action, their officers were obliged to furnish others out of their own stables, if they had any in them, from an old-fashioned notion, that the good of the public was to be preferred to the pomp of private men ^g.

Their soldiers how chosen.

SECONDLY, let us speak of the order of the *Macedonian* troops ; the foot were composed of three sorts, *viz.* the light-armed ^h, the *Peltastæ*, who were better armed ⁱ, and the heavy armed soldiers, of whom the phalanx was composed ^k. These troops were suited to all sorts of enterprizes ; for if a post was to be attacked suddenly, the light-armed foot were employed ; if steadily, and in expectation of an obstinate resistance, then the *Peltastæ* or targeteers were sent ; the heavy armed foot were generally drawn up in the centre of the army in a square body, which was called the phalanx ^l. *Polybius* tells us, that it consisted of sixteen in flank and five hundred in front, all pikemen, the soldiers standing so close, that the

^c CURT. iii. c. 10.

^d JUSTIN. Hist. xii. 4 CURT. x.

cap. 2

^e CURT. lib. v. cap. 1.

^f DIODOR.

SECVL. lib. xvii.

^g ARRIAN lib. vi. p. 426. CURT.

lib. vii. c. 1.

^h ELIAN. Tract c. 6.

ⁱ TIT. LIV. xxxi.

c. 36.

^k CURT. lib. vii. c. 9.

^l ARRIAN. & CURT.

mult. in locis

pikes of the fifth rank reached their points beyond the front of the battle. It is evident from hence, that the pikes of the last ranks were of no use according to this disposition ; they had, however, an excellent remedy for this, which was thus ; the hindermost ranks leaned their pikes on the shoulders of those who were before them, and locking them fast pressed briskly against them when they made the charge, so that the first five ranks had the impetus of the whole phalanx, which was the reason why its shock was, generally speaking, irresistible ^m. It is not very clear into what corps the gross of the *Macedonian* infantry was divided ; but that they were divided into many small bodies, is apparent. But as in all wars the king was commander in chief, so, generally speaking, he had the greatest trouble upon his hands ; for in camp, in sieges, and in battles, he went every-where, and directed all things, affecting neither in pomp of habit, in easiness of life, or by a large train, to distinguish himself from other commanders, but, on the contrary, fared as meanly as any of his soldiers, and exceeded them all in his labours ; nor is this to be understood only of *Philip* and *Alexander*, those great and shining lights in the *Macedonian* empire, but of their predecessors and successors also ; the last *Philip* is recorded by *Livy* to have trod the same steps, and to have disdained, that either the lustre of empire, or the load of upwards of threescore years, should excuse him from any part of that fatigue which he required of the meanest *Macedonian* ⁿ. Happy nation, in which the royal diadem was known and revered, not from the splendor of its jewels, but of the virtues of him who wore it !

Their arms

THIRDLY, we will consider the arms of the *Macedonians* offensive and defensive. At first their targeteers were furnished only with wooden bucklers, or such as were made with a kind of wicker ; but in process of time they had them of leather and brass, as we learn from a speech of *Alexander's* when his soldiers were about to mutiny, wherein he reproaches them with their being in a manner naked, in his father's time, being furnished only with wooden arms, and bucklers made of hurdles ^o. It is a difficult thing to write clearly on this subject after *Curtius*, because he uses words as synonymous which have very different significations. *Arrian* therefore is a better guide ; from him we discover, that the *Macedonians* had a large strong shield called in *Greek* *Aspis*, and a small light buckler called *Pelte*, the former belonging to the heavy-armed troops, the latter to those who were between the heavy and light-arm-

^m See POTTER'S *Archæol.* Vol II. lib. iii. ⁿ ARRIAN, lib. v. TIT. LIV. xlii. c. 52. ^o CURT. v. c. 2.

ed, who were from thence called *Peltastæ* or *Targeteers* ^P. As to the *Macedonian* swords, we do not find that they differed from those of the rest of the *Greeks*; they were made both for pushing and cutting, as will appear from various incidents in the succeeding history; their hilts were wrought in various forms, and that pretty early, as appears from the murder of *Philip* the father of *Alexander*, which was performed by *Pausanias* with a sword, on the hilt of which was engraven a chariot drawn by four horses; the *Macedonians* also made use of daggers; as to their spears, they were of different kinds, *viz.* long and short; the former were used by the soldiers composing the phalanx, and were sometimes sixteen, at the least fourteen, cubits, or one and twenty feet in length; the shorter spear was used by the light-armed troops ¹. The head-piece was made of a raw ox's hide, that is, untanned, we may suppose, for the sake of its toughness; *Livy* speaks of horns to it. 'Tis very probable that these were the wings of a double crest, one of which, as *Plutarch* tells us, was struck from the head-piece of *Alexander* at the battle of *Granicus*. They had also breast-plates made of linen quilted to a proper thickness, and a particular kind of military shoe ². The horsemen wore the same defensive arms as the foot, except that their bucklers were lighter and smaller, and their spears shorter. All these things were well contrived for the times in which they were used; and it is observable, that the *Roman* authors all speak of the *Macedonian* discipline as very complete, and acknowledge that the phalanx was almost an equal match for the *legion*.

Fourthly, let us turn our thoughts on the *Macedonian* ar- *Their di-*
mies when in the field. The phalanx was drawn up generally *discipline in*
in the centre; the horse and light-armed troops in two lines *the field.*
on the right and left. In all engagements the phalanx marched slowly, but was particularly quick in its motions; that is to say, it did not press precipitately upon the enemy, but receiving its orders from the king, took what form he directed, sometimes extending itself in front, at others deepening its files till it had the shape of a wedge, fighting steadily and obstinately, till the force of the enemy was entirely broken, who were then pursued by the light-armed forces and the horse, the phalanx remaining in the field of battle, and carefully preventing the enemy's reassembling their troops ³. It is not evident from any of the antient historians, that the phalanx

^P ARRIAN. liv. iv. ¹ POLYB. Eclog. xvii. ² CROPHI
Antiquitat. Macedon. lib. iii. c. 4. PERRER: Antiquit.,
Vol. II. lib. iii.

was divided into very small corps; a phalanx of sixteen thousand men consisted but of ten battalions; and as they were seldom intended to march in separate bodies, there was no great occasion for those subdivisions which were in use in other armies^c. When the armies drew near, the charge was sounded by trumpets; after which the king or general was wont to make an oration, exhorting the people to consider the glory which their ancestors had won, and to shew themselves worthy of such ancestors by their own conduct. *Curtius* tells us, that after the fight was begun, as often as occasion offered, the king addressed himself to the army, and endeavoured by all means to excite them to the performance of great things^d. If the soldiers were pleased with the king's speech, then they signified it by the clashing of their arms; but if it did not affect them, then they remained silent. When they charged, they cried out, *Alala, Alala*, a word which has no proper signification; but may be properly enough rendered into *English* by a word used to the same purpose, viz. *Huzza*. Lastly, when they desired quarter, their method was to hold their spears aloft in the air^e.

In the fifth place, their general discipline, or rather the *Macedonian* art of war, falls under our cognizance. With respect to the hardiness, frugality, and good order of the *Macedonian* troops, all authors are agreed; and though, it may be, their discipline was in some measure relaxed, when *Alexander* distributed amongst them the spoils of the east, yet by degrees the antient rules were restored, so that the very last *Macedonian* armies were much admired for the regularity of their discipline. When the army was in the field, the king, assisted by his generals and by such officers of the army as were best acquainted with those matters, marked out a place for a camp, which was immediately fortified with a good ditch and retrenchment. When the army was to march, part of this retrenchment was levelled, that they might march in order; an excellent maxim, if we consider the structure of their phalanx, which could not well have borne passing through several openings^f. The tents were small, as being intended to supply only a necessary covering against the inclemency of the weather. They were made of skins, and therefore, when they were bundled up, they sometimes made use of them in passing rivers; two soldiers lay in a tent. As for the king, his tent was pitched in the centre, wherein he

^c APPIAN. in Syriacis. TIT. LIV. lib. xxxiii. c. 4. XIPHIL. in Carac.

^d lib. iv. c. 13.

^e ARRIAN. lib. i. p. 15.

^f CURT. viij. 5.

lay by himself; it seems to have consisted but of two apartments, one where the king slept, the other where he saw company, before the door of it his guards did duty ^a. The military signals among the *Macedonians* were either trumpets or fires. On a march the cavalry and light-armed troops took post in the van, the phalanx in the centre, and the baggage in the rear, except when there was reason to apprehend a sudden engagement; then they marched in order of battle; every soldier had a kind of knapsack, and there were also carts and waggon which attended on the army, but not in such numbers as were used by other nations, because among the *Macedonians* neither women nor useless servants were indulged ^a. As to plunder, it was sometimes distributed amongst the soldiers, at others collected together and sold for the use of the king, or for the army ^b. When in quarters, to keep up discipline, and to preserve the army from corruption, military games were instituted, wherein rewards both honorary and lucrative were bestowed. After victories obtained, their kings were wont to reward all such as particularly distinguished themselves; as for such as died in the service, they were honoured with public monuments, and their children and relations freed from tribute; in all other respects, they were treated with the greatest humanity and condescension, and when the time limited for their service expired, or their wounds rendered them incapable of serving, they were dismissed, not to seek a living where they could, but with ample provision for themselves and families, that they might enjoy the fruits of their labours, and by living in ease and peace excite younger and more robust men to serve chearfully in their stead ^c. We have insisted the longer upon this head, because the *Macedonians* were rendered considerable by nothing so much as their abilities in war; their empire was gained and preserved by arms, and of consequence the *Macedonian* history would be unintelligible, if the nature and discipline of their armies were not fully and properly described; for want of it the exploits of *Philip* have been ill understood, and those of *Alexander* wear too often the air of romance. We hope that in the subsequent sheets they will appear in the light of true history.

^a CURT. lib. iv. c. 10.^a Id. lib. vi. c. 2.^b CURT.

lib. iv. ARRIAN. lib. i. p. 6.

^c ARRIAN. lib. ii. p. 113.

CURT. lib. ix. cap. 1. DIOD. lib. xvi. VELL. lib. 1.

S E C T. III.

The History of the Macedonian kingdom, from its foundation to the reign of Philip the father of Alexander.

THE great obscurity of the *Greek* history, arising chiefly from the want of antient historians, and the variations which are visible in the works of such authors as have attempted to give us the story of those antient times, have already sufficiently appeared from the account we have given of the fabulous and heroic times, and of the antient states of *Greece*. The history of the *Macedonian* kingdom wants not many difficulties of the same kind, and flowing from the same causes ; however, the series of its antient kings is pretty well settled, and though we have no regular account of them in any one antient historian, yet from the scattered relations in *Herodotus*, *Thucydides*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Strabo*, *Justin*, *Pliny*, *Solinus*, and other antient writers, we have been able to assemble such a number of passages, as, when ranged in their just order of time, afford us a very passable account of the *Macedonian* affairs, during the period assigned at the head of this chapter ; and thenceforward we shall meet with fewer doubts and obstacles, and scarce any chasms in the narration to the very end of the *Macedonian* monarchy under *Perseus* the son of *Philip*. But, in the first place, it would be necessary to exhibit a scheme of those kings and the years of their reigns, as they are set down by the learned *Petavius*, who has adjusted these intricate points with wonderful judgment and perspicuity.

A TABLE of the Macedonian kings, from the foundation of that monarchy to the reign of Philip the father of Alexander the Great.

1. Caranus	28	12. Archelaus	14
2. Cœnus	28	13. Orestes	0
3. Thurimas	45	14. Arcopas	4
4. Perdiccas	48	15. Pausanias	1
5. Argeus	32	16. Amyntas II.	1
6. Philippus	35	17. Argeus	2
7. Æropas	42	18. Amyntas again	21
8. Alcetas	28	19. Alexander	2
9. Amyntas	49	20. Ptolemæus Alorites	3
10. Alexander	43	21. Perdiccas	5
11. Perdiccas II.	23	22. Philippus	24

Caranus

Caranus the founder of this kingdom was an *Argive* by *Caranus*. birth, and a descendant from *Hercules*, though authors are not well agreed at what distance. An antient *Greek* writer cited in *Eusebius*'s chronicon places him in the eleventh degree ^a; but *Velleius Paterculus* says, that he was the sixteenth from *Hercules* ^b. It is, however, owned, that he derived his line from *Temenus* one of the sons of that hero, and that this *Caranus* was the brother of *Phidon*, the brother of *Argos*, who is reported to have been the inventer of weights and measures. On what account *Caranus* quitted his native country, no authors inform us; but all agree, that he left it at the head of a considerable body of *Greeks*, with whom intending to settle, as the custom of those times was, in some other country, he consulted the oracle as to the measures which he ought to take; he was answered, that he should establish his empire according to the direction of the goats. It is very probable, that *Caranus*, when he received this response, knew not what to make of it; however, in pursuit of his first intention he entered that country, since known by the name of *Macedonia*, and particularly the little kingdom of *Æmathia*, at that time governed by king *Midas*, and drew near to its capital, which was then called *Edeffa*. On a sudden the sky being overcast and a great storm coming on, *Caranus* observed a herd of goats running for shelter to the city; immediately recollecting the oracle, he commanded his men to follow them closely, and entering the city by surprize, he possessed himself first of it, and after of the kingdom. In gratitude to his conductors, he changed the name of the place into *Ægea*, and called his people *Ægeates*; he likewise made use of a goat in his standard, in order to perpetuate the memory of this extraordinary event. *Telegonus* the son of *Astriopæus*, the friend of *Priam* and one of the heroes in the *Trojan* war, governed *Pæonia*, and other little princes the several regions of which *Macedonia* is composed ^c. *Caranus* subdued by degrees such of his neighbours as were inferior to him in force, and added their dominions to his own, laying by this means the foundation of that kingdom which his successors afterwards raised to such splendor. *Pausanias* has recorded an exploit performed by this prince, which deserves consideration, inasmuch as it confirms what we have said before, and shews also how maxims come to be established in particular kingdoms. *Caranus*, among

^a p. 47.
cap. 6.

^b Hist. lib. i. cap. 6.

^c Justin. Hist. lib. ii.

Year of
the Flood,
2205.
Before
Christ,
794.
Cænus.

other princes against whom he turned his arms, attacked *Cissæus* the sovereign of a small territory south of the new kingdom *Ægæa*, and conquered his country ;^a whereupon, according to the custom of the *Argives*, *Caranus* erected a trophy ; but a lion, coming out of a forest in the neighbourhood of *Olympus*, destroyed it ; of which the conqueror being informed, understood it as a caution from the gods not to irritate his barbarous neighbours by erecting monuments to their shame ; whence he made it a rule to himself, and left it as an inviolable maxim of state to his successors, never to treat any vanquished people as enemies, but to receive them immediately into their protection, as if they had been born their subjects^d. Chronologers are by no means agreed as to the beginning of this prince's reign ; but, after considering what has been offered on all hands, and comparing the conjectures of the learned in this science with the facts mentioned by antient historians, the most probable opinion seems to be, that he founded this kingdom about seventeen years before the first olympiad, that is to say, about the year specified in the margin, according to the tables of the judicious archbishop *Usher*^e.

Thurymas.

To *Caranus* succeeded his son *Cænus*, of whom we know very little more, than that his mother was the daughter of one *Cnopis* a *Colchian*, who on some account or other came into *Macedonia*, and lived with *Caranus*, who married his daughter ; this *Cænus* began his reign in the last year of the third olympiad, and having governed twenty eight years as well as his father, he left his throne to *Thurymas* or *Thurimas* his son^f.

Thurymas, *Thurimas*, or *Thyrmas*, succeeded to the *Macedonian* throne about the eleventh olympiad. As to the particulars of his reign, we are totally in the dark, no antient author having recorded any thing about it. In order, however, to give the reader some idea of the time in which this *Macedonian* prince swayed with so little noise the sceptre of his fathers, it may not be amiss to take notice of some few remarkable things which fell out in his days in the neighbouring parts of the world. He was contemporary with *Abaz* and *Hezekiah* kings of *Judah* ; in the eighteenth year of his reign *Salmanazar* carried away captive the ten tribes of *Israel*. In his twentieth year *Candaules* king of *Lydia* was slain by *Gyges* his servant, and thereby the race of *Hercules*

^a PAUSAN. l. ix. SCALIGER. ad Euseb. p. 47. Can. Isagog. lib. ii. p. 103. lib. iii. p. 33. ^e USSER. ad A. I. P. 3920. ^f HELVIC. Theatr. Chron. p. 51.

dispossest of that kingdom. About the same time the famous *Sethos* began his reign in *Egypt*. In the twenty-ninth year of *Thurymas*'s administration, *Dejoces* erected the monarchy of the *Medes*. *Rome*, which had been founded in the days of his father *Cænus*, had during his life its two first kings *Romulus* and *Numa*. After possessing the crown of *Macedon* forty five years, he transmitted it to his son *Perdiccas*⁸.

Perdiccas the first began his reign in the twenty second Olympiad, a monarch of great parts, and happy in his fortune; he extended his dominions at the expence of his neighbours, and did so many great things, that, like most other heroes, the light of his glory hath received some diminution from the shade of fiction which hath followed it¹. When full of years, he is said to have shewn his son the place where he desired to be buried, and where he likewise exhorted him to order his own body to be laid, and those of his posterity, signifying at the same time, that till this custom was abolished, there should not want one of his line to sit upon the throne; and some have been superstitious enough to imagine, that this prediction was fulfilled on the interring of *Alexander the Great*'s body elsewhere¹. *Herodotus* hath recorded many things which have indeed the air of fable in relation to this prince; but as it is fit the reader should be acquainted with them, they are placed below in a note (A).

Argæus

⁸ *Usser.* ad. A. I. P. 3966. ¹ *Herodot.* l. viii. ¹ *Justin.* lib vii. cap. 2.

(A) The relation of *Herodotus* runs thus: “ *Perdiccas* obtained the monarchy of *Macedonia* in the following manner; *Gavanes*, *Æropus*, and *Perdiccas*, three brothers, descendants of *Temenus*, fled from *Argos* to *Illyria*, and from thence passing into the upper *Macedonia*, arrived in the city of *Libæa*, where they entered into the king's service for wages. One of them had the care of his horses, another of his oxen, and *Perdiccas*, who was the youngest, kept the lesser cattle; for in antient time, not only the people, but monarchs too, had little wealth. And as the wife of this king made their bread, she constantly perceived that of *Perdiccas* encreased to double the quantity of the rest; which when she had long observed, she acquainted her husband with what she had seen. The king having heard, and taking the thing for a prodigy, portending some considerable event, sent for the brothers, and commanded them to depart out of his territories. They answered, that in justice they ought to receive their salaries, and then they would readily go. But the king hearing them mention their salary, and at the same time seeing

“ the

VOL. VII. 4 E

Argæus.

Argæus the son of *Perdiccas* succeeded his father about the thirty fourth olympiad ; he was a prince of great affability and goodness, whereby he gained the love of his people, and governed with much tranquillity and applause. In his time the *Illyrians*, a fierce and barbarous nation, invaded the *Macedonians*, and did them considerable mischief ; but *Argæus*, who was a wise and valiant, as well as a mild and peaceable prince, put himself at the head of his troops in order to oppose them ; and having, by a stratagem, drawn them into his power, he fell upon them, and put them to the sword with great effusion of blood. In the last year of his life he was contemporary with *Ancus Martius* king of *Rome*, and having then enjoyed the royal sceptre thirty two years, he died, and left the kingdom to *Philip* ^k.

^k HERODOT. ubi supra. JUSTIN. ubi supra

“ the sun shining through the chimney into the house, blasphemously said, *This I give you as a sufficient reward of your service*,
 “ pointing to the sun as he pronounced these words. *Gavanes*
 “ and *Æropus* the elder brothers stood amazed at his discourse ;
 “ but the youngest answering, *We accept thy offer, O king*, took out a
 “ sword which he happened to have about him ; and having drawn
 “ a circle upon the floor, round the brightness made three several motions to put up the light of the sun into his bosom, and
 “ then departed with his brothers. After their departure, one of
 “ those that were present, told the king what the youth had done,
 “ and that being the youngest, he must have had some design in
 “ accepting his offer : Which when the king heard, he fell into a
 “ great rage, and sent away men on horseback, with orders to
 “ pursue and kill the brothers. In this country is a river, to
 “ which the descendants of these *Argians* sacrifice in commemoration of their deliverance, because they had no sooner passed
 “ than the streams ran so high and with such violence, that the
 “ horsemen could not possibly get over. The *Temenides* thus escaping went to inhabit, in another country of *Macedonia*, near
 “ the gardens that are said to have belonged to *Midas* the son of
 “ *Gordias*, where roses of sixty leaves each, and of a more fragrant scent than any other, grow naturally without any cultivation. If we may believe the *Macedonians*, *Silenus* was taken in
 “ these gardens, which are sheltered by a mountain called *Bermion*, inaccessible in winter. Here they began their first enterprises ; and after they had reduced these parts, they reduced
 “ the rest of *Macedonia* (1).

(1) *Herodot. Hist. lib. vi.*

Philip

Philip the first became king of *Macedon* about the entrance Philip I. of the forty second olympiad; he was a very good, as well as very valiant monarch; but, as to the transactions of his reign, there is little or nothing recorded about them, farther than that he fought with great courage in defence of himself and his people against the *Illyrians*, by whom he was slain in battle, and so left the crown to his son, an infant in his cradle¹.

Æropas became king of *Macedon*, about the beginning of *Æropas*. the fifty first olympiad, at which time the *Thracians* and *Illyrians* ravaged all his country, and were continually successful in their battles against his subjects, till the *Macedonians*, enraged by the misfortunes they had suffered, and superstitiously conceiving that they could never fight successfully but under the auspice of their king, caused the young *Æropas* to be carried into the midst of the battle in his cradle; and, either encouraged by the presence of their infant prince, or disdainingly to leave a child in danger, they fought with such obstinate resolution, that they intirely defeated the *Illyrians*, and obliged them to retire. What were the future fortunes of a prince so prosperous in his infancy, no ancient historian has told us; and therefore we can only say, that, after ruling *Macedon* forty two years, he yielded to fate, and left his dominions to his son^m.

Alcetas began his reign over *Macedon* at a time when the *Alcetas*: several states of *Greece* exerted their increasing power, and sought to extend their fame and their dominion both by sea and land; when the affairs of *Asia* and the whole east were strangely altered by the fall of the *Assyrian* empire, and the conjunction of the *Persian* and *Median* power in the person of the great *Cyrus*; and when the petty princes in his neighbourhood began to feel the effects of the *Greek* power on the one side, and of this new-erected empire on the other, what precautions this king of *Macedon* took, either to preserve his own dominions from insults, or to extend their boundaries by subduing his neighbours, is not to be distinguished in the *Greek* histories now extant; but, if we may conjecture from what they relate of the transactions happening in his son's time, it will appear most probable that he contented himself with the kingdom left him by his ancestors, and fought rather to preserve that in peace, than to run the hazard of war through an ambitious desire to encrease itⁿ.

Amyntas saw the power of the *Persian* empire encrease *Amyntas*. daily; for a while the ambitious views of *Cambyses* and *Da-*

¹ JUSTIN ubi supra. ^m JUSTIN. ubi supra. ⁿ JUSTIN. ubi supra.

rius were either directed another way, or checked by seditions at home; but after the reduction of *Babylon*, *Darius*, either envying the power of the *Scythians*, who some time before had made themselves lords of *Asia*, or being incensed against king *Iancyrus* for refusing him his daughter in marriage, he determined to march with a prodigious army into that country, and utterly to destroy the people; accordingly having drawn together, as some authors report, an army of seven hundred thousand men, he caused a bridge to be laid over the *Bosphorus* whereon his army passed over from *Asia* to *Europe*, himself, however, going by sea; then he gave instruction to the *Ionians*, and other his subjects, to sail to the mouth of the river *Ister*, over which they were commanded to lay a bridge; which having passed, he gave them leave, after waiting for him sixty days, if he returned not in that time, to retire back again into their own country*. While the *Persian* emperor and all his mighty army were wandering about the deserts of *Scythia*, sometimes having an enemy in sight, and yet seeing nothing which might give them to believe the country, in which they travelled, was inhabited at all; the *Ionians*, with the rest of the nations who were left to guard the bridge over the *Ister*, were consulting among themselves, whether they should still remain there in expectation of the *Persians*, or whether, breaking up the bridge, they should leave *Darius* and his army to perish by want, and by the arms of his enemies.

THE *Scythians* strongly solicited them to return into their own country, and the famous *Miltiades*, at that time prince of the *Chersonese*, conjured them not to lose so fair an opportunity of delivering themselves from the *Persian* yoke. But *Histiæus*, tyrant of *Miletus*, a city of *Ionian*, considering with himself, that, the *Persian* power destroyed, he should no longer be able to keep his city in subjection, took pains to possess the other reguli or petty kings, who were present, with the same notion, and so drew them all to concur with him in remaining firm to the interest of *Darius*. That the *Scythians*, however, might be pacified, and give them no disturbance, he advised them to break up so much of the bridge as was within bow-shot of their coast; which when they began to do, the *Scythians*, conceiving that they had gained their purpose, immediately quitted the shore, and went in pursuit of *Darius*. The sixty days being expired, that prince made all the haste he could to the banks of the *Ister*, fearing that the bridge was broken, and that he and

* HERODOT. lib. iv. STRAB. Geogr. lib. vi.

his army should find no passage ; but when they had reached it, and, as their custom was, set up a great shout, to give notice of their arrival, *Histiæus* instantly brought together the vessels which had been taken away, and so the army passed over into *Thrace*, from whence *Darius*, with the far greater part of it, made all the haste he could into *Asia* ^P.

To conceal, however, the want of success in this expedition as much as the thing would allow, he left behind him *Megabyzus* in *Europe* with an army of eighty thousand men, giving him orders to reduce all the neighbouring nations. In pursuance of these instructions he sent seven of the principal commanders of his army into *Macedonia*, to require *Amyntas* to acknowledge king *Darius*. *Herodotus* has preserved to us a very exact account of this negotiation ; we are of opinion, that the reader will not be displeased in having it as near as may be in his own words. When the *Persians* arrived in *Macedon*, they went and demanded earth and water in the name of *Darius*. *Amyntas* not only gave them what they required, but received them for his guests ; and, having prepared a magnificent feast, entertained them with great humanity. But, as the *Persians* were beginning to drink after supper, “ *Macedonian* friend, (said they) when we
“ make a great feast in *Persia*, our manner is to bring in
“ our concubines and young women to the company ; and
“ therefore, since you have received us so affectionately,
“ treated us with such magnificence, and owned king *Da-*
“ *rius* by the delivery of earth and water, we invite you to
“ imitate our custom.” *Amyntas* answered, “ The man-
“ ner of our country is quite different ; for we keep our
“ women separated from our men ; Nevertheless, because
“ you are our masters, and require their attendance, we
“ will do as you desire.” Having finished these words, he sent for the women, who, coming in as they were ordered, placed themselves on the other side of the table opposite to the *Persians*. But when they saw the women were very beautiful, the *Persians* told *Amyntas* that they were not placed with discretion ; and that he would have done better not to send for them at all, than to let them sit at that distance only to offend their eyes. Upon this *Amyntas*, compelled by necessity, ordered the women to sit down among the men : Which when they had done, the *Persians*, when full of wine, began to handle their breasts ; and some would have proceeded to kisses. These actions *Amyntas* saw with indignation ; yet seemed unconcerned, because he was afraid of the *Per-*

^P HERODOT. ubi supra. JUSTIN. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 6.

sian power. But his son *Alexander*, who was present, and observed the same thing, being a young man, and unacquainted with adversity, was no longer able to endure their insolence; and therefore said to *Amyntas*: “Father, consider your age; and, leaving the company, retire to your rest. I will stay here, and furnish these strangers with all things necessary.” *Amyntas* perceiving that *Alexander* had some rash design to put in execution, “Son, (said he) I pretty well discern by thy words, that thou art angry, and art resolved to attempt some imprudent action in my absence. I charge thee therefore to do nothing against these men, that may turn to our disadvantage: But be contented to observe their actions with patience; and, for my own part, I will comply and retire.” When *Amyntas* had given him this counsel, and was gone out, *Alexander* spoke to the *Persians* in these terms: “Friends (said he) these women are at your command: You may lie with all, or as many of them as please you best; and therefore I desire you to declare your intentions with freedom: For I see you are inclined to sleep, and abundantly replenished with wine. Only permit them, if you think fit, to go out to bathe: and in a little time you may expect their return.” The *Persians* applauded this proposal, and *Alexander* sending away the women, ordered them to their own apartment: And having dressed a like number of smooth young men in the habit of women, he furnished every one with a ponyard, and introducing them to the *Persians* said, “We have treated you with all manner of variety: We have given you not only all we had, but whatever we could procure: And, which is more than all the rest, we have not denied you our matrons and daughters to complete your entertainment, you may be abundantly persuaded we have paid you all the honours you deserve; and, at your return, may acquaint the king who sent you, that a *Grecian* prince of *Macedonia* gave you a good reception both at table and bed.” Having thus spoken, *Alexander* placed at the seat of every *Persian* a young *Macedonian* in the disguise of a woman; who, when the *Persians* attempted to caress them, immediately dispatched all the seven. This was the fate of these *Persians* and of their attendants, who together with the chariots and all the baggage presently disappeared^a.

Megabyzus hearing nothing of the messengers he had sent into *Macedonia*, and disdaining to march against so poor a

^a HERODOT. lib. iv. cap. 34, 35.

kingdom himself, sent thither *Bubaris* one of his principal officers with a considerable body of troops, instructing him, as soon as he entered the frontiers of *Macedon*, to send for *Amyntas*, and make a strict inquisition after the embassadors sent him before. This had certainly been the ruin of the *Macedonian* kingdom in the house of *Caranus*, if *Alexander*, who had been the author of the death of the *Persians*, had not likewise contrived a method how to pacify *Eubaris*; in order to this, he went directly to confer with him as soon as he entered the country, carrying with him *Gygæa* his sister, a very beautiful woman; with whom *Bubaris* became so much in love, that for the sake of obtaining her for a wife, he adjusted all things to the satisfaction of *Amyntas*. Thenceforward the kings of *Macedon* became dependent on the *Persian* emperors, but were always regarded as faithful allies, and therefore worthy of good usage and esteem^r. It fell out in the reign of *Amyntas*, that *Athens* recovered her liberty, by expelling *Hippias* the son of *Pisistratus*, who had assumed the sovereignty. This exiled prince the king of *Macedon* (or his son) offered a retreat in his dominions, and the revenues of the city *Authymus* for his support; but *Hippias* thought fit to refuse this favour, as he did also an offer of the same sort from the *Thessalians*, who would have given him the city of *Iolchus*, chusing to retire first to *Sigeum*, and afterwards to *Darius*^s.

MANY circumstances about this time concurred to influence the *Persian* emperor with a desire of making war with the *Greeks*; the *Athenians*, without staying till any injuries were offered them, sent a fleet to the assistance of the *Ionians*, who had revolted from *Darius*, merely because he had given a kind reception to *Hippias*; while that tyrant used all the eloquence, of which he was master, to persuade *Darius* to restore him to the sovereignty of *Athens*; in which he at last prevailed, for, the rebellion in *Ionia* being suppressed, the great king determined to send *Mardonius* to chastise the *Athenians*, and to put *Hippias* again in possession of the sovereignty he had usurped. This general, having crossed the *Hellepont*, marched with his land-forces into *Macedonia*, which as *Herodotus* tells us, he added to the *Persian* dominions: but this must be understood in a restrained sense; for it is universally agreed, that the *Persians* did never deprive *Amyntas* or any of his posterity of the kingdom, but on the contrary treated them always with kindness and respect.

^r HERODOT. ubi supra. JUSTIN. ubi supra.

^s PAUSAN.

ⁿ Lacon.

While *Mardonius* lay here, the *Persian* fleet endeavouring to double the cape of mount *Athos*, was surprized by a storm, which drove more than half the ships ashore, whereby there perished no less than twenty thousand men. Nor did the land-army escape all misfortunes in these quarters; for the *Bryges*, a bold and barbarous people of *Thrace*, suddenly attacked *Mardonius* and his army in the night, with such advantage, that they slaughtered a great number of his men, and wounded himself, which provoked him so much, that he quickly made their country the scene of war, and reduced them under the *Persian* yoke. After which, and some other inconsiderable conquests on the north and north-west of *Macedon*, he marched back into *Asia*. Spurred on rather than checked by these disappointments, *Darius* still meditated the destruction of *Greece*; in order to which, he sent a new army, under the command of *Datis* a *Median* and *Artaphernes* the son of his brother, with whom went *Hippias*, who conducted them to the plains of *Marathon*, where they were shamefully defeated by *Miltiades* at the head of the *Athenian* army. Even this misfortune could not cure *Darius* of the malice he had conceived against the *Greeks*; on the contrary, it heightened and inflamed it; he ordered new preparations to be made for war throughout all his wide dominions, and especially directed all the *Greeks*, who were tributary to him, to provide ships and men, which gave the *Macedonians* an opportunity of exerting themselves with uncommon diligence, and thereby meriting the favour of their masters. But while these things were doing, *Egypt* revolted, against which *Darius* finding it necessary to march in person, he appointed *Xerxes* his successor, not long after which he died, without seeing either the *Egyptian* or *Grecian* war so much as begun[†].

Xerxes, pursuing the schemes of his father notwithstanding the remonstrances of the wisest men about him, determined on a war with *Greece*; but previous to his grand expedition, he resolved to cause two things to be performed, which might strike his enemies with terror, and thereby induce submission without the expence of blood; these were the cutting a canal or passage for his ships through the isthmus, joining mount *Athos* to the continent, which was twelve furlongs, or a mile and a half broad; the other erecting a bridge cross the *Hellepont*, where the sea was about a mile broad. The first of these enterprizes was committed to the care of *Bubaris* and *Artachæus*, and as soon as all things were ready, the great

[†] HERODOT. lib. v.

king marched with his prodigious host into *Macedonia*, his fleet being also stationed on this coast. The diligence and fidelity of *Amyntas*, his son *Alexander*, and their subjects, appeared in so fair a light to the *Persians*, especially through the representation of *Bubaris* who had married *Alexander's* sister, that he thought fit to add to the *Macedonian* kingdom the country lying near the mountains *Hæmus* and *Olympus*; at the same time *Amyntas* the nephew of *Alexander* obtained the city of *Alabanda* in *Phrygia*. It would be foreign to our purpose, should we enter here into a long detail of what happened in the famous war carried on at this time by the *Persian* emperor against the *Greeks*; we shall therefore take notice only of such points as immediately concern the princes whose history we are writing. When the *Greeks* first heard of *Xerxes's* invasion, they had thoughts of sending a body of forces into *Thessaly* in order to check him there, and to prevent his easy entrance into *Greece*; but the *Alluade*, princes of *Thessaly*, and *Alexander* of *Macedon* adhering to the *Persian* interest, the *Greeks* were constrained to abandon this scheme, and content themselves with disputing the passage at *Thermopylæ*. After the battle of *Salamis*, in which the mighty fleet of *Xerxes* was beaten in his fight by that of the *Athenians* and their confederates, and the hasty retreat of *Xerxes*, on a supposition that the *Greeks* would attempt the ruin of his bridge over the *Hellepont*, *Mardonius*, was left with an army of four hundred thousand men, to try if he could conquer the *Greeks* by land, whom his master had found invincible by sea. This *Mardonius* was an accomplished courtier, one who sought to accommodate himself to his prince's humour, and to preserve himself in honour and power by giving pleasing counsels; this man had been a principal instrument in supporting *Xerxes* in this destructive scheme, and therefore, to avoid the odium and punishment due to that offence, he had promised the performance of mighty things, provided the command of the army was given to him. As soon as *Xerxes* was gone, he sent for the principal persons of the adjacent countries, to whom he represented what a mighty confidence the great king reposed in them, and exhorted them, by their zeal on this occasion in bringing troops to join his army, to demonstrate their being worthy of the friendship of the great king. This made such an impression on the *Macedonians* and the rest, that, exerting themselves to the utmost, they in a short time augmented the *Persian* army with two hundred thousand men. However, the city of *Potidea* in *Macedonia*, in the midst of these preparations, ab-

olutely refused to send any succours to the *Persians*; but on the contrary declared for their enemies the confederate states of *Greece*; with these the *Pellenians* joined, and the *Olynthians* shewed some inclination to increase the defection, which began now to become formidable to the *Persian* power. *Mardonius*, that he might as soon as possible put a stop to this evil, detached *Artabazus* at the head of sixty thousand men to reduce these rebels. Against the *Olynthians* and *Pellenians* this commander was very successful, but the *Potideans* gave him a very great deal of trouble; it is highly likely that the inhabitants of this place being free, and subsisting chiefly by their traffic with the *Greeks*, were better disciplined, and consequently more capable of defending themselves against the *Persians*. At first *Artabazus* contented himself with blocking up *Potidea*, because he at the same time besieged the city of *Olynthus*, then inhabited by the *Bottiæans*, who had been driven out of the coast of the bay of *Therma* by the *Macedonians*. But after the taking of this city, and putting most of the inhabitants thereof to death, he came with his whole army before *Potidea*, and entered in earnest on the siege. How strong soever the place might be, and whatever valour its citizens might exert, it narrowly escaped the fate of *Olynthus*; for *Timoxenus* the commander of the *Scyonæans* entered into a conspiracy to betray the city; the manner in which he carried on his correspondence with *Artabazus* was, by putting a letter into the head of an arrow, afterwards affixing the feathers, and then shooting it to a certain place. But *Artabazus* having the misfortune to shoot when the people were about the place, it so happened, that his arrow struck into the shoulder of one of the *Potideans*; upon this several gathered about him, and drawing out the arrow, the letter was discovered, and thereby the conspiracy defeated. But this was not the only misfortune; after *Artabazus* had continued the siege three months, the sea broke into his camp, upon which he raised the siege, and marched as expeditiously as he could to *Pellene*; but before they had reached half way to that city, the waters overtook them, and, what was no less fatal, the *Potideans* in their boats, so that such as could not swim were drowned, and such as could were slain by the enemy; only, *Mardonius* lying in *Thessaly*, *Artabazus* found means to march the small remainder of his army, which had taken the higher road to his camp, and thereby finished this unfortunate expedition, which inasmuch as *Potidea* is a city of *Macedon*, fell properly within this section of our history *.

* HERODOT. lib. vii.

IN the beginning of the spring, *Mardonius* sent one *Mus* of *European* extraction to consult the most famous oracles on the present state of affairs. At his return, he took a sudden resolution of treating with the *Athenians*, whom he justly looked on as the most dangerous enemy his master had. In order to negotiate a separate peace with them, and thereby weaken the force of *Greece*, he made choice of *Alexander*, the son of *Amyntas*, king of *Macedonia*, to be his ambassador. What were the motives that determined him to this are not very exactly recorded; but it is not difficult to discover them with some degree of certainty. *Alexander* was a prince of great genius, strictly allied to the *Persians*, and at the same time not a little esteemed by the *Greeks*; for he, when a very young man, being present at the olympic games, and challenged there as a barbarian who had no right to assist, had proved himself by descent an *Argive*, on which being admitted, not only to see, but to strive, he carried off the prize, and had the honour to be victor. When he came to *Athens*, that wise and then virtuous people, though they received him with great hospitality and kindness, yet they delayed giving him audience, till the *Lacedæmonian* ambassadors arrived. Then in a solemn assembly, he was permitted to speak freely, and to acquaint them with the propositions with which he was entrusted by *Mardonius*. *Herodotus* having given us the speech which he made on this occasion, the reader will probably be well pleased to see it in the words of that author; whose harangues are not the least admired parts of his work. “ Men
“ of *Athens*, *Mardonius* has sent me to tell you, that he has
“ received a message from the king containing these words :
“ I forgive the *Athenians* all the injuries they have done
“ me ; and therefore, *Mardonius*, observe the following
“ orders : Reinstate them in the possession of their own
“ territories ; give them moreover whatever other country
“ they shall chuse ; let them govern by their own laws, and
“ rebuild all their temples which I have burnt, if they will come
“ to an agreement with me. Having received these orders,
“ I am obliged to put them in execution, unless you prevent me : And now I myself would ask you, What
“ madness pushes you on to make war against a king you
“ will never conquer, nor always be able to resist ? You are
“ not ignorant of the numerous forces and great actions of
“ *Xerxes* ; you have heard of the army I have, and if you
“ should happen to be victorious, and to defeat us, which
“ you can never hope so long as you have the use of reason,

“ another much more powerful will come against you. Suf-
 “ fer not yourselves then to be dispossessed of your country,
 “ and continually alarmed for your own lives, by measur-
 “ ing your strength with the king ; but be reconciled to him,
 “ since you have now so favourable an opportunity in your
 “ hands from the present disposition of *Xerxes*. Enter
 “ therefore into an alliance with us, sincerely and without
 “ fraud, and continue to be a free people. These, O
 “ *Athenians*, are the words which *Mardonius* ordered me
 “ to say to you : For my own part, I shall not mention my
 “ constant affection to your state, because you have had suffi-
 “ cient proof of that in former time : I beseech you then,
 “ hearken to the counsel of *Mardonius* ; for I see you will
 “ not be always able to make war against *Xerxes*. Had I
 “ not known this, I should never have undertaken to
 “ bring you this message ; but the king’s power is incom-
 “ parably greater than that of all other mortals, and his
 “ reach so extensive, that, unless you immediately accept
 “ the favourable conditions he offers, I dread the consequen-
 “ ces to you, who lying in the way of danger more than
 “ any other of the confederates, and possessing a country
 “ placed as a prize between the contending parties, must be
 “ always most exposed to ruin. Let these reasons prevail with
 “ you, and consider the important advantages you will re-
 “ ceive, if the great king forgives you alone among all the
 “ *Grecians*, and becomes your friend”. The *Lacedæmoni-
 ans*, in answer to the arguments offered by *Alexander*, in-
 sisted, *First*, on the dishonour which the *Athenians* would
 sustain, if they made a separate peace with the common ene-
 my : *Secondly*, they took notice, that the commencement
 of this war was wholly owing to the *Athenians*, in whose
 cause the other confederate states had armed : *Thirdly*, they
 promised, that the allies would provide for the subsistence of
 the *Athenian* women, and such as were unable to bear arms
 as long as the war continued : *Lastly*, they let fall some bit-
 ter expressions in regard to the ambassador himself. “ Be
 “ not therefore (said they) seduced by the delusive colours
 “ which *Alexander* the *Macedonian* has put upon the words
 “ of *Mardonius*. He acts in conformity to his condition ;
 “ he helps the tyrant, because he is a tyrant himself. But
 “ you ought to act in another manner, if you judge rightly,
 “ because you know the *Barbarians* have no regard either
 “ to truth or justice”. The *Athenians* acted as became
 them on this occasion, they told *Alexander*, “ They were
 “ sensible, that the power of the *Medes* was far superior to
 “ theirs ; but that liberty was to be defended against any
 “ force,

“ force, bidding him therefore tell *Mardonius*, that they
 “ would never make peace with his master as long as the
 “ sun continued his course, adding by way of caution to
 “ the ambassador himself ; Appear no more in the presence
 “ of the *Athenians* with such messages, nor exhort us to
 “ detestable actions under colour of doing us good offices ;
 “ for we are unwilling to use methods that may be uneasy
 “ to you, who are our friend, and engaged with us in a
 “ reciprocal hospitality”. *Alexander*, having received his
 answer, returned to *Mardonius*, who, when he found that
 the *Athenians* would not hear of a treaty, immediately de-
 termined to march his mighty army into their country, and
 destroy *Athens* a second time*. Having performed this, and
 gratified his revenge, he quitted *Attica* and marched into
Bœotia, because, being a champain country, it was more
 proper for his horse. Here he encamped on the banks of
 the river *Asopus*. The confederate states of *Greece*, having
 drawn together their army, marched towards the enemy, and
 encamped over against them in the neighbourhood of mount
Cithæron. For some time the armies looked upon each o-
 ther, neither of them caring to act offensively, it having been
 declared by such as inspected the sacrifices, that the victory
 would be on that side that should be attacked. *Mardonius*,
 at length growing weary of this lingering kind of war, where-
 by they were reduced to the want both of provisions and
 of forage, resolved, against the opinions of *Artabazus* and
 the *Thebans* to fight the *Greeks*. Having one day discovered his
 opinion, and ordered all things to be disposed for the attack
 early in the morning, *Alexander* of *Macedonia*, when the
 night was far spent, mounting on horse-back, advanced to
 the *Athenian* guard, desiring to speak with their leaders,
 whom he named distinctly : Notice being given them, they
 came immediately to the barrier ; then *Alexander* addressed
 himself to them in these terms : “ I come to deposit a
 “ secret with you, O *Athenians*, on condition you will con-
 “ ceal it from all men, except only *Pausanias*, lest you
 “ should ruin me. I would not make this discovery to you,
 “ if I were not extremely concerned for the safety of *Greece* ;
 “ and, being myself of *Grecian* original, were not very un-
 “ willing to see the liberty of *Greece* oppressed. Know
 “ then, that *Mardonius*, would have fought long before this
 “ time, if the sacrifices offered for him and his army had
 “ been found favourable ; but now he has taken a reso-

* HERODOT, lib. viii. JUSTIN lib. ii. DIONOR. SICUL.
lib. xi.

“ lution to have no regard to the sacrifices, and to attack
 “ you at the break of day ; fearing, as I conjecture, that
 “ more forces may come in to your succour. Be there-
 “ fore in readiness to receive him. But if *Mardonius* should
 “ defer the execution of his purpose, and not come to a
 “ battle, continue in your camp ; for his provisions are not
 “ sufficient to last many days. And if this war terminates happily
 “ on your side, some of you ought to remember me ; who,
 “ for the sake of the *Grecians*, and out of a desire to pre-
 “ serve their liberty, have voluntarily undertaken so danger-
 “ ous an enterprize, and acquainted you with the intenti-
 “ ons of *Mardonius* ; to the end, that the *Barbarians* may
 “ not surprize you, and fall upon your forces before you
 “ are prepared to receive them”. Of this advice the *Greeks*
 made great use, and no doubt retained a grateful sense of
Alexander’s favour. Not long after a decisive battle was
 fought, in which *Mardonius* was slain, and his prodigious
 army cut to pieces, excepting only a body of forty thousand
 men commanded by *Artabazus*, who retired as soon as he
 saw that victory declared against him. With these he passed
 safely, though with great haste, thro’ *Thessaly* and *Macedon*,
 dissembling the defeat which the *Persians* had received, and
 affirming that *Mardonius* with the gross of the army was
 marching after him †. The subsequent actions of *Alexander’s*
 life are most of them covered with oblivion, because we have
 no antient writer left, who treats expressly of the *Macedo-
 nian* affairs before the time of *Philip*, and therefore we are
 forced to join such circumstances from general historians as
 regard that people, in order to fill up, as well as we may,
 that obscure period, between the accession of *Caranus* and
 that of the famous monarch we have before mentioned. An
 antient historian informs us, that in the beginning of the
 LXXVIIIth olympiad, the *Argives*, moved by ambition and
 a thirst of revenge, made war against the *Mycenians*, a brave
 and free people, whom by degrees they mightily distressed ;
 and at last, taking their capital city, drove them out of their
 native country and obliged them to seek habitations among
 strangers. Drawn by the fame of his generosity and virtue,
 numbers of these distressed people fled into *Macedonia* to king
Alexander, who received them with much kindness and hospi-
 tality, assigned them a region to dwell in, and thereby gained
 immortal honour to himself. As he was extremely useful to
 the *Persians*, so we need not question that he took the ne-

† HERODOT. lib. ix PLUT. in vit. Arisid.

cessary measures in order to make them useful to him, by procuring from time to time, as their circumstances would allow, such additions to his dominions, as made him before his death a great and formidable prince. But, however, extended his territories might be, his soul was yet superior to his fortune; he lived with such magnificence, made such noble presents to the oracles, and gave on all occasions such testimonies of generosity and munificence, that he was by the *Greeks* surnamed *the rich*, and is always very respectfully spoken of by their authors. He had three sons, *Perdiccas*, *Alcetas* and *Philip*; the first succeeded to his throne, but the latter kept up for a long time a claim thereto, and thereby created great disturbances in their native country ².

Perdiccas the son of *Alexander*, in the very beginning of his reign, discovered such prudence and forecast as seemed to demonstrate, that he succeeded to his father's abilities as well as to his dominions; he found himself environed on all hands either by open enemies or suspicious friends. The inhabitants of *Thrace*, and other barbarous nations, looked on his increasing kingdom with an envious eye; the *Persians* treated him as their vassal, and, on the other hand, the *Athenians* became so powerful by their colonies and allies on the sea-coast, that he was in no small danger from them. A while he amused them with a shew of friendship; but when he found, that they treated him with an air of superiority and haughtiness, he resolved to check their progress in this part of the world, nor did he long want an occasion. The city of *Epidamnus* or *Epidamnium*, being alike distracted by seditions at home and terrified with the approach of foreign enemies, was in the utmost distress; the weaker party had called the *Illyrians* to their assistance, by which the government was brought so low, that they sent first to the *Corcyrians*, after to the *Corinthians*, for aid; they being a colony immediately from the former, who were themselves a colony of the latter. The *Corinthians* sent relief to *Epidamnium*, which the *Corcyrians* resented and sent a fleet on the coast of *Macedonia*, in order to compel the *Epidamnians* to submit to such terms as they were pleased to prescribe them. Thus a war was begun between the two states, in which the *Corcyrians* had the better in the beginning; for they beat the *Corinthians* by sea, and took the city of *Epidamnium* by

Perdiccas
I.

² HERODOT. lib. ix. THUCYD. lib. ii. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xi. PAUSAN.

storm. The *Athenians*, also took part in this business, and assisted the *Corcyrians*; whereupon the *Corinthians* tampered with the city of *Potidea* to revolt from *Athens*, at the same time that king *Perdiccas* declared himself against that state, and persuaded the *Chalcidians* to abandon their sea-ports, and to inhabit and fortify the city of *Olynthus*. The *Athenians*, highly provoked at these proceedings, determined to revenge themselves on those who had deserted them, and especially on king *Perdiccas*, whom they looked upon as the principal author; to which end, they sent *Agnon* with a fleet and a considerable army on board it to besiege *Potidea*, and to reduce the *Chalcidians*; but the plague infecting his army, he was able to effect little, and therefore sailed quickly back to *Athens*, leaving *Potidea* as he found it, blocked up by a small army the *Athenians* had there before. By the end of the winter the *Potideans*, finding themselves reduced to the utmost extremity, insomuch, that they had been obliged to eat one another, treated with *Xenophon*, *Hestiodorus*, and *Calimachus*, the *Athenian* generals, to render the place on honourable terms, which were granted them, so that they had leave to depart with their wives and children, every man having one suit of cloaths, and every woman two, with a small sum of money to bear their charges into *Chalcidia*, and other places whither they thought fit to retire^a. The next year the *Athenians* under the command of *Xenophon*, made war against the *Chalcidians*, but with ill success. *Perdiccas* in the mean time, foreseeing that in the end the *Athenians* would be too powerful for him, endeavoured to reconcile himself to that state, or rather make a shew of reconciliation, in which he was assisted by *Sitalces* king of *Thrace*, a very potent prince, and one who sought to augment his dominions at the expence of his neighbours. But how artfully soever the *Macedonian* managed his affairs, the *Athenians* suspected him anew, and *Sitalces*, took umbrage at his behaviour. The *Athenian* ambassadors, then at the *Thracian* court, solicited this king to make war upon *Perdiccas*, and exalt *Amyntas* the son of *Philip* his brother to the throne of *Macedon*, into which project *Sitalces* was easily drawn. That the invasion might be attended with all imaginable success, the several nations of *Thrace* and all its allies were invited to contribute their quotas to the war, which in hopes of plunder they readily did; the *Athenians* also promising to send a strong fleet with a considerable number of land-forces on board. *Sitalces*, taking with him the embas-

^a Thucyd. lib. ii. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xii.



sadors and young *Amyntas*, entered *Macedon* at the head of 150,000 men, two-thirds foot and one cavalry. *Perdiccas*, knowing it was impossible for him to make any resistance in the field against so great an army, withdrew his forces into strong towns, that he might spin out the war into the greater length. At first *Sitalces* went on as prosperously as he could with; for the principal cities in that territory, which formerly belonged to *Philip*, readily yielded to his son; *Mygdonia*, *Grestonia*, and *Anthemus* he wasted without opposition; *Europus*, however he attacked in vain, and the *Macedonian* horse, falling on him in defiles and other advantageous places, where his numbers could be of no use, did him considerable mischief; in the end, however, it appeared, that though the *Macedonian* horse were excellent, yet numbers would overpower them, and therefore *Perdiccas* would not hazard any longer his forces in these skirmishes. He found indeed an easier and safer way of getting clear of this formidable enemy; for having engaged one *Seuthes* the king's near relation in correspondence with him, he offered him his sister *Stratonica* with a vast fortune, in case he could bring about a peace. He immediately applied himself to the work with an eagerness suitable to the reward which was promised him, nor did he want very plausible topics to induce *Sitalces* to enter into the measures which were to be profitable to him. In the first place, he insisted, that the *Athenians* instead of a fleet had sent ambassadors only with inconsiderable presents, notwithstanding the war was entered into at their request, and was carried on chiefly for their advantage: He observed next, that though this war had not profited the king much, yet it had stirred up a multitude of enemies; for the *Thessalians*, not knowing what turn this war might take, were all in arms in the south, and in the north all the *Thracians*, inhabiting the plain country, with the *Panæans*, *Odomentians*, *Dreans*, and *Derjæans*, were likewise in arms, fearing this humour of conquest might lead him their way; but above all, he argued from the situation he was in, unsupported by his allies, harassed by his enemies, and already straitened for victuals, as well as pinched with cold. After eight days consideration, *Sitalces* yielded to his kinsman's arguments, and quitting the *Macedonian* territories, marched with all imaginable speed into his own. Within a short space after this, *Seuthes* had his wife given him with a large sum of ready money, and *Amyntas*, in support of whose title the war was undertaken, was left in the same melancholy state in which he was before. *Perdiccas*, being rid of this formidable

• ΤΗΕΣΤΩ. ubi supra.

enemy, retained, however, a most implacable enmity against the *Athenians*, who had stirred him up to this invasion ; he therefore privately negotiated with the *Lacedæmonians* to send an army into those parts, promising to do all in his power to drive the *Athenians* out of all their colonies and conquests in *Thrace* and *Macedon*. This was in the beginning of the eighth year of the *Peloponnesian* war, and the *Lacedæmonians*, having had lately many and great misfortunes therein, gladly accepted his offer, in hopes of retrieving the honour of their arms ; in order to which, they dispatched *Brasidas*, one of their best and bravest captains, with a well provided army to march through *Thessaly* into *Macedonia*. The *Thessalians*, when he first entered their country, were in great confusion ; they were well inclined to the *Athenians*, but had never done any thing to provoke the *Lacedæmonians*, and therefore looked upon *Brasidas*'s coming amongst them as an invasion. But this general, being a person of a very moderate temper, as well as invincible courage, entertained them with soft words, and general assurances of friendship and kindness, till he reached *Dion*, a small city in the neighbourhood of mount *Olympus*, and the first in the *Macedonian* dominions ; of which when he had given *Perdiccas* notice, that prince declared openly against the *Athenians*, and owned that he had called *Brasidas* to expel them out of his own country and *Thrace*. But there was still more at the bottom, *Perdiccas* had framed a design of subduing the *Lyncestheans*, a bold and warlike people, very troublesome to himself, as well as his ancestors ; and tho' he had given out, he sought only to protect his own dominions and the *Chalcidians*, who at his persuasion had revolted from the *Athenians* ; yet when *Brasidas* arrived, he would have immediately employed him and his forces against *Arrhibæus* king of the *Lyncestheans* ; but *Brasidas* desired to be excused, till he had sent a herald to that prince, to acquaint him of his arrival, and to demand whether he would be a friend or foe to *Sparta*. *Perdiccas* took this very ill, and could not forbear saying, that he did not send for him thither to be an arbitrator, but to fight against such enemies as he should shew him. The *Chalcidians*, however, hoping to attach *Brasidas* more strongly to themselves, commended his conduct much ; and *Arrhibæus*, laying hold of this favourable opportunity, declared himself the friend of *Sparta*, upon which *Brasidas* removed from his frontiers ; which so offended the king of *Macedon*, that whereas before he had furnished half the expences of the army, henceforward he would furnish but a third. This moderate behaviour of *Brasidas* wrought greater effects than an army twice as numerous as his could possibly have

have done, and many cities opened their gates to him, for where-ever he had an opportunity of treating, his words rendered his sword unnecessary. About this time died *Sitalces* king of the *Odryfians*, and was succeeded in all his dominions by *Seuthes* the brother-in-law of *Perdiccas*. In the winter, *Brasidas* with the confederate army blocked up *Amphipolis*, a famous city ; for the possession of which the *Athenians* and *Thracians* had struggled long, but was at present in the hand, of the former, who had also an army not far from it under the command of *Thucydides*. *Brasidas* after some time determined to attempt surprizing the place, having very good intelligence therein ; and he marched with such expedition towards it, that he had well-nigh effected what he proposed ; as it was, he put the inhabitants into such a confusion, that they sent to *Thucydides* the historian, who, as we said before, then commanded in *Thrace*, to intreat him to come to their relief. *Brasidas*, having intelligence of this, offered the townsmen their liberty, either to reside in the city under their own government, or to remove in five days, if they thought fit ; which proposition they accepted, notwithstanding all that *Eucles* the *Athenian* general, who commanded in the place, could say to prevent them. After this success, *Perdiccas* joined him, and they together made many other conquests ; after which they marched to reduce the country about mount *Athos*, which in a great measure they effected, and then turned their arms against *Torone*, a strong city in *Chalcidia*, which was still held by the *Athenians*, and which *Brasidas* surprized in the night, but without fighting. After this the campaign ended, and the *Athenians* procured a truce, designing to make use of the time afforded them thereby, to put their affairs in *Thrace* into better order, and to contrive the utter destruction of *Perdiccas*, whom they now held for their most bitter and most formidable enemy. On the other hand, *Perdiccas*, having a just idea of the situation in which his affairs stood, neglected nothing which might restore them, or tend towards establishing the *Macedonian* power so effectually, as to leave him for the future without apprehensions either of *Greeks* or barbarians ^d.

WITH this view he strongly solicited *Brasidas*, to undertake now that expedition, which he had so much pressed on his first coming into *Macedonia*, viz. against king *Arrhibarus*, which, on account of that prince's not performing his pro-

^c THUCYD. l. iii. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi. supra. ^d See TOURREIL's, Preface to DEMOST. Orations. THUCYD. ubi supra.

mises, the *Lacedæmonian* general readily yielded to. The expedition once resolved on was immediately put into execution, *Brasidas* leading his own army, and *Perdiccas* his, but with promise to act for each other's benefit, and to unite their forces, if there should be any occasion. When they came into the country of the *Lyncestheans*, they found *Arrhibæus* very strongly encamped on the brow of a hill, with a plain before him; whereupon *Perdiccas* and *Brasidas* encamped on the descent of an opposite hill, having the same plain before them. In this situation the armies did not continue long before an engagement ensued. At first only the horse fought; but *Arrhibæus* sending some of his men at arms to support his cavalry, *Perdiccas* and *Brasidas* did the same; upon which the battle became general, in which the *Lyncestheans* were defeated with very great slaughter, and constrained to betake themselves to their fortresses. Thither the king of *Macedonia* would have pursued them; but *Brasidas* would not consent, because his heart was set on a speedy return to the sea-coasts, from an apprehension that the *Athenians* would attempt somewhat during his absence. During some days the army was in suspense, *Brasidas* consenting to march on, in case a body of *Illyrians*, whom *Perdiccas* had taken into his pay, joined them; but it was not long before they were constrained to think of a retreat, by reason that the *Illyrians*, fearing to aggrandize *Perdiccas*, deserted to the *Lyncestheans*, and thereby enabled them to take the field the second time, which they did with such vigour, that on the first news thereof the *Macedonian* forces, being not well disciplined, and having with them as auxiliaries several thousands much worse disciplined than themselves, were struck with such a panic, that they fled in the night, carrying their king with them by force, without so much as suffering him to confer with *Brasidas*. The *Lacedæmonian*, however, made a retreat with some difficulty, and much loss; and from this time forward there was no right understanding between the king and that general, each conceiving himself to be ill treated; *Perdiccas* resenting his refusal to prosecute the war after their victory, when he conceived it to have been intirely in their power to have subdued *Arrhibæus*; and *Brasidas* having been much offended with the *Macedonian* army's quick retreat, which left him and his troops exposed to so much danger. The state things were now in gave the advantage to *Perdiccas*, because it inclined the *Athenians* to court him, notwithstanding all the injuries he had done them; and he, on the other hand, beginning now to dislike the *Greeks* in general, from an apprehension that they all sought their own interest.

interest, and to aggrandize themselves at the expence of others, determined to lay hold of this opportunity of closing with *Athens*, in hopes that it would enable him to rid himself both of it and of the other party ^e. He accordingly began to treat with *Nicias*, and at last concluded peace; but the *Athenian* general suggesting, that it would be proper for him to give some open proof of his sincerity, the king resolved to gratify him, and at the same time do himself a kindness; he therefore undertook to stop a body of *Spartan* troops under the command of *Ischagoras*, which was ordered to march through *Theffaly* to join *Brasidas*. This he effected by his great interest in *Theffaly*, and thereby prevented such an accession of strength to the *Lacedæmonian* army, as would in all probability have rendered them far superior to their enemies; whereas a short time afterwards, the *Athenians* sending over fresh troops, under the command of *Cleon*, *Brasidas* was forced to fight in defence of *Amphipolis*; and tho' he gained the victory, yet he was slain in fight, which determined the *Lacedæmonians* to make peace, and ridded *Perdiccas* of his apprehensions on that subject. Some time after the *Athenians* began to have new jealousies as to the intentions of *Perdiccas*. They charged him with treachery, or at least with coldness, in their affairs, and especially with his not assisting *Nicias* so much as they thought he might have done; for which reason they posted troops in such a manner, that *Perdiccas* had no communication with the sea, which was exceedingly detrimental to his affairs. The next year they carried matters farther; for they ordered a body of horse to be transported to *Methone*, from whence they made inroads into *Macedonia*, and did much mischief. The *Lacedæmonians* had it not now in their power to assist *Perdiccas* much; however, they did all they could, which was to send orders to the *Chalcidians* their allies to assist him; but the *Chalcidians*, being not a little afraid of the power of *Perdiccas*, did not think fit to act as they were directed *. From this time we meet with very little concerning him in the *Greek* historians; because, as we have more than once observed, there is not one of them who treats professedly of the affairs of *Macedon*; all therefore that we can add of this *Perdiccas* the second is, that he died after a long reign full of years and glory ^f. He ruled at a time when all *Greece* was in commotion, when the *Athenians* were most ambitious and most powerful, and

^e THUCYD. l. iv. DIODOR. SICUL. l. xii

* THUCYD. l.

^f DIODOR. SICUL. l. xii.

when the *Lacedæmonians*, who had never attempted it before, began to think of establishing garisons in *Thrace*. He had also long and sharp contests with his barbarous neighbours, equally fierce and perfidious, ever ready to make war when occasion offered, and seldom to be depended upon when they thought fit to make peace; yet, in spite of all these difficulties, and, which added not a little to them, the imbecillity of the *Persian* government, which had been the chief support of his predecessors, *Perdiccas* maintained himself in a state of independency, was formidable to all parties, and left his kingdom both in a better condition and larger in extent, than he found it. It is true, that those authors, from whom we have collected our history, seem to charge him with art and falshood; but if we consider who these historians were, and what king *Perdiccas* was, we shall not think their authority of any great weight. The *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* sought to aggrandize themselves, by making conquests in, or upon the borders of, his dominions; and in their turns they endeavoured to make use of him for that purpose. *Perdiccas*, as far as in him lay, eluded their designs, and, under colour of fulfilling them, used their forces to strengthen himself. Here was art and falshood on both sides; but the king was true to the interest of *Macedon*; and therefore, as all authors acknowledge him to have been a great king, so, with respect to his own subjects, we must allow him to have been a good one*.

Archela-
us.

It is certain, that *Perdiccas* was succeeded by his son *Archelaus*, a prince of great parts and wonderfull industry; but with respect to his title to the crown, his personal character, and the number of years that he reigned, authors speak so differently, and so obscurely, that it is next to an impossibility to deliver with tolerable clearness the story of his reign. Some say, that he was not the legitimate son of king *Perdiccas*, but that he obtained the kingdom by throwing his brother, who was its lawful heir, into a well, and passing it upon his mother that he tumbled in by chance, as he was following a goose. They alledge likewise, that he invited *Alcetas* the son of *Alexander the rich*, with his young son *Alexander*, to return into *Macedonia*; and that when he got them into his power, he put them to death, for fear lest, at some time or other, they might set up a claim to the crown, and give him some disturbance². All dread of rivals being now removed, he bethought himself of fortifying some of his principal cities, that his neighbours, who were powerful in horse, and who could easily

* DIONOR. SICUL. ubi. supra. CROPHII Antiq. Macedon. l. i.

² DIONOR. SICUL. l. xii.

draw assistance from *Athens*, might not over-run *Macedonia* with the same facility they did in the days of his father, when *Sitalces* king of *Thrace* ravaged the richest provinces, without risking a battle, or running any great hazard in his retreat. He likewise took other measures for raising the courage and reputation of the *Macedonian* monarchy, which did not a little disturb his neighbours. The city of *Pydna*, more apprehensive than the rest, after soliciting the aid of the *Athenians*, declared against him, upon which he raised a very puissant army, and laid siege thereto. The *Athenians*, according to their promise, sent a fleet and army, under the command of *Theramenes*, to relieve *Pydna*; but that general found king *Archelaus*'s army in so good a condition, and so advantageously encamped, that he was forced to retire without succouring the place, which, after a long siege and a very brave defence, fell into the hands of the king, who obliged its inhabitants to remove twenty furlongs farther from the sea, that their friends the *Athenians* might not so easily visit them. *Archelaus* was for nothing more distinguished than for his love of learning and learned men. He had always many about his court, whom he not only maintained with a magnificence worthy of a prince, but conversed with them as familiarly as if they had been his equals: insomuch, that many of his sayings at table are recorded; for it was the peculiar wisdom of the *Greeks* to preserve from oblivion such sentences as were either remarkable for their sprightly wit, or for the solid sense contained in them^b. Amongst others *Socrates* was of the number of the learned, whose friendship was strongly solicited by *Archelaus*; but on account of the violences he had committed in the beginning of his reign, it is said that great philosopher declined corresponding with him^c. *Euripides* the tragic poet was his guest, and lived with the greatest intimacy with this king, who is thought to have honoured his memory with a tomb, deservedly commended by antient authors^d. It is clear from these passages, that *Archelaus* spent his days in peace and honour. It seems to us most probable, that he reigned fourteen years, and that he was succeeded in the throne by his son *Orestes*. As for the manner of his death, it was by treason, *Craterus* his favourite conspiring against him; but he also was murdered in four days, and so reaped little benefit from his treachery^e. Others again affirm, that he reigned but seven years, and that he was succeeded by another *Archelaus*, who was the elder brother of *Orestes*; which *Archelaus* the second they will have

^b PLUTARCH. in Apophthegm.
SICUL. ubi supra.

^c Idem ibid.

^d DIODOR.

^e ÆLIAN. Var. Hist. l.

to be the person murdered by *Craterus*. *Diodorus Siculus* indeed says, that *Archelaus* reigned but seven years, and that he was killed by *Craterus*; yet he does not mention two princes of that name; and he places the death of *Archelaus* where it ought to be placed, according to our table^m.

Orestes.

Orestes being but a child, *Æropus*, one of the royal blood governed as protector, and by degrees he increased this power of his so much, that he acted as absolutely as if he had been king. It was in his time that *Agésilas* king of *Sparta* returned by land out of *Asia* into *Greece*. He sent to *Æropus*, as he had done to the rest of the princes whose dominions lay in his way, to desire the liberty of passing. *Æropus* answered his messengers, That he would consider of it; which answer being reported to *Agésilas*, Let him consider, said he, but let us marchⁿ; which accordingly he did through the heart of *Macedonia*, without waiting for any farther permission; which so struck *Æropus*, that he gave orders for the treating him and his army with the utmost civility, by which he preserved his country from being pillaged; for in *Thessaly*, where the people were not so tractable, *Agésilas* suffered his troops to live at discretion. The only reason assigned for transferring the regal authority, from the family of *Perdiccas* to this *Æropus*, was, that the kingdom could not bear the want of a prince, or, which to the *Macedonians* seemed all one, that the sceptre should remain in the hands of an infant; however, it is very likely, that the family of *Perdiccas* had many friends; and that after the death of *Orestes*, *Æropus* stood so much in fear of them as to act very cautiously; for we hear of nothing he did against any of his neighbours; but that, after a troublesome reign of six years, he was succeeded by his son.

Pausanias.

Pausanias held the sceptre of *Macedon* by no better title than his father had done; and therefore *Amyntas*, the son of *Philip Thoraleus*, conceiving that neither possession nor succession could sanctify an usurpation, cut off *Pausanias* before he had reigned a year, and placed the crown on his own head^o.

Amyntas.

Æropus had several sons besides *Pausanias*, and of these one named *Argæus*, who was the most capable. He, on the murder of his brother, immediately began to intrigue, both with the *Macedonian* nobles and with the neighbouring princes, by whose assistance he quickly raised a numerous army; and having put himself at the head thereof, entered *Macedo-*

^m DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. PETAV. in Catal. Reg. Macedon.

ⁿ PLUT. in Vit. Agefil. in Apophthegm. Lacon. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.

^o DIODOR. SICUL. l. xiv.

nia, and asserted his right to the crown, which *Amyntas* not being able to contest, he was forced to abandon it almost as soon as he had assumed it ^P.

Argæus remained in possession of *Macedon* about two years. *Argæus*. We are not informed either how he governed, or what it was that induced his people to wish for *Amyntas* again; but at the expiration of that term, the *Theffalians* furnishing that exiled prince with an army, he entered *Macedon* therewith, and forced his competitor to retire.

Amyntas, being restored to his kingdom, found himself *Amyntas* quickly engaged in a quarrel with the *Olynthians*, on this ac- *restored*. count: At the time he quitted his kingdom, he made over to them part of his territories which lay next to their city, being in doubt whether he should ever come into *Macedon* again; but now, when he was thoroughly re-established on his throne, he demanded the restoration of these lands, which the *Olynthians* peremptorily refused, and prepared to defend their title by force. *Amyntas* saw clearly, that, as things stood, he should not be able alone to contend with so powerful a people; he therefore determined with himself to call in the *Lacedæmonians* to his assistance, which accordingly he did; and that republic, having long had a jealous eye on the power of the *Olynthians*, readily yielded to his request, and sent *Phæbidas* with ten thousand men to support the king in this war. Soon after they appointed his brother *Eudamidas* general, and dispatched him with three thousand men into *Macedonia*. The *Olynthians*, not at all frightened at these formidable armies, prepared to defend themselves; and, having assembled a very great body of troops, an engagement ensued, wherein *Amyntas* and his allies were beaten. The *Spartans*, as soon as they received the news, raised forces afresh, and sent a new army, under the command of *Teleutias* the brother of king *Agésilas*, to join *Amyntas*. This general, being a man of great courage, immediately entered upon action; and, before the *Olynthians* were ready to take the field, wasted their country, and enriched the soldiers with the distribution of the booty; but when the *Olynthians* had received the succours they expected, immediately they quitted their city, and offered *Amyntas* and *Teleutias* battle. The battle was very long, and very obstinate; but in the end the *Olynthians* were victors, *Teleutias*, with 1200 *Spartans*, being killed upon the spot. This slaughter served only to exasperate the *Lacedæmonians*, by whom a third army was raised, and *Agésilas* their king intrusted with the command

^P PETAU. ubi supra.

thereof. The *Olynthians*, perceiving plainly that they should be at last besieged, raised strong fortifications, and laid up vast quantities of corn and other provisions in their magazines. They found means, however, to protract the war for a year, without coming to an engagement. About the end of this space king *Ageſipolis* died, and *Polyudas* was sent from *Sparta* to command in his ſtead. This new general gained ſeveral victories, and at laſt ſhut up the *Olynthians* in their city, preſſing them with ſo cloſe a ſiege, that they were at length conſtrained to ſubmit themſelves to the *Macedonians*, and accept of ſuch a peace as they were pleaſed to give them⁴. *Amyntas* was not only happy enough to engage *Lacedæmon* ſo heartily in his cauſe, but he was alſo ſucceſſful in his negotiations with the *Athenians*, who had not hitherto ſhewn any great kindneſs to the kings of *Macedon*. He artfully declared, that, in his opinion, *Amphipolis* belonged to them, and promiſed to do all in his power to put it into their hands, whereby he procured their friendſhip without any expence to himſelf⁵. In all other reſpects he behaved like a great politician, ſtrengthening the intereſt of his family, raiſing the credit of the *Macedonian* monarchy, and binding moſt of his neighbours, particularly the *Theſſalians*, to his intereſt, by good turns, till, after a reign of twenty four years, he died much reſpected by all the *Grecian* ſtates, and greatly beloved by his own ſubjects. He left behind him three legitimate ſons, *Alexander*, *Perdiccas*, and *Philip*, under the tuition of *Euridice* their mother, as alſo an illegitimate ſon, called *Ptolemy*, ſurnamed *Alorites*, and ſeveral others.

Alexander.

Alexander, being the eldeſt, ſucceeded his father, and proved a prince of great parts, though of little probity. The *Theſſalians* were at that time oppreſſed by *Alexander* of *Phærea*, who ſought to make himſelf abſolute lord of the whole country; the nobility applied themſelves to *Alexander* king of *Macedon*, who was not backward in promiſing them aſſiſtance. *Alexander* the *Phærean*, having intelligence of theſe negotiations, immediately raiſed an army, and therewith entered *Macedon*. The king met him with another army, and a brisk engagement enſued, wherein the *Macedonian* gaining the victory, he marched ſtrait on to *Lariſſa* the capital of *Theſſaly* the inhabitants of which opened their gates to him, and their example was followed by the moſt conſiderable places in that country, the king promiſing to reſtore them all to their liberty; which, however, he was ſo far

⁴ DIONOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra.
gat. p. 400.

⁵ ÆSCHIN. de falſ. legat.

from performing, that he put garisons into every one of them, so that the *Theffalians* quickly found they had only exchanged one tyrant for another^c. Upon this they applied to the *Thebans* to deliver them from both. *Pelopidas* was chosen to command a body of troops sent for this purpose; and the reputation of so great a captain effected almost as much as could have been expected, if the whole power of *Thebes* had been employed in this enterprize; for *Alexander* immediately began to execute the treaty he had formerly made with the *Theffalians*, and to quit *Larijfa*, and other cities which had been put into his hands. *Alexander* of *Phærea* also began to act with greater moderation, and the presence of *Pelopidas* diffused a quiet hitherto unfelt in these parts^d. In this time *Ptolemy Alorites*, the base son of *Amyntas*, began to plot against king *Alexander*, and drew such a number of the *Macedonian* lords to his interest, as made the king's authority very precarious; he therefore applied to *Pelopidas*, intreating him, since he had quitted *Theffalia*, to act as umpire in the disputes between him and *Ptolemy* in *Macedonia*. *Pelopidas*, consenting to what he desired, marched immediately into *Macedonia*; and, having there settled all things to the satisfaction of both parties, it was agreed, that *Philip*, the king's youngest brother, should be put into his hands as a hostage, and, with some other young noblemen of *Macedon*, be carried to *Thebes*, whither *Pelopidas* at present departed, and immediately after king *Alexander* was slain, and the kingdom transferred to his brother^e. What were the original sources of these disputes in *Macedon*, historians do not inform us; but it is most likely that the factions, formerly subsisting in this kingdom, and which *Amyntas* so hardly kept under, began to revive. However it was, of this we are certain, that on the death of *Alexander*, all things fell into great confusion, insomuch that the queen-mother thought neither herself nor her children safe, even as to their lives and private fortunes.

Perdiccas should have mounted the throne on the demise of *Alexander*, and he did accordingly claim it; but was far from obtaining a peaceable possession. *Pausanias*, a prince of the royal house, set up for the kingdom as well as he, and was at first so grateful to the people, that the whole family of *Amyntas* were in the utmost danger. It happened fortunately for them, that the *Athenians* about this time sent *Iphicrates* Perdiccas II

^c DIODOR. SICUL. l. 14. JUSTIN l. vii. c. 4. ^d PLUT. in Vita Pelopid. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. ^e PLUT. ubi supra

crates with a small fleet to prepare things for the siege of *Amphipolis* ; to him therefore on his arrival *Eurydice* applied herself ; and on her intimation to him of the difficulties she was under, *Iphicrates* with great alacrity repaired to the place of her residence. After the first civilities were over, *Eurydice* placing her two sons upon her knees, shewed them to *Iphicrates*, and then putting the eldest into his hands, and placing the other upon his knee, she spoke to him thus : “ Generous *Athenian*, you know perfectly well how tenderly
 “ *Amyntas* the father of these orphans loved your country,
 “ and how sincere an affection he had for yourself, whom
 “ he adopted for a son ; by this double tie therefore you are
 “ bound to succour my distressed family. The friendship my
 “ husband had for the *Athenians* his dear allies, and his peculiar tenderness for you, must conspire to fill your breast
 “ with the sentiments of a brother in respect to these orphans”. *Iphicrates*, moved by the queen’s tears and intreaties, espoused her cause, turned his arms against *Pausanias*, and compelled him to retire out of *Macedon* *. *Perdiccas* had little more quiet from this friendly interposition of the *Athenians* ; for scarce was *Pausanias* retired before *Ptolemy Alorites* pretended to the throne, and by degrees wrought himself into favour so with the people, that he outed his brothers, assumed the ensigns, and discharged the functions, of a king. *Perdiccas* did not, however, quit his title, tho’ only a small part of the country owned it. He had always hopes, that either the *Athenians* or *Thebans* would support him ; but they, being much embarrassed at home, neglected all his solicitations ; till at last *Pelopidas*, moved with compassion towards the brother of a king with whom he had treated, drew together a few mercenaries, and, with no other authority than what he derived from the reputation of his virtue, marched towards *Macedonia*, in order to restore this deprived prince. *Ptolemy* raised an army to oppose him, and when their forces drew near to each other, he made privately such offers to *Pelopidas*’s mercenaries, that they immediately deserted him, and went over to *Alorites* ; yet this desertion did not quiet *Ptolemy*’s fears, who looked upon this as an escape only for the present ; and fearing the resentment of *Pelopidas* much more than many armies, he, of his own motion laid down his arms, and referred the difference between himself and his brother to that general’s decision. He having declared, that the crown belonged to *Perdiccas*, the *Macedonians* so readily came into his sentiments, that *Ptolemy* was forced

* *Æschin.* de fals. legat. p. 400.

to submit^y. *Pelopidas*, fearing that, as soon as he was withdrawn, all things might fall again into confusion, took hostages on both sides; from *Perdiccas* his brother *Philip*, who was to have been sent to *Thebes* before; from *Ptolemy* his son *Philoxenus*, with several young men his companions; and thus an end was put to all disturbances here for the present. *Eurydice* doubtless was not a little fearful of giving up her darling *Philip* into the hands of strangers; her concern, however, was somewhat abated, from the consideration of the worth of *Pelopidas*, whom she earnestly besought to take care of his education, which he not only promised, but very exactly fulfilled. On his return to *Thebes*, he placed the young prince in the hands of *Epaminondas* his friend, who had in his house a *Pythagorean* philosopher of great reputation. Under his care *Philip* learned the principles of philosophy, and under *Epaminondas* himself he acquired the art of war. Thus his exile became beneficial, not only to himself but his country; and he acquired amongst foreigners those abilities which enabled him afterwards to triumph over them. This was especially owing to his making *Epaminondas* his model; for by studying that great man's temper and disposition, he joined qualities which are seldom met with together, that is, indefatigable activity and a steady composure. As for his temperance, justice, disinterestedness, and candor, those *Philip* meddled not with, as suiting little with his temper and circumstances^z. *Perdiccas* in the mean time governed *Macedon* with a mediocrity of fortune, till he came to be engaged in a war with the *Illyrians*, a very martial nation, the ancient hereditary enemies of his subjects. Against these *Perdiccas*, at the head of a very considerable army, marched as soon as possible, that he might hinder them from plundering the country. A general engagement quickly ensued, wherein the *Macedonians* were routed with great slaughter, and, which was still worse, with the loss of their king, who left behind him a son named *Amyntas*, then in his infancy; who, tho' the lawful heir of the kingdom, was unable to govern it; so that now a field was opened to civil dissensions, while at the same time the kingdom groaned under the weight of a foreign war^a.

^y DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.
TIN. l. vii. c. 5.

^z PLUT. ubi supra. Jus-
^a DIODOR. SICUL. l. xvi.

A N

I N D E X

T O T H E

S E V E N T H V O L U M E.

*The Numbers direct to the Page, and the great Letters
to the Notes.*

A.

- A** *Bacænum*, a city in *Sicily*, described, 238, note O.
Abantes, first inhabitants of *Eubæa*, 540. Mentioned with honour by *Homer*, *ibid*.
Abas, who, 540. Killed, 541.
Abdymon dethrones the king of *Cyprus*, 402, 403. Killed, 403.
Abydos taken by *Philip* of *Macedon*, 8.
Acarnania described, 27, & seq.
Acarnanians, their war with *Athens*, and the cause thereof, 1, & seq. Greatly addicted to the *Macedonians*, 28. Reject the alliance of the *Romans*, *ibid*. Subdued and become part of the province of *Achaia*, 30.
Acesta in *Sicily*, *vid. Segesta*, 81. By whom founded, *ibid*.
Achæus assists the *Byzantines*, 337. Gained over by the *Rhodians*, 338.
Acradina, one of the four quarters of *Syracuse*, 74. Forced by *Dionysius*, 154. Taken by the *Carthaginians*, 165. Delivered up to the *Romans*, 291, & seq.
Acræ, when and by whom built, 89. Described, 278, S. Where situated, *ibid*.
Ætor, first king of *Ægina*, 528.
Adranum, a city in *Sicily*, 83. Famous for the temple of *Adranus*, tutelar god of the *Siculi*, *ibid*.

Adrian's

- Adrian's* kindness to the *Athenians*, 22.
Æces, tyrant of *Samos*, 423.
 — II. treachery to the *Ionians*, 437.
Æacus, king of *Ægina*, 528. Famous for his piety and justice, *ibid.*
Ædepsum in *Eubœa*, its hot waters, described, 538.
Ægates, island, described, 87.
Ægean sea described 447, R. Islands in it, 448, & seq.
Ægeates, whence so called, 583.
Ægina, island, described, 526, & seq. Its trade, &c, 528.
 By whom subdued, 531. Declared free by the *Romans*, *ib.*
Ægineans invaded by the *Samians*, 421. Their revenge on them, 428.
Æmathia, *Macedonia* why so called, 546. Described, 553.
Æmilius joins the *Rhodian* fleet, 347, & seq.
Ænoë, a city in *Icaria*, 465.
Ænos betrayed to the *Macedonians*, 341.
Æolian islands described, 86.
Æolians, their original, 54. Government, 57. Religion, 60. Trade, &c. 61, & seq. First inhabitants of *Lesbos*, 453.
Æolis in *Asia Minor* described, 52. Its twelve cities, 52, 53.
Æolus, first king of the *Siculi*, 92.
Æropas, king of *Macedon*, 587.
Æropus, guardian of *Macedon*, 608. His answer to *Agessilaus's* message, *ibid.* The regal authority transferred to him, *ibid.*
Æsculapius worshipped at *Cos*, 466.
Æstrians, where situate, 556.
Ætna, a burning mount, in *Sicily*, 85. Cause of poetical fictions, *ibid.*
Agathocles, tyrant of *Sicily*, his birth and education, 215, & seq. Rise and success, 216. Narrowly misses being murdered, 218. His perjury and cruelty to the *Syracusians*, *ib.* & seq. Proclaimed king, 219. Defeated, 220. Carries the war into *Africa*, *ib.* & seq. His success there, 221, & seq. Treachery to *Ophellas*, 227. Returns into *Sicily*, and reduces it, *ib.* & seq. Deserts *Africa*, 228. His cruelty in *Sicily*, 228. Subdues part of *Italy*, 229. His death and character, 230.
Agathyrna, a city in *Sicily*, 83.
Agessilaus, message to *Æropus*, 608.
Agnon sent by the *Athenians* against the *Macedonians*, 600.
Agragas, the city of, *vid.* *Agrigentum*, 77.
 — the river of, 78.
Agrigentum in *Sicily* described, 77, 78. When and by whom founded, 89. The famed buildings of it, 100. Besieged by

- by the *Carthaginians*, 144. Abandoned to them, 146.
 Betrayed to the *Romans*, 304.
Ajax, king of *Salamis*, builds a temple at *Olbus* in *Cilicia*, 398.
Alæsa, a city in *Sicily*, 83.
Alala, the *Macedonia* huzza, 580.
Alcæus, famous lyric poet, where born, 450. A coward, 454.
Alcetas, king of *Macedonia*, 587.
Alcibiades invades *Sicily*, 116, & seq. Recalled to *Athens*, 119.
Alexander prince of *Macedon*'s stratagem against the *Persian* ambassadors, 590. His speech to the *Athenians*, 595. Warns them against *Mardonius*, 597, & seq. His generosity to the *Argives*, 598.
 ——— II. succeeds *Amyntas* II. 610, & seq. Outwits the *Thessalians*, *ibid.* & seq. His death, 611.
 ——— the *Phærean* wars against the king of *Macedon*, 610.
Alga, a city in *Eubæa*, described, 539.
Aliacmon, a river in *Macedonia*, 562.
Almopians, where situate, 556.
Althamenes abandons *Crete*, why, 313.
Amalthea, one of *Jupiter*'s nurses, 377.
Amasis's letter to *Polycrates*, 425. Breaks his alliance with him, why, 426.
Amathus, a city of *Cyprus*, 392. Famous for a temple of *Venus*, *ib.*
Amathusa, part of *Cyprus*, 394.
Amathusians sacrifice to *Onesilus*, why, 400.
Aminias, a *Rhodian* commander, killed, 332.
Amphaxitis, the region of, described, 554.
Amphicrates, king of *Samos*, wars against *Ægina*, 421. The time when, *ib.*
Amphipolis, besieged by *Brasidas*, 603.
Amphipolus of *Syracuse*, his office, 212. Years computed by his government, *ib.*
Amphitryon kills the king of *Cephalenia*, and conquers the island, 524.
Amyntas, king of *Macedon*, 587. His reception of the *Persian* ambassadors, 589. Zeal for the *Persians*, 592. ——— cuts off the usurper, 608. Asserts his right to the crown, *ibid.* & seq. Forced to abandon it, 609. Restored, *ibid.* Defeated by the *Olynthians*, *ibid.* Reduces them, 610.
Anapis, a river of *Sicily*, 76.
Anapus, a river of *Sicily*, 86.
Anaxiles, seizes *Zancle*, 89.
Anaxarchus the philosopher pounded to death, by *Niocreon*, *Andranodorus*, 402.

- Andranodorus*, son-in-law to *Hiero*, 253. Debauches young *Hieronimus*, 254. Becomes head of a party, 260. Submits to the senate, 261. Chosen magistrate, 262. Undermines the republic, *ib.* & seq. Put to death, 263.
- Andrians* answer to *Themistocles*, 494. Besieged by him, *ibid.*
- Androclus*, leads the *Ionians* to *Ephesus*, 47. Assumes the royal authority, *ib.*
- Androgeus* murdered at *Athens*, 379. His death punished with a pestilence, *ib.*
- Andromachus* restored to *Achæus* by the *Rhodians*, 338.
- Andros* island described, 493. Subdued by the *Athenians*, 494.
- metropolis of the island besieged by *Themistocles*, 494. Its ruins described, *ib.*
- Anius* king of *Delos*, 503.
- Antandros*, island, why so called, 493.
- Anticyra*, famous for its hellebore, 544. No island of that name, 545.
- Antigonus* invades *Rhodes* 323, & seq.
- Antiachus the Great* succeeds in *Cilicia*, 343, & seq. Answer to the *Rhodians*, 344. Forced to retire into *Sardis*, 347. Defeated at sea, 348. And land, 349.
- Antiphon's* biting answer to *Dionysius*, 177.
- Antissa*, a city in *Lesbos*, described, 450.
- Apanomeria*, the harbour of, 472. No anchorage, for shipping there, *ib.*
- Apaturian* festival, whence, 59, & note.
- Apelles*, where born, 467.
- Apocalypse*, the house of, at *Pathmos*, 466.
- Apollo Grynæus*, 53.
- *Didymæus*, 60.
- *Branchides*, 61.
- Apollo*, his temple at *Delos* described, 497. His statue, *ib.* Offerings how performed, 499. Oracle, 500.
- Apollocrates* left to command the citadel of *Syracuse*, 195. Surrenders it to *Dion*, 201.
- Apollonia*, a city in *Macedon*, 550, & D.
- Apollonides's* speech to the *Syracusians* 267, & seq.
- Appius, Claud.* sent into *Sicily*, 240, 244. Enters *Messana*, 245. Marches against *Hippocrates*, 269.
- Apteras*, king of *Crete*, 375, note, & 377.
- Apteron*, a city of *Crete*, 368. Why so called, *ib.*
- Arcadia*, a city in *Crete*, described, 368.
- Archagathus*, son of *Agathocles*, defeated in *Africa*, 227. Killed, 228.

- Archeanax*, tyrant of *Lesbos*, 454.
Archelaus, general of *Mithridates*, his expedition into *Greece*, 11. Defends the city of *Athens*, 13. Betrayed by two slaves, 16.
Archelaus, king of *Macedon*, 606. Raises the reputation of the *Macedonians*, 607. A lover of learning, *ib.* His death, *ib.*
Archias one of the *Heraclidæ*, founder of *Syracuse*, 89.
Archilochus, where born, 486. Particulars of his life and character, *ib.*
Archimedes's curious ship built for *Hiero*, 251, & seq. Brave defence of *Syracuse*, 274. Machines described, 275, & seq. Death and character, 293, & seq. Other wonderful engines, 295. His tomb discovered by *Cicero*, 297.
Archipelago, vid. *Ægean sea*, 447, R.
Argæus, king of *Macedon*, 586. His character, *ib.*
Argæus seizes the crown of *Macedon*, 609.
Argis, why honoured by the *Delians*, 500.
Argives conquer *Macedonia*, 565.
Ariadne's rape and festival, 482, 483.
Arion, first tragedian, and author of dithyrambic verse, 450.
Arisba, a city in *Lesbos*, described, 449.
Aristeas, where born, 445, Q.
Aristeus, son of *Apollo*, the first who peopled *Ceos*, 474.
Aristion, tyrant of *Athens*, 11.
Aristo discovers a plot against the *Syracusan* senate, 263.
Aristodemus's speech to *Antigonus*, 411.
Aristotle, where born, 554. Teaches at *Mitylene*, 451. Declares his successor, 452.
Arfinoe, a city in *Cyprus*, 390.
Artaxerxes's expedition against *Cyprus*, 403, & seq. Forced to make peace, 406.
Artemisia surprizes *Rhodes*, 321. Her character, 322.
Artemisium, a promontory of *Eubœa*, 534.
Artemon, inventor of battering rams, &c. at the siege of *Samos*, 442.
Artybius, killed by the *Cypriots*, 400.
Arvisia, the wine of, famed, 458.
Asbestos, stone, where digged, 536.
Ascanian islands, whence so called, 448. Described, *ib.* & seq.
Asclepiadæ, kings of *Rhodes*, 318.
Adrabul sent into *Sicily*, 212. Defeated by *Timoleon*, 213.
Asia minor, the states of, described, 33, & seq.

Asiarchæ,

Afiarchæ, of *Ephesus*, their office, 45.

Asterius, king of *Crete*, the *Saturn* of the *Cretans*, 372.

Marries *Europa*, 377.

Atamirus, *Jupiter*, why so called, 312.

Atarneus, why given to the *Chians*, 462.

Athenians obtain a consular army against *Philip*, 8. Their tribes, how and from whom named, 7, note. Subdued by *Sylla*, 20. By *Cæsar*, 21. Honoured by *Germanicus*, *ib.* By *Adrian*, 22. Their various fates since, *ib.* & seq. Invited into *Sicily*, 114. Beaten by the *Syracusians*, 123, & seq. Blockaded by the *Lacedæmonians*, 124, & seq. Beaten before *Syracuse*, 125. At sea, 128, & seq. Totally ruined in *Sicily*, 130, & seq. Their prisoners cruelly treated, 136. Their noble carriage towards *Dion*, 188. War with the *Rhodians*, 318, & seq. Clap up a peace with them, 320. Succour *Cyprus* against the *Persians*, 401. Make peace with them, 402. Send *Chabrias* into *Cyprus*, 404. War with the *Samians*, 440. *Mitylenians* 454. Purify *Delos*, 500, 501. Banish the *Pelægiæns* out of *Attica*, 510. Their ill success in *Ægina*, 530, note. Fall out with the *Persians*, 591. Their answer to *Alexander*, 596, & seq. Defeat the *Persians*, 598. War with *Perdiccas*, 600.

Athens, the history of, from the *Achæan* league, 1, & seq. Attempted by *Philip*, 9. By *Bruttius*, 12. Besieged by *Sylla*, 13. Blockaded and famished, 18, 19. Taken and plundered, 20. Several revolutions, 22, & seq.

Athos mount described, 507, note.

Attalus king of *Pergamus* assists the *Athenians* against *Philip*, 7. The tribe *Attalis*, instituted in honour of him, *ib.*

Attica, ravaged by *Philip*, 8. Betrayed into the interest of *Mithridates*, 11. Inslaved by *Aristion*, *ib.* & 19.

Autefias, her statue erected by the *Epidaurs*, 529, note.

Carried away by the *Enginetes*, 530, note. Occasions an enmity between them and the *Athenians*, 531, note.

Axiothea, queen of *Paphos*, kills all her daughters and herself, 409.

Axius, a river in *Macedonia*, 563.

B.

B *Acchus* defeats the *Titans*, 375, note. Worshipped at *Naxus*, 481.

—— the famous temple of, near *Naxus*, 485. —— at *Andros*, 494.

- Balistæ* of *Archimedes*, described, 275, note.
Battus made king of *Libya*, 472. Governs with great prudence, *ib.*
Berytus, whether in the isle of *Cyprus*, 393.
Besbicus, island, separated from the continent, 447.
Bion, where born, 445, note, 447, note.
Bisaltæ, where situate, 555.
Bæotarchi, chief magistrates of *Bæotia*, 24.
Bæotians form themselves into a republic, 23. Their government, *ib.* & seq. Exasperate the *Romans*, 24. Subdued by *Flaminius*, 27.
Bogasi, the two streights of, 416.
Bolossus, *Homer's* house shewn at, 459.
Bomilcar chosen general against *Agathocles*, 224. His treachery, *ib.* Sent into *Sicily*, 279. Retires, *ib.* Returns with a large fleet, 288. Forced back, *ib.*
Brachyllas, *Bæotian* prætor assassinated by the *Romans*, 25.
Branchidæ, the oracle of, 60. The priests of punished by *Alexander*, 61.
Brasidas sent to assist the *Macedonians*, 602. His success and moderation, *ib.* Joins with the *Macedonians*, 604. Falls out with *Perdiccas*, *ib.*
Briareus, some account of him, 536.
Bruttius, his expedition against *Archelaus*, 12.
Budorus, a river in *Eubæa*, 535.
Butes, king of the *Siculi*, 92.
 ——— the son of *Boreas* settles in *Naxos*, 482. Punished by *Bacchus*, *ib.*
Byzantines war with the *Rhodians*, 337. Forced to a peace, 338.

C.

C*Abarni*, their office, 485.

- Cabiri* an account of those deities, 516, note.
Cadmus, lord of *Cos*, his faithfulness to *Gelon*, 97, note.
 ——— arrival at *Samothrace*, and initiation into the mysteries of *Cybele*, 520. Marries *Harmonia*, *ib.*
Calippus's murder of *Dion*, punished, 203.
Calista, island, vid. *Thera*, 471.
Callas, a river in *Eubæa*, 535.
Callias, tyrant of *Eubæa*, wars with the *Athenians*, 543. Goes to *Athens* and obtains assistance against *Philip*, *ib.*
Callipolis, metropolis of *Naxos*, gives name to the island, 481.
Camerina,

Camerina, a city in *Sicily*, described, 76, 77. When and by whom built, 89. Destroyed, 96. Forsaken by order of *Dionysius*, 154.

Camirus, a city of *Rhodes*, described, 307.

Campanians, their treachery to the *Entellines*, 157.

Camps, how formed among the *Macedonians*, 580.

Caranus descended from *Hercules* conquers *Macedonia*, 566.

First king of it, 583. Is directed by a herd of goats, *ibid.*

Caria invaded by the *Rhodians*, 342. Taken from the *Rhodians*, 359.

Carians, whence so called, 418 First inhabitants of *Samos*, 420.

Carpasia in *Cyprus*, taken by *Demetrius*, 409.

Carpathus's island described, 469.

Carthaginians, their wars with the *Sicilians*, 98, & seq. Defeated by *Gelon*, 100. Make peace with him, 101. Invited by the *Egestines*, 136. Their cruelty in *Sicily*, 139, 141. Beaten by the *Syracusians*, 145. Send *Amilcar* against *Dionysius*, 159. Invade *Sicily*, 161, & seq. 100,000 die there of the plague, 168. Defeated by sea and land, *ib.* & seq. Invited by *Icetas*, 206. Outwitted by *Timoleon*, 208. Return to *Carthage*, 210. Invaded by *Agathocles*, 221, & seq. Defeated before *Syracuse*, 226. Invade *Sicily*, 232. Besiege *Messana*, 243, & seq. Defeated by the *Romans*, 246, & seq. Send new forces, 300.

Carthæa, a city in *Ceos*, described, 475.

Carystians worship *Briareus*, 536.

Carystus taken by the *Romans*, 342.

—— famous for the stone *Asbestos*, 536.

Casos island described, 469.

Cassandria, *Potidea*, why so called, 555.

Cassius sent against the *Rhodians*, 362. Subdues them, *ib.* & seq.

Catana, a city in *Sicily*, described, 72, 73. How destroyed, 73. Taken by the *Athenians*, 119. By *Dionysius*, 157.

Cato sent against his will to take *Cyprus*, 414. His speech in favour of the *Rhodians*, 357, & seq.

Cavarus mediates a peace with the *Rhodians*, 338.

Caulonia besieged by *Dionysius*, 173.

Cea, alias *Ceos*, island, described, 474. First silk-stuffs wrought there, *ib.*

Ceans, a barbarous custom among them, 475.

Cecropia,

- Cecropia, Athens* antiently so called, 13. Taken by the *Romans*, 21.
- Celydnus*, a river in *Macedon*, boundary between that and *Epirus*, 562.
- Centho, Claudius*, takes the city of *Chalcis*, 8.
- Centuripe*, a city in *Sicily*, 83.
- Cephalenia*, vid. *Samos*, 416. Described 525. By whom conquered, *ib.*
- Cephareus*, a promontory in *Eubæa*, 534.
- Ceramicus*, at *Athens*, 19, & note.
- Cerastis*, *Cyprus*, why antiently so called, 389.
- Ceraunus*, where situate, 469.
- Ceres* civilizes the *Athenians*, 2, not. The festivals and mysteries of, *ib.* Reasons of their institution, and manner of performing, *ib.*
- Cerines*, a city in *Cyprus*, described, 391.
- Cerinthus* in *Eubæa*, by whom built, 539.
- Chabrias's* success against the *Persians*, 404. Killed in the social war, 319.
- Chalcidians* come into *Sicily*, 88.
- Chalcidica*, where situate, 555.
- Chalcis* ruined by *Centho*, 8. Capital of *Eubæa*, 532. Described, 537, 538.
- Chalcodon*, king of *Eubæa*; subdues the *Thebans*, 541. Killed by *Amphytrion* father of *Hercules*, *ib.*
- Chares of Lindus*, maker of the *Colossus*, 310, C.
- the *Athenian*, his rash enterprize against *Persia*, 319. Applauded by the *Athenians*, *ib.*
- Charius* the *Samian*, his character, 433, note.
- Charybdis*, the famed rock, 71.
- Chasmena*, when and by whom built, 89.
- Cheironomocrates*, architect of the temple at *Ephesus*, 45.
- Chersis*, king of *Salamis*, 398.
- Chian* slaves, their faithfulness, 464.
- Chians*, their government and kings, 461. Fidelity to the *Ionians*, 437. Subdued by the *Persians*, 462. Revolt and reduced, 462, & seq. Join in the common confederacy, 463. Subject to the *Athenians*, *ib.* Their various fates since, 464.
- Chios*, island, described, 457. Famed for its wines, *ib.* & seq. And mastic, &c. *ib.* pass. By whom peopled, 460.
- the city of, described, 458. Birth-place of *Homer*, *ib.* Destroyed by the *Persians*, 463. Besieged by *Philip*, 464.
- Chryse*, one of the *Cyclade* islands, 507.

- Cicero's* injustice to *Archimedes*, 294. His joy on discovering his tomb, 297.
- Cimolian* earth described, 480.
- Cimolis*, island, described, *ib.*
- Cimon's* success against the *Persians*, 401. Carries the bones of *Theseus* to *Athens*, 505.
- Cinyras*, his vast wealth, 396. Became a proverb, *ib.*
- Cios* defeated, 238. Kills himself, *ib.*
- Ciræus*, a river in *Eubæa*, 535.
- Cissæus* conquered by *Caranus*, 584.
- Citium* in *Cyprus*, by whom built, 392.
- City, the great*, taken and razed by *Agathocles*, 223.
- Claudius Appius*, tribune, his character, 240. Sent to *Messana*, *ib.* His speech to the *Mamertines*, 241. Takes *Messana*, 242. Besieged in it, 243.
- Consul, passes over into *Sirily*, 244. Defeats *Hiero*, 245.
- Clazomenæ*, the state of it, 40.
- Cleobulina*, princess of *Rhodes*, her great learning, 316.
- Cleobulus*, king of *Rhodes*, 316. One of the seven wise men, *ib.*
- Cleomenes* king of *Sparta's* contempt of *Mæandrus's* riches, 437.
- Clodius Publius*, his revenge against the king of *Cyprus*, 413, & seq.
- Cnidus*, a city in *Doris*, 54. Whether in *Cyprus* or no, 393.
- Coa's* stuffs described, 467.
- Coans*, their government, kings, wars, 467, & seq.
- Cocalus* king of the *Siculi* murders *Minos*, 92.
- Cœnus*, king of *Macedon*, 584.
- Coes*, why made king of *Lesbos*, 455. Stoned, *ib.*
- Coin*, where first made, 528. --- of *Macedon*, 575.
- Colæus's* fortunate voyage to *Tartessus*, 421.
- Colophon*, the state of, 42.
- Colossus* of *Rhodes* 310, & C. Overturned, 311. Its weight, *ibid.*
- Conon*, the *Samian*, his character, 433, note.
- Copais*, described, 26, note.
- Corcyra*, island, described 521, & seq.
- metropolis of that island, *ib.*
- Corcyreans*, their government, navigation, &c, 521 & seq.
- Treachery to the *Greeks*, 522. Protected by the *Samians*, 423. War with the *Corinthians*, 599. Cause of the *Peloponnesian* war, 522. Submit to *Alexander*, *ib.*
- Corinthians*

- Corinthians* restore liberty to *Syracuse*, 211. War with the *Samians*, why, 423. With the *Corcyreans*, 599.
- Cornelius Cethegus* cabals against *Marcellus*, 301. Subdues the rest of *Sicily*, 300.
- Corobius* sent with a colony to *Platea*, an island of *Libya*, 471.
- Coronæa*, plundered by the *Romans*, 27.
- Corybas* goes into *Phrygia*, 520. *Corybantes* named from him, *ib.*
- Cos*, island, described, 466. Taken by *Macareus* and given to *Nicander*, 453. Refuse to give Earth and Water to the Messengers of *Darius*, 468. Subdued by *Mithridates*, *ib.* By the *Romans*, *ib.* Eased of their Tribute by *Claudius*, *ib.* —metropolis of the island, described, 466. Overthrown, 468.
- Cosmi* in *Crete*, their office, 385.
- Craterus*, his treason against *Archelaus*, 607.
- Cres*, one of the *Curetes*, 374, note. King of *Crete*, 376.
- Cretans*, whence, 370. Their colonies, 373. Government, kings, &c. *ib.* & seq. Come into *Sicily*, 89, & 373. Their laws, 380, & seq. Degeneracy, 382. Reduced into a common wealth, 385. Their civil wars, 386. Enslaved by the *Romans*, *ib.* & seq.
- Cretan* sea, the isles of, 469, & seq.
- Crete*, island, described, 364, & seq. By whom first inhabited, 370. The kings of, 374, & seq. & K. Subdued by the *Romans*, 386. & seq.
- Cretes*, king of *Crete*, 374. & seq.
- Creteus*, king of *Crete*, 383. Killed, *ib.*
- Cuma* the Sybil, her tomb, 80.
- Curetes*, antient *Cretans*, described, 370. Their origin, 371. The same with the *Abantes*, 540. Why called *Curetes*, *ib.* note,
- Cydias*, a famous painter, where born, 477.
- Cyane*, the fountain of, when sprung, 84.
- Cybræus*, first king of *Salamis*, 531. Appoints *Telamon* his Successor, *ib.*
- Cyclades*, islands, whence so called, 448. Described, 474, & seq.
- Cyclopes*, the fable of, 85. Who they were, 87.
- Cydon* reigns in *Crete*, 377, & 375, note.
- Cydonia*, a city in *Crete*, described, 366. By whom founded, 428.
- Cyme*, al. *Cuma*, metropolis of *Æolis*, 53.
- Cypriots* Oppressed by the *Persians*, 397. Assisted by the *Ionians*, 399. Make peace with *Persia*, 402. Place *Evagoras* upon the throne 403. Invaded by *Ochus*, 407. By *Ptolemy*,

lemus, 408. By *Demetrius*, 409. Subdued, 411.
 Recovered by *Ptolemy*, 412. Subdued by the *Romans*, *ib.*
Cyprus, island, described, 389, & seq. How divided, 394.
 Climate, government, 395, & seq. Kings and petty
 kingdoms, 396, 397. Taken by *Cyrus*, 397.
Cyrene, by whom built, 472.
Cythera, island, described, 525. Famous for the worship of
Venus, 526.
Cytherea, whether in *Cyprus*, 393.
Cythnus, island, described, 476, 477.
Cyzicum, island, described, 445, & seq. & Q.

D

D *Ædalus's* treachery to *Minos*, 92, 379.
Damagetus king of *Rhodes*, 316. Marries the daughter
 of *Aristomenes*, *ib.*
Damotetis, a *Rhodian* magistrate, killed, 333.
Damias, who, 529, note.
Damocles made sensible of a tyrant's happiness, 182. A.
Daphneus beats the *Carthaginians*, 145. Put to death by
Dionysius, 152.
Dardanus, where born, 520. Founds the *Trojan* kingdom,
ib.
Darius Hystaspis, one of *Cambyfes's* guards, his requital to
Syloson the *Samian*, 435, & seq. Beats the confederates,
 438.
 ———when king of *Persia*, his unfortunate attempt on *Scy-*
thia, 588, & seq. Against *Athens*, 591, & seq.
Dassaretæ, where situate, 553.
Datis's respect for *Diana's* temple, 498. Defeated by *Mil-*
tiades, 592.
Deciarchæ at *Samos*, their office, 443.
Delians, their government, kings, &c. 503. Conquered by
 the *Athenians*, *ib.*
Delius and *Deliaſti*, what, 501.
Delos, island, 495. Taken, and the temple plundered by *Arche-*
laus, 11. Why so called, 496. Its temples, 497.
 Reverenced by the *Persians* and others, 498. The oracle,
 500. The island purified, *ib.* & seq. Annual procession made
 there by the *Athenians*, 501.
 ———metropolis of it, described, 502.
Delphi, or *Delphos*, the temple of, plundered by *Sylla*, 15.
Demarata, the ambitious daughter of *Hiero*, 253. Aspires
 to the throne, 261, 263. Put to death, 265.
Demaretia, a *Sicilian* coin, whence so called, 101.

- Demetrius* son of *Antigonus*, invests the city of *Rhodes*, 324, & seq. Devises the *Helepolis*, 327. Forced to raise the siege, 334. Some instances of his clemency, 335, & seq. Invades *Cyprus*, 409, & seq. Besieges *Salamis*, 410. Subdues the island, *ib.* & seq. Loses it, 412.
- Demosthenes* sent into *Sicily*, 122. Surprizes *Epipolæ*, 125. Beaten before *Syracuse*, *ib.* At sea, 127, & seq. In great distress, 129. Forced to surrender, 131. Put to death, 135.
- The orator, Poisons himself at *Cythera*, 526.
- Deucalion*, king of *Crete*, 383. Renews the Alliance with the *Athenians*, *ib.*
- Dia*, a city in *Eubæa*, by whom built, 539.
- Diagoras* I. king of *Rhodes*, 316. Head of the *Diagoridæ*, *ib.*
- II. his reign and progeny, 317. Dies of joy, at his sons success in the olympic sports, *ib.*
- the first Atheist, where born, 479.
- tyrant of *Eretria*, 543.
- Diana Hymnia*, her temple at *Ephesus* described, 44, & seq. statue, 46.
- Triclararia*, the feast of, 61. The inhuman sacrifices offered at it by the *Athenians*, *ib.*
- Diana*, her festival at *Syracuse*, 283, W.
- worshipped at *Icaria*, 465. Her medal, *ib.*
- Diète*, a mountain in *Crete*, described, 369.
- Diëtys*, *Cretenf.* an account of him, 384.
- Dinocrates*, the *Sicilian* general, defeated by *Agathocles*, 229.
- Macedonian* general, defeated by the *Rhodians*, 343.
- Dinomanes's* treachery to *Hieronimus*, 259. Chosen one of the magistrates, 262.
- Diocles's* barbarous fury against the *Athenian* prisoners, 133. Causes *Hermocrates* to be banished, 142, 143.
- Dion's* character, &c. 185. His brave speech to *Dionysius* I. 183, C. Falsely accused to *Dionysius* II. 187. Banished, *ib.* & seq. Returns to *Syracuse*, 191. Strives to abolish tyranny, *ib.* & seq. Seizes on the capital, 192. Defeats *Dionysius's* troops, *ib.* & seq. His brave answer to him, 194. Opposed by *Heraclides*, *ib.* & seq. Forced to fly to the *Leontini*, 197. Recalled to *Syracuse*, 198. His speech to the soldiers, 199. Relieves the capital, 200. Basely murdered by *Calippus*, 203.
- Dionysius* I. lays the foundation of tyranny, 148, & seq. Chosen generalissimo, 151. Obtains a guard, *ib.* Declares himself king of *Syracuse*, 152. Makes peace with *Imilcar*

- Imilear*, 154. Outwits the *Syracusians*, 156. Disarms them, 157.
- Wars against the *Carthaginians*, 158. His army and fleet, *ib.* Takes *Motya*, 161. Defeated at sea, 163, & seq. Besieged in *Syracuse*, 164. In danger of being deposed, 165. Defeats the *Carthaginians*, 168, & seq. *Rhegians*, 170. Passes into *Italy*, 172. Defeats the *Italians* before *Caulum*, 173. Takes *Rhegium*, 175. His barbarity to *Phyto*, *ib.* Addicted to poetry, 176, & seq. Ill success at the *olympic* games, 177. Wars against the *Carthaginians*, 179. Defeated by them, *ib.* Makes peace with them, *ib.* Obtains the prize of Poetry at *Athens*, 180. His death and character, *ib.* & seq. His offspring, 184.
- II. succeeds his father, 184. His character, *ib.* Sends three times for *Plato*, 186, & seq. His treatment of him, *ib.* & seq. Gives a loose to all vices, 185. Invaded by *Dion*, 191. Defeated 193. Forced to flee into *Italy*, 195. Recovers *Syracuse* after ten years absence 204. Surrenders himself to *Timoleon*, 208. Reduced to keep a school at *Corinth*, 209.
- Eutyches*, who, 497.
- Dorians* their original, 54. Government, 57. Settlements and Cantons in *Asia*, *ib.* Religion, 60. Settle in *Rhodes*, 313. In *Crete*, 372.
- Dorias*, the solemnity of, 501.
- Dorieus* I. king of *Rhodes*, 316.
- II. his victories, 317.
- Doris*, chief cities of, 53, 54.
- Dracanan*, a city in *Icaria*, 365.
- Drepanum*, a city of *Sicily*, described, 80.
- Dryphis*, the temple of, in *Eubæa*, 535.
- Ducetius*, king of *Siculi*, driven out by the *Syracusians*, 92, & seq. His great power, *ib.* not. M.
- Dulichium*, one of the *Echinades* islands, 523.
- Dyrrachium*, whether the same with *Epidamnus*, 550, in fin. C.

E

- E** *Echinades*, islands, described, 523.
- Edessa*, metropolis of *Macedon*, 553.
- Edonia*, where situate, 555.
- Egesta* in *Sicily*, vid. *Segesta*, 81.
- Egestines* invite the *Athenians* into *Sicily*, 115, & seq. And the *Carthaginians*, 136, & seq. Massacred by *Agathocles*, 228.

- Elephenor*, prince of *Eubæa*, kills his grandfather, 541. Banned, *ib.* Gives proofs of extraordinary valour at *Troy*, 542. Killed there, *ib.*
- Eleusis*, the temple of, *Ceres's* rites performed in it, 3, note.
- Eleuthera*, a city in *Crete*, described, 368. Taken by *Metellus*, 388.
- Ellopiæ* in *Eubæa*, by whom built, 539.
- Elyma*, a city of *Macedon*, 551.
- Empedocles* turns the stream of two rivers, 79.
- Engyum*, a city in *Sicily*, 84. Taken and spared by *Marcellus*, 297.
- Enna* the city of, 83. Taken by *Dionysius*, 157. Attempted by *Hamilco*, 279.
- Ennenses* put to death by the *Romans*, 280.
- Entella* surprized by the *Campanians*, 157.
- Eordians*, where situate, 552.
- Epaminondas*, guardian to *Philip*, 613.
- Ephesus* metropolis of *Ionia*, the antient and modern state of it, 43. Tyrants of it, 47. How devoted to *Diana*, 46. Ruined by *Sylla*, 68.
- Ephesian* letters, a proverb, 48, & note (K).
- Epicydes* plots against *Syracuse*, 262. Chosen prætor, 266. Cabals with the *Leontines*, 269. Commands with *Hippocrates* in *Syracuse*, 278. Retires to *Agrigentum*, 288. Defeated, 299.
- Epidamnus*, a city in *Macedonia*, described, 549, C. Taken by the *Corcyreans*, 599.
- Epidaurus*, the temple of plundered by *Sylla*, 15.
- Epidaurians*, first peoplers of *Ægina*, 527, 528. Subdue it, 529, & note.
- Epipolæ*, the hill of, described, 76. Surprized by the *Athenians*, 120. Taken by the *Romans*, 284.
- Epirots*, Subdued by the *Romans*, 30. Sold for slaves, 31.
- Epirus*, the kingdom of, described, 30. Subdued and plundered by the *Romans*, 30. Its various fates since, 31.
- Epoptai*, at *Athens*, what, 3, note.
- Erasides*, king of *Rhodes*, 316.
- Erectheus*, founder of the rites of *Ceres*, 3.
- Eressus*, a city in *Lesbos*, 449.
- Eretria*, a city in *Eubæa*, described, 537.
- new, *ibid.* Taken by the *Romans*, 342. By *Philip*, 543.
- Eretrian* pillar, 537.
- Erigon*, a river in *Macedon*, 562.
- Erithræ* described, 41. Seat of one of the *Sibyls*, *ibid.*

Erix,

- Erix*, a city in *Sicily*, described, 81, 232.
 ----- king of the *Siculi*, 92.
Etearchus, king of *Crete*, 384.
Evagoras, king of *Rhodes*, 316.
 ----- I. king of *Cyprus*, his attachment to the *Persians*, 401, & seq. Banished, 402.
 ----- II. his noble character, 403. Subdues the whole island, 404. Invaded by the *Persians*, ib. & seq. Forced to a peace, 406. Murdered, *ibid.*
 ----- III. driven out by his uncle, 407. Put to death, 408.
Eubæa, island, described, 532, & seq. Whence called *Negropont*, 533. By whom first inhabited, 539. Its government, 541, & seq. Invaded by *Philip*, 543. Its different fates, 544.
Eubæans, great mariners, 541. Their tyrants, 542. By whom conquered, 544.
Eudamas's success against *Antiochus*, 348. Defeats the *Syrian* fleet, *ibid.*
Euelthon, king of *Salamis's* treatment of *Pheretima*, 398.
Euenus, the *Apollonian* shepherd the story of, 550 & 551, D.
Eumenes II. rewarded by the *Romans*, 350. Opposed by the *Rhodians*, *ibid.*
Eumolpidæ, *Ceres's* priesthood in their family, 4, note.
Eumolpus, the supposed institutor of *Ceres's* rites, 3, note.
Euripides, intimate with *Archelaus*, 607. His memory honoured with a tomb by him, *ibid.*
Euripus, the streights of, described, 533, note. The isles of, 544.
Europa comes to *Crete*, 372. How and by whom carried off, 377.
Europus, a city in *Macedonia*, 553.
Euryalum taken by the *Romans*, 285.
Eurydice, her speech to the *Athenian* general, 612.
Eurymedon sent into *Sicily*, 122. Killed by the *Syracusians*, 127.
Euryfaces, king of *Salamis*, 532.
Euxine sea, &c. Antient origin of its formation, 519. The more probable one, *ibid.*

F.

- F** *Amagosta*, metropolis of *Cyprus*, antient *Salamis*, 391
 How built, *ibid.* & M.
Faro de Messina, vid. *Messina*, 70.
Flaminius (Quinctius) subdues the *Bæotians*, 27.
Funeral verses, vid. *Nenia*, 476. *Galgroga*,

G.

- G** *Meagra*, the tower of, described, 282, U. Surprized by the *Romans*, 284.
- Gela*, a city in *Sicily*, described, 77. By whom built, 89. Taken and enslaved by *Gelon*, 96. Besieged by the *Carthaginians*, 152, & seq. Taken, 153.
 — the river of, 77.
- Gekan* women, their bravery, 153.
- Gellias* burns himself in *Minerva's* temple, 147. His character, 146, X.
- Gelon* becomes tyrant of *Syracuse*, 96, & seq. His behaviour towards the *Greeks*, 97. Defeats the *Carthaginians*, 100. His moderation towards them, 101. Designs to serve under the *Lacedaemonians* and *Athenians* against the *Persians*, *ibid.* Clemency towards his subjects, 102. Made king, *ibid.* His statue, how preserved, *ib.* note. Character, death, and honours, 105.
 — the son of *Hiero's* treachery to his father, 253.
- Genacius*, L. besieges *Rhegium*, 244.
- Gerastus*, a promontory in *Eubæa*, 534.
 — a city in *Eubæa*, 536.
- Geomori* at *Samos*, their office, 422. Murdered, *ibid.*
- Gibel*, mount, *vid.* *Ætna*, 85.
- Gnossians* assist the besieged *Rhodians*, 327. Subdue part of *Crete*, 386.
- Gnossis*, *Ariadne*, why so called, 366.
- Gnossus*, antient metropolis of *Crete*, described, 365.
- Goats*, why painted on the *Macedonian* standards, 583.
- Golgi*, a town in *Cyprus*, 393. *Venus* worshipped there, *ibid.*
- Gorgus*, king of *Salamis*, expelled by his brother, 398. Recalled, 400.
- Gortyna*, a city in *Crete*, described, 366. Its ruins described, *ib.* & seq.
 — the temple of, 367. By whom built, 366.
- Gortynians* subdue part of *Crete*, 386.
- Graece*, the states of, subdued by the *Romans*, 33.
 — the islands of, described, 520, & seq.
- Greeks*, of *Asia*, their history, 33, & seq.
- Greeks* come into *Sicily*, 88. Invade *Africa* under *Agathocles*, 221. Make peace with the *Carthaginians*, 228. Their war with the *Persians*, 591, & seq.
- Gyarus*, island, 495. Why uninhabited, *ibid.*
- Gylippus* sent to relieve the *Syracusians*, 120. Defeated, 121. Seizes some of the forts, 123. Beaten out by *Demosthenes*,
 nes,

nei, 125. Defeats the *Athenians*, 131. Pleads the cause of the *Athenian* captives, 135.
Gyrton, capital of the kingdom of *Orestes*, 552.

H.

H *Alicarnassus*, metropolis of *Caria*, 53. Why excluded the *Dorian* confederacy, 60.
Haloneſus, one of the *Cyclades* islands, 507.
Halycus, a river in *Sicily*, 86.
Hamilcar, his fleet and army, 99. Defeated and killed by *Gelon*, 100. Sent into *Sicily*, 212. Defeated 213. Taken prisoner, at *Syracuse*, 226. Killed, *ibid.*
Hamilco sent into *Sicily*, 278. Comes to relieve *Syracuse*, 286. Dies of the plague, 287.
Hannibal sent into *Sicily*, 138. His army and fleet, *ibid.* Takes and burns *Selinus*, 139, and *Himera*, 140. His second army, 143. Invades *Sicily*, *ib.* & *seq.* Defeated at sea by the *Rhodians*, 348.
Hanno, general against *Agathocles*, 224. Killed, *ib.*
 ——— governor of *Messana*, surrenders it to the *Romans*, 242. Crucified, 243.
 ——— the son of *Hannibal*, besieges *Messana*, 243. His success in *Sicily*, 298. Defeated, 299. Envies *Mutines*, *ib.* Deprives him of his commission, 303. Flees from *Sicily*, 304.
Harmonia, where born, 520.
Harpagus, takes *Phoea*, 34.
Hecatæus, an account of him, 510, C.
Hegesistratus's speech to *Leotychides*, 439.
Hellenus, the son of *Deucalion*, the supposed father of the *Hellenes*, 54.
Helepolis, a warlike machine, described, 328.
Heliades settle at *Rhodes*, 312. Admit *Phorbas*, *ib.*
Helicon foretels an eclipse, which surprizes *Dionysius*, 189, E.
Heloris saves *Rhegium*, 171. Defeated by *Dionysius*, 173.
Hephestias, metropolis of *Lemnos*, 508.
Heraclea, *Herod's* daughter's speech to her murderers, 265.
 ——— a city in *Sicily*, 78. Whycalled *Minos*, *ibid.* — Capital of the *Lycesti*, 556. In *Crete* described, 368.
Heraclidæ invade *Peloponnesus*, 55.
Heracledes's character, 194. Cabals against *Dion*, *ib.* & *seq.* Defeats *Dionysius* at sea, 195.
Herean games at *Samos* described, 418.
Hermocrates's successful stratagem against the *Athenians*, 129, & *seq.* His moderation towards their prisoners, 133.
 Beaten

- Beaten by the *Athenians* near *Abydos*, 136. Returns home, *ibid.*
- Hetruscans* defeated by *Hiero*, 107.
- Hexapylum* described, 281, note. Taken, 184.
- Hiera*, island, how increased, 473.
- Hierapytna*, a city in *Crete*, described, 368.
- Hiero*, king of *Syracuse*, 105. Wars with the *Agrigentines*, 106. Defeats them, 107. His death, 108. Character, *ib.* & seq.
- general of *Syracuse*, his character, 236. Rids him of his auxiliaries, 238. Defeats the *Mamertines*, *ib.* Outwitted by *Hannibal*, 239. Makes a treaty with *Carthage*, 243. Defeated by the *Romans*, 245. Allies with them, 247. His wise government, 248, & seq. Generosity to the *Romans*, &c. 249, & seq. Prevails on *Archimedes* to prepare surprizing engines of war, 251. His death, 253.
- Hieronymus* succeeds *Hiero* to the crown, 254. His wicked reign, *ib.* & seq. Rejects the advice of *Thrafo*, 255. Breaks with the *Romans*, 257. Allies with *Carthage*, *ib.* & seq. Assassinated, 259.
- Hierophantes*, the priests of *Ceres* so called, 4, note.
- Himera*, a city in *Sicily*, described, 82. When and by whom built, 89. Besieged by *Hamilcar*, 99. Relieved by *Gelon*, 100.
- a river in *Sicily*, 82, G. 85. vid. & 257, note.
- Hipparchus* where born, 554.
- Hipparinus* seizes on *Syracuse*, 204.
- Hippias*, tyrant of *Athens*, expelled, 591. Refuses a retreat offered by *Amyntas* of *Macedon*, *ibid.*
- Hippoclus*, king of *Chios*, murdered, 461.
- Hippocrates*, tyrant of *Gela*, 95. His treachery to the *Zancleans*, 438.
- the famous physician, where born, 467, & note T.
- a nobleman of *Syracuse*, 256. Persuades the young king to an alliance with *Carthage*, *ib.* Forms a plot against the republicans, 263. Chosen prætor, 266. Cabals against the *Romans*, 268. Chosen general of the *Leontines*, 269. His stratagem against those of *Syracuse*, 271. Enters the city, 272. Defeated by *Marcellus*, 278. Dies of the plague, 287.
- Hippodamus* builds the city of *Rhodes*, 309, B.
- Hippon*, tyrant of *Messana*, put to death, 214.
- Histiæus*'s treachery to the *Chians*, 463. Partiality for *Darius*, 588.
- Hæmus* mount in *Macedon* described, 557.
- Homer*, where born, 458.

Honey of Hybla famed, 74.

Hybla, a city in *Sicily*, described, 74. Several cities of that name, *ibid*.

Hyblea, *Megara*, by whom founded, 89.

Hycetas, tyrant of *Syracuse*, 231.

Hydrusia, island, see *Tenos*, 492. And *Andros*, 493.

Hyperborean maidens, how worshipped at *Delos*, 499.

Hyperion, the *Titan*, a great astronomer, 371.

I.

Alissus, an antient city of *Rhodes*, described, 307.

Jafien, where born, 520. Marries *Cybele*, *ibid*.

Icaria, island, described, 465. Whence so called, *ib*.

Icetas's inhumanity to *Dion's* family, 204. Becomes tyrant of the *Leontines*, *ib*. & seq. Attempts at *Syracuse*, 206. Obstructs *Timoleon's* entering *Sicily*, 207. Defeated by him, 208. Besieges the citadel of *Syracuse*, 209. Deposed by *Timoleon*, 211. Put to death with his whole family, 214.

Icus, island, described, 507.

Ida, a mountain in *Crete*, described, 369.

Idæi Dactyli inhabit mount *Ida*, 370.

Idomeneus, king of *Crete*, goes to the *Trojan* war, 383. Attempts to sacrifice his son, *ib*. Forced into *Calabria*, 384, & note. Adored by the *Cretans*, *ibid*.

Idriæus sent against *Cyprus*, 407.

Imbrian festivals described, 513.

Imbros, island, described, 513. By whom subdued, *ib*.

Imilcar sent with *Hannibal* into *Sicily*, 143. Besieges *Agri- gentum*, 144. Intercepts the *Syracusan* fleet, 145. Takes *Agrigentum*, 146. And *Gela*, 153. Makes peace with *Dionysius*, 154. Sent general against *Dionysius*, 161. Takes *Erix* and *Motya*, *ib*. And *Messana*, 162. Besieges *Syracuse*, 164. Beat by sea and land, 168. Kills himself, 170.

Inopus, a river in *Delos*, 502.

Ion the tragedian where born, 459, note S.

Ionis described, 33. Its various fates, 62, & seq.

———— *Pan-Ionium*, what, 58, and note.

Ionian, *Samos*, why so called, 416.

Ionian confederacy, what, 58.

Ionian gulf described, 520, F.

Ionians, their original, 54. Drive the *Carians* and *Leleges* from *Ephesus*, 47. Their government, 57. Cantons and cities, 58. Seize on all the *Carian* women, *ib*. Their religion and trade, 60, 61. Invaded by *Cyrus*, 62, & seq.

- Settle in *Abdera*, 64. Courted by *Themistocles*, ib. & seq.
 By *Leotychides*, 65. Shake off the *Persian* yoke, 66. Their
 various fates since, ib. & seq. Settle at *Samos*, 420. Trea-
 chery to the *Cbians*, 462.
Ioria, the region of, where situate, 556.
Iougous mountain, its remarkable flower, 565.
Iphicrates's behaviour to *Perdiccas* II, 612. Drives *Pausa-*
nias out of *Macedon*, ibid.
Iphimedia carried off by the *Naxians*, 482.
Iron, the melting of, where first discovered, 369.
Isocrates's orations to *Nicocles*, 407.
Issa, vid. *Antissa*. 450.
Julis, the famous ruins of, birth-place of the two *Simonides*,
 475, & U.
Juno, her famous temple at *Samos*, 418.
Jupiter, one of the *Titans*, 371. Where brought up, 372.
 By whom nursed, 377. Vid. & note K. 374.

L.

- L** *Acedæmonians* speech to the *Athenians*, 596, & seq. Join
 with the *Macedonians*, 602. Assist *Amyntas* against the
Olynthians, 609.
Laches finishes the *Colossus*, 310, C.
Laconic gulfs, the isles of, 525.
Lade, the sea-fight of, 462. The isle of, 466.
Lævinus comes into *Sicily*, 303. Takes *Agrigentum*, ibid.
 Completes the conquest of that island, 304. Reduces it to
 one province, ibid.
Lamachus sent into *Sicily*, 116. Killed before *Syracuse*, 121.
Laous, a river in *Macedon*, described, 561.
Lapatbus, a city in *Cyprus*, described, 391.
Lapithas, king of *Crete*, 377. Carries away *Europa*, ibid.
 Builds *Gortyna*, ib.
Lappa in *Crete*, taken by *Metellus*, though defended by *Octa-*
vius, 389.
Lapytha, one of the four parts of *Cyprus*, 394.
Latomiae, the prison of, described, 76.
Latona, where delivered, 496, & 503.
Law-suits, how carried on in *Macedon*, 573.
Lebedos, the antient state of it, 42.
Lemnian women turn *Amazons*, 512.
 ——— earth, why famed, 509. How digged, ib. In
 great reputation at present, ib.
Lemnians offered human sacrifices to *Juno*, 508. Murdered
 by their wives, 512.

- Lemnos* island described, 507, & seq. The labyrinth of, 510.
 By whom first inhabited, *ib.* Its government, 512.
Lentifus, son of *Ptolemy*, taken prisoner by *Demetrius*, 411.
 Generously restored to his liberty, *ib.*
Leon surprises *Acradina*, 209, 210.
 ——— a city in *Sicily*, described, 281, note.
Leontines come into *Sicily*, 89. Oppressed by the *Syracusians*, 113. Make peace with them, 114. Break it, 269.
Leontini, a city in *Sicily*, described, 73. Taken by the *Romans*, 270.
 ——— the lake of, described, 73.
Leptines made admiral of *Dionysius's* fleet, 160. Sinks fifty *Carthaginian* galleys, 161. • Defeated by *Mago*, 163.
 Discharged for his generosity, 172. Killed by the *Carthaginians*, 179. His character, *ib.*
 ——— tyrant of *Engya*, deposed by *Timoleon*, 211.
Leros, the island of, described, 466.
Lesbians, from whom descended, 452. Their government, kings, &c. 453, & seq. Subdued by the *Mitylenians*, 454.
 By the *Persians*, 455.
Lesbos, island, described, 449. By whom first inhabited, 452. Famed for its wine, 451.
Lesbus, the son of *Eopithas*, settles in *Lesbos*, 452. Becomes king of it, 453.
Leucadia, peninsula, described, 29. Betrayed to the *Romans*, *ibid.*
Leucas, metropolis of *Acarmania*, 28, & note. Taken by *Lucius*, 29.
Leucas, island, described, 523.
Leuci, mountains in *Crete*, described, 369.
Leucippus, king of *Rhodes*, 453.
Leutychides drives off the *Persian* fleet, 439, 440.
Lilybæum, the cape of, in *Sicily*, 69.
 ——— the city of, described, 80, & 233.
 ——— the prophetic well of, 80.
Lindia, *Minerva*, her temple, 307.
Lindus, an antient city of *Rhodes*, described, 307.
Lipari island described, 86. Whence so called, *ib.*
Lochia, what, 283, W.
Lombai, what, 283, W.
Lucanians hired by *Dionysius* against the *Thurians*, 172.
Lucius, Roman general subdues *Acarmania*, 29.
Lucullian coin, 15.
Lucullus, *Sylla's* quæstor in *Greece*, *ib.* & 468.
Lycastes, king of *Crete*, 378.

Lychnides, a city in *Macedon*, 553.

—— lake, *ib.* & 562.

Lychnites, *Carian* marble, why so called, 486.

Lychas, a city in *Crete*, described, 368.

Lycians, whence so called, 378. Bitter complaints against the *Rhodians*, 351. Redressed, *ib.* Restored to their freedom, 358.

Lycomedes, king of *Scyrus*, kills *Theseus*, 505. *Achilles* lies concealed in his court, *ib.*

Lyncesthi, where situate, 556. Invaded by the *Macedonians*, 604.

M.

Maecareus settles in *Lesbos*, 452. His reign and conquests, 453.

Macaris, *Crete*, why so called, 365.

Macedonia, invaded by the *Romans*, 10. Whence so called, 546, & A. Its limits, &c. 547, & B. Described, 556, & seq. Use of the description, *ib.* Its extent, *ib.* Its mountains and woods, *ib.* & seq. Its seas, lakes, &c. climate, &c. 561, & seq. Rich mines, 563. Antiquity, laws, and kings, 565, & seq.

Macedonians, originally *Argives*, 566. Their laws and customs, 571, & seq. Religion, *ib.* & seq. Ignorance of sea affairs, 572. Months, 574. Coin, 577. Language, military discipline, &c. 576, & seq. Manner of encamping and fighting, 579, & seq. Kings, 582, & seq. Become dependent on the *Persians*, 591. Their faithfulness to them, 592, & seq. Defeated by the *Lyncesthians*, 604.

Mæandrus's generosity to the *Samians*, 433, & seq. Invaded by *Syloson*, 435, & seq. Retires to *Lacedæmon*, 436. Forced to leave *Peloponnesus*, 437.

Mago sent admiral against *Dionysius*, 161. Defeated by him, 171. Makes peace with him, *ib.* Sent again into *Sicily*, 179. Defeated and killed, *ib.* Succeeded by his valiant son, *ib.*

Malum, a city in *Cyprus*, 392.

Mamercus, tyrant of *Catana*, put to death, 214.

Mamartini, who, 231. Their treachery to the *Messinians*, *ib.* Defeated by *Pyrrhus*, 235. By *Hiero*, 239.

Marcelli, patrons of the *Sicilians*, 302.

Marcellus sent into *Sicily*, 267. Takes *Leontini*, 270. Besieges *Syracuse*, 274. Invents a new machine, *ib.* Takes several

- several cities, 278. Defeats *Hippocrates*, *ib.* His singular clemency, 285, & seq. A plague in his army, 287. Takes *Syracuse*, 291, & seq. His signal clemency to it, 292. Takes *Engyum*, 297. Defeats the *Carthaginians*, 299. Unjustly accused, 301. Cleared, *ib.* How far blameable, 302, note.
- Mardonius's* successful expedition against *Athens*, 591, & seq. Against *Greece*, 593, & seq. Defeated and killed, 598.
- Marmora*, the sea of, whence so called, 444, P.
- Marpessus's* mount, famed for marble, 486.
- Mastic* of *Chios*, famed, 458.
- Mastiffs* of *Adranum*, why famed, 83.
- Mausolæum*, of *Artemisia*, at *Halicarnassus*, 53.
- Mausolus*, king of *Caria*, oppresses the *Rhodians*, 320.
- Megabifus's* hapless message to *Amyntas*, 589, & seq.
- Megara*, taken and razed by the *Romans*, 278.
- Megareans* war with the *Samians*, 422.
- Megaritis*, *vid.* *Hybla*, 74.
- Melanchrus*, tyrant of *Lesbos*, driven out by *Pittacus*, 454.
- Meles*, river in *Ionia*, 38.
- Meleans*, whence, 478. Cruelly treated by the *Athenians*, *ibid.*
- Melissa*, one of *Jupiter's* nurses, 377.
- Melissæ*, whence so called, *ib.*
- Melisseus* introduces worship into *Crete*, 377.
- Melos*, island, described, 478. Abounds with iron mine, and famous for wine and honey, 479. Invaded by the *Athenians*, 478. Subdued by the *Romans*, 479.
- Menelaus* defeated by *Demetrius*, 411. Defends *Salamis*, 410. Taken prisoner, 411.
- Menesarchus*, tyrant of *Eubœa*, wars with the *Thebans*, 542. Applies for aid to the *Athenians*, *ib.*
- Mericus* surrenders *Acradina*, to the *Romans*, 291, & seq.
- Meriones*, king of *Crete*, signalizes himself at *Troy*, 384. Adored by the *Cretans*, *ib.*
- Meronea* taken by the *Macedonians*, 341.
- Messina*, *al* *Messana*, a city in *Sicily*, 2. Whence so called, *ib.* Taken by the *Carthaginians*, 162. Razed, *ib.* Rebuilt by *Dionysius*, 170. Attacked by the *Carthaginians*, 239, & seq. Relieved by the *Romans*, 241. Closely besieged by *Hanno*, 243.
- the straits of, described, 70.
- Metellus* sent into *Crete*, 387. Quarrels with *Pompey*, 388. Subdues the island, 389. Triumphs and is surnamed *Creticus*, *ibid.*
- Methymna*, a city of *Lesbos*, described, 450.

Metrodorus,

- Metrodorus*, where born, &c. 459, & note.
Micri Camini, the island of, 473.
Micythus, regent of *Rhegium*, his honest administration, 108.
 Retires into *Greece*, *ibid.*
Milefians, their state and character, 48. How cultivated and reformed by the *Parians*, 49. Transplanted by the *Persians*, 50.
Miletum, or *Miletus*, by whom founded, 48. The state of it described, *ibid.* & seq. The tyrants of it, 51, 52. The tragedy of, 50.
Milinus, king of *Crete*, 377.
Miltiades, *Athenian* general's victory at *Marathon*, 487.
 Fruitless attempt on *Paros*, 488.
Minoa, by whom built, 90.
Minos gives laws to *Crete*, 372. Whose son he was, *ibid.*
 His reign, 377. Fleet, wars, &c. *ibid.* & seq. Cruelty to the *Athenians*, 379. War with *Cocalus*, *ibid.* Murdered, 380. His laws, *ibid.* & seq. *Minotaur*, described, 379.
Mithridates, king of *Pontus*, sends an army into *Greece*, 11.
Mithridates VII. Defeated by the *Rhodians*, 361.
Mitylene, metropolis of *Lesbos*, 450. Its worthies, *ibid.* The seat of learning, 451. Taken by *Memnon*, 456.
Mitylenians war with the *Athenians*, 454. Highly favoured by *Alexander*, 456.
Mnemofyne, whence so called, 371.
Moavias sells the *Colossus*, 311.
Morgantia, vid. *Murgentium*, 73.
Morgetæ, who, 73.
Mother, a title given to the chief goddess, 84. & H.
Motya, described, 160. Taken by *Dionysus*, *ibid.* & seq.
Munychia, repaired by *Adrian*, 22.
Murgentium, a city in *Sicily*, described, 73. Surrendered to *Hamilo*, 279.
Mustai, of *Athens*, what, 3, note.
Mutines's valour maintains the *Carthaginians* in *Sicily*, 298. & seq. Envied by *Hanno*, &c. 299. Ravages the island, 300. Betrays *Agrigentum* to the *Romans*, 304. Rewarded by them, 305.
Myconians subject to baldness, 491. Their character, 492.
Myconus, island described, 491.
Mlygdonia, a province in *Macedon*, 546. Where situate 554.
Mylæ, a city in *Sicily*, described, 238, & N.
Myllos, an undecent statue in the temple of *Ceres*, 4, note.
Mynians settle in *Lacedæmon*, 470. Their treachery, *ibid.* Escape, *ibid.* Settle at *Theræ*, 471.

Myrmidons,

Myrmidons, whence so called, 527. Inhabitants of what place, *ibid.*

Myron, a famed statuary, 419.

Myrsilus, tyrant of *Lesbos*, 454. *Alcæus* writes invectives against him, *ibid.*

N.

Næniæ, by whom invented, 476.

Nartesis, the temple of, 417.

Nauplius, king of *Eubœa*, wrecks the *Grecian* fleet, 535.

Ulysses and *Diomedes* escaping, he drowns himself, *ibid.*

Naxians, whence, 482. Their government, 483, & seq. Treachery to the *Persians*, 484. Join the *Athenians* in the *Peloponnesian* war, *ibid.* Oppressed by the *Rhodians*, *ibid.*

Naxos, island, described, 481. Its excellent wines, *ibid.*

Taken by *Dionysius*, 571. By the *Thessalians*, 482. *Carians*, *ibid.* Invaded by *Aristagoras*, 483. Subdued by the *Persians*, 484. By the *Athenians*, *ibid.*

Naxus, the son of *Palemon*, reigns in *Naxos*, 482.

——metropolis of that island, 483.

Neapaphos, in *Cyprus*, described, 392.

Neapolis, one of the four quarters of *Syracuse*, 74. When added to it, 75.

Negropont, *Eubœa* why so called, 533.

Neleus, a river in *Eubœa*, 535.

Neptune, why worshipped at *Tenos*, 493.

Neritus mount, where situate, 524.

Nestus, a river in *Macedon*, 562.

Nicander king of *Cos*, 453.

Nicaria, vide *Icaria*, 465.

Nicolaus the *Syracusan's* brave speech in favour of the *Athenian* prisoners, 133, & seq.

Nicias sent into *Sicily*, 116. Surprises *Olympicum*, 119.

And *Epipolæ*, 120. Driven out by *Gylippus*, 123. De-

feated at sea, 124. Frighted by a lunar eclipse, 126. De-

feated again, 128, & seq. Outwitted by *Hermocrates*,

129, & seq. Greatly distressed, 130, & seq. Sur-

renders to *Gylippus*, 132. Condemned to death, 135.

——a wit, his untimely pleasantries, 297.

Nicocles, I. king of *Cyprus* dethroned, 403.

——II. his reign, 406.

——king of *Paphos* and his family kill themselves, 409.

Nicocrates,

Nicocrates king of *Salamis*, his noble library, 401.

Nicocreon I. king of *Salamis*, 398.

———II. his cruelty, 402.

Nisyra, island, how parted from that of *Cos*, 469.

Nypsius surprizes *Syracuse*, 198. Puts all to the sword, *ibid.*

O.

O*asis* in *Egypt*, inhabited by *Samians*, 421.

Ochus invades *Cyprus*, 407. & seq. Makes peace with it, 408.

Octavius unreasonably opposes *Metellus* in *Crete*, 388.

Driven out of the island, 389.

Olanus, a city in *Lesbos*, by whom built, 452.

Olbus, the temple and priesthood of, 398.

Oleeros island described, 480.

Olympia, the castle of, 76.

Olympius Jupiter, his famed temple at *Agrigentum*, described, 78.

Olympus mount, described, 561, H.

Olyntbians invaded by the *Macedonians*, 609. Defeat the *Spartans*, *ib.* Subdued by *Amyntas*, 610.

Olynthus taken by the *Persians*, 594.

Onesilus king of *Salamis*, 399. Revolts from the *Persians*, *ib.* Killed in battle, 400.

Ophellas betrayed and murdered by *Agathocles*, 227.

Ophiussa, *Tenos* island, why so called, 492.

Opis, why honoured by the *Delians*, 500.

Orbelia, the country of, where situate, 555.

Oreos in *Eubæa* described, 538. Taken by the *Rhodians*, 342. By the *Athenians*, 538.

Orestes kingdom of, 552.

———king of *Macedon*, 608.

Orebia, a city in *Eubæa*, drowned, 539.

Oroetes treacherously seizes and crucifies the tyrant *Polycrates*, 430.

Orontes's treachery to *Tiribazus*, 406.

Orosanges, who, 439.

Ortygia, *Delos*, why so called, 495.

———one of the four quarters of *Syracuse*, 74. Taken by the *Romans*, 292.

Otacilius, *M.* sent into *Sicily*, 246.

Otanes sent to invade *Samos*, 435. His cruelty to the *Samians*, 436. Re-peoples that island, 437.

P.

- P***Achynum*, a cape in Sicily, 69. Now *Capo Passaro*, 71.
Palena, a city in Macedonia, 555. Famous for inhospitable Giants. *ib.*
Palæpaphos, a city in Cyprus, 392.
Palermo, al. *Panormus*, capital of Sicily, 82.
Palici, twin gods worshipped by the *Siculi*, 92, note. Greatly revered, *ib.*
Palicon, the city of, whence so called, 92, & note. The temple of, *ib.* L.
Pancratis, ravished by the *Naxians*, 482.
Pangeas mount in Macedonia, 556. —the mines of, *ib.* & 563.
Pangasus, a river in Macedonia, described, 561.
Paphia, one of the four parts of Cyprus, 394.
Paphus, whose son he was, 396.
Paraxis, the region of, where situate, 555.
Parian marble described, 486.
Parians reform the state of the *Milesians*, 49.
Paros island described, 485, & seq. Famous for its marble, 486. By whom inhabited, 487. Attempted in vain by *Miltiades*, 488, & seq. Falls under the power of the *Athenians*, 489.
 —the city of, described, 486. Besieged by the *Athenians* 488, & seq. Subdued, 489.
Parthenia, *Samos* why so called, 416.
Pasiphaæ, the wife of *Minos*, her incontinency, 379.
Patmos island described, 465. Used by the *Romans* as a place of Banishment, 466.
Pausanias king of *Macedon*, 608. Killed by *Amyntas*, *ib.*
Pausistratus invades *Caria*, 342, & seq. His gallant behaviour, 343. Sent against *Antiochus*, 345. Perishes through the treachery of *Polyxenidas*, 346, & seq.
Pelagena where situate, 555.
Pelasgians settle in *Crete*, 372. First inhabitants of *Lesbos*, 452. Why driven out of *Attica*, 510. Settle at *Lemnos*, *ib.* Murder the *Athenian* breed, 512.
Pelion the mountain of, its height, 561, H.
Pella a city in *Macedon*, 553. Its vast stud of horses, 564.
Pelopidas's success in *Thessaly*, 611.
Pelorum, a cape in Sicily, whence so called, 69.
Pelastæ in *Macedon*, their office, 579.
Peneus river described, 561, H.

Peparethus, island, described, 506. Its wine famed, hence called *Euænus*, 507.

Perdiccas I. fourth king of *Macedon*, 585.

—II. son of *Alexander*, his reign, 599. Wars with *Athenians*, 600. Joins with *Brasidas* against the *Lyncestæ*, 604. His death and character 605.

—III. set on the throne by *Pelopidas*, 612.

Perea recovered by the *Rhodians*, 342.

Periander's revenge on the *Corcyreans*, 423.

Pericles invades *Samos*, 440. Takes the capital of it, 442.

Perillus presents his brazen bull to *Phalaris*, 305, 306. Suffers in it himself, 306.

Persian ambassadors, their Rude behaviour at the court of *Macedon*, 589. How treated, 590.

Persians oppress the *Cypriots*, 399. Make peace with them, 402. Defeat the *Grecian* fleet, 438. The causes of that war, 591, & seq. Defeated by *Mardonius*, *ib.* Put to flight by *Leotychides*, 439.

Pessuthnes assists the *Samians* Against the *Athenians*, 441.

Petalism at *Syracuse*, what, 112.

Petilia, by whom built, 383, & seq.

Phædra's incontinency, 383.

Phalanx, *Macedonian*, how disposed, 579.

Phalaris, tyrant of *Agrigentum*, 305. His brazen bull, 147, & Y. His death, 306.

Pharmacusa, island, described, 466. *Cæsar* taken prisoner near it, *ib.*

Pherenice, princess of *Rhodes*, carries her son to the *olympic* games, 317.

Pheretima, Queen of *Cyrene*, driven into *Cyprus*, 398. Her reception there, *ib.*

Phidon, the first coiner of money, 528.

Philæus, king of *Salamis*, yields that island to the *Athenians*, 532.

Philip, the son of *Antigonus*, ravages *Attica*, 6. His fury against the *Athenians*, 9. Prejudicial to him, *ib.* Forced to defend *Macedonia*, 10.

Philip of *Macedon* wars with *Rhodes*, 339, & seq. Accused to the *Romans*, 341. Makes peace with them, 345.

Philip I. sixth king of *Macedon*, 587.

—II. where brought up, 613.

Philippi, by whom built, 555. Called formerly *Crenides*, *ib.*

Philistides, tyrant of *Oreos*, 544.

Philistus the historian, his character, 186. Treachery to *Dion*, 187. Defeated at sea, 195. His personal bravery, *ib.* Kills himself, *ib.*

Philocles

- Philoeles* general of *Philip*, sent to ravage *Attica*, 8.
Phocæa, metropolis of *Ionia* described, 34. Taken by *Harpagus*, *ib.* By the *Romans*, 36.
Phocæan games, why instituted, 35, note.
Phocæans, great mariners, 34. Found several cities in *Europe*, *ib.* Abandon their city to the *Persians*, 35. Turn pirates, *ib.*
Phæbus, why fabled in love with *Rhodes*, 307, 310.
Phorbas, why admitted into *Rhodes*, 313.
Phronima, princess of *Crete*, how saved from death, 385.
Phrynon overcome by *Pittacus*, 455.
Phylace, a city in *Macedonia*, famed for a vision of *Alexander's*, 553.
Phyto defends *Rhegium* against *Dionysius*, 175. Barbarously murdered by him, 176.
Pieria, the region of, 553. Its mines, 563.
Pierian hills, described, 564, 565.
Pimplia hill, described, 565. Its poisonous fountain, *ib.*
Pinarius saves *Enna* from being betrayed, 279.
Pindarus, tyrant of *Ephesus*, 47.
Pins, why consecrated by the *Argives*, 531, in. fin. not.
Pittacus, where born, 450.
 —king of *Lesbos*, his character, 454. His laws and writings, 455. Overcomes *Phrynon*, *ib.*
Plane tree in *Crete*; described, 367.
Plato, invited into *Sicily* by *Dionysius I.* 85, note. Punished for his freedom of speech, *ib.* Invited thither by his son, 186. Polishes him, 187. Comes a third time to *Syracuse*, 189. Goes back into *Greece*, 190.
Plutarchus, tyrant of *Eubæa*, expelled, 543.
Polemarchos, magistrate in *Bæotia* his office, 24.
Polyærnus's speech to the *Syracusians*, 260, 261.
Polycrates enslaves the *Samians*, 424. Allies with *Egypt*, *ib.* Subdues his neighbours, *ib.* The adventure of his seal, 425. Sends a fleet to *Cambyfes*, 426. Outwits the *Lacedæmonians*, 427. Outwitted by *Oroetes*, 429. Crucified, 430. His character, *ib.*
Polydectes, king of *Seriphus*, 477.
Polyxenidas's treachery to the *Rhodians*, 345, & seq.
Polyzelus, prince of *Syracuse*, envied by his brother, 106. Reconciled to him, *ib.*
Pompey opposes *Metellus* in *Crete*, 388.
Potidea in *Macedon*, by whom founded, 555. Declares against the *Persians*, 593, 594. Surrenders to the *Athenians*, 600.

- Preconnesian* marble famed, 445.
Preconnesus, island, described, *ib.* Whether the same with *Elaphonnesus*, *ib.* Q.
Prepesinthus, island, described, 480.
Priene, where situate, 48.
Proesia, the first festival of *Ceres*, 2, note.
Prometheus, a Titan, first striker of fire, 371.
Propontis, now sea of *Marmora*, described, 444, note (P).
Proserpine, where ravished, 84.
Protagoras I. king of *Cyprus*, 402.
 ——— II. an usurper of it, 407. Makes peace with the *Persians*, 408.
Protogenes, the famed painter, protected by *Demetrius*, 335. His master-piece described, *ib.* E.
Prusias, king of *Bithynia*, assists the *Rhodians*, 337. Joins with them in the peace, 338.
Prytanes of *Rhodes*, their office, 352, & F.
Ptolemy Soter, Succours the *Rhodians*, 329. Whence surnamed *Soter*, 334.
 ——— of *Lathurus*, his wealth and 'ordidness, 413. Stripped of *Cyprus* by the *Romans*, 414, & seq. Kills himself, 415.
 ——— a natural son of *Amyntas*, 610. His treasons, 611, & seq.
Ptychia, island, where situate, 522. Confounded by *Ptolemy* with a city of *Corcyra*, *ib.*
Pumice stones cast up by the sea, 473.
Punishments among the *Macedonians*, 573.
Purple worn by the *Macedonian* nobles, 570.
Pydna, a city of *Macedon*, 553. Subdued by *Archelaus*, 607.
Pygmalion, the story of, 396.
Pyræchmes, king of *Eubœa*, killed by *Hercules*, 541.
Pyræum, or *Pyræus*, rebuilt by *Adrian*, 22.
Pyrrha, a city of *Lesbos*, overturned, 449.
Pyrrhic dance, what, 381.
Pyrrhus II. invited into *Sicily*, 232. Oppresses the *Sicilians*, 233, & seq. Forced away, 235. Defeated at sea, *ib.*
Pythagoras, some account of him, 431, O.
 ——— tyrant of *Ephesus*, 47.

Q.

- Quince-Tree*, whence brought, 366.
Quinctius L. ravages *Carystia*, 342.

Retimo,

R.

Retimo, a city in *Crete*, described, 368.

Rhadamanthus, whose son he was, 373. His colonies, *ibid.* Gives laws to the *Cretans*, 376.

Rhea, a *Titaness*, 371.

Rhegians defeated by *Dionysius*, 170. Their contemptuous answer to him, 174, & not.

Rhegium besieged by *Dionysius*, 171, 174. Forced through famine to surrender, 175.

Rhenea, island, described, 504. The burying place of the *Delians*, *ibid.* *Strabo's* mistake concerning it, *ibid.*

Rhodes, island, described, 306. & seq. Its different names, *ibid.* Whence so called, *ibid.* & *Z.* By whom peopled, 312.

—— knights of, settle in *Malta*, 312.

—— city of, by whom built, 307, and note. Described, 309, & *B.* & 311. Taken by *Artemisia*, 321. She erects a trophy there, *ibid.* In danger of being drowned, 323. How delivered, *ibid.* Besieged by *Demetrius*, 324, & seq. Wonderful defence, 325. The siege raised, 334. Damaged by an earthquake, 339. Besieged by *Mithridates*, 360. Taken and plundered by *Cassius*, 362, & seq.

Rhodian writers, an account of, 314, *D.*

Rhodians assist the *Athenians* against *Philip*, 17. Outwit the *Grecian* states, 311, 339. Great mariners, 314. Their government, kings, &c., *ib.* & seq. Become a commonwealth, 318. Join in the social war, *ibid.* Make peace with *Athens*, 320. Oppressed by the *Carians*, *ibid.* Outwitted and subdued by *Artemisia*, 321. Recover their liberty, 322. Surrender to *Alexander*, *ibid.* War with the *Byzantines*, 337, & seq. Make peace with them, 338. War with *Philip* of *Macedon*, 339, & seq. Defeat him in *Caria*, 343. Message to *Antiochus*, 344. Defeated at sea by stratagem, 345, & seq. Send *Eudamus* with a new fleet, 347. Defeat *Hannibal* at sea, 348. Rewarded by the *Romans*, 350. Complained against by the *Lycians*, 351. Suspected by the *Romans*, 352. Join with *Rome* against *Perses*, 353. Their haughty embassy to the senate, 354. Displeases the *Romans*, *ib.* & seq. Who humble them, 356, & seq. *Lycia* and *Caria* taken from them, 358. Readmitted to ally with them, 359. Invaded by *Mithridates*, 360. Defeated at sea by *Cassius*, 362. Re-

flored

stored to their antient privileges, 363. Oppress the island, *ibid.* Subdued by *Vespasian*, 364.

Romans admitted to the mysteries of *Ceres*, 6. Subdue the *Athenians*, 21. The *Bæotians*, 25. The *Acarnanians*, 29. *Epirus*, 30. Called into *Sicily*, 239. Their success there, 246, & seq. Make a treaty with *Hiero*, 247. Ill success in *Sicily*, 249, 252. Embassy ill received at *Syracuse*, 256. Proclaim war against *Philip*, 341. Ally with *Rhodes* and *Pergamus*, *ibid.* Defeat the *Macedonians*, 343. Make peace with him, 345. Join against *Antiochus*, 344, & seq. Their gratitude to *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians*, 350. War with *Perses*, 353, & seq. Answer to the *Rhodian* ambassadors, 355, 356. Make a fresh alliance with them, 359. War with the *Cretans*, 386, & seq. Conquer them, 387, & seq. Take *Cyprus* by treachery, 412.

S.

S *Alaminia*, one of the four parts of *Cyprus*, 394.

Salamis, the kingdom of, by whom founded, 397. The kings of, *ib.* & seq. The end of, 409.

—— the island of, described, 531. Yielded to the *Athenians*, 532. By whom subdued, *ib.* Declared free, *ib.*

—— the city of, by whom built, 391, & 396. Besieged by the *Persians*, 405. By *Demetrius*, 410. Retaken by *Ptolemy*, 412.

Sambuca, a warlike machine, described, 274, 275.

Same, the metropolis of *Cephalenia*, 524.

Samian worthies enumerated, 432, 433, note.

—— exiles assisted by the *Lacedæmonians*, 427. Their success, *ib.* & seq.

—— earthen ware famed, 420.

Samians, great navigators, 418. Worshippers of *Juno*, why, *ib.* & seq. First builders of transport ships, 420. Their government, laws, &c. *ibid.* & seq. Plant a colony in *Egypt*, 421. War with the *Eginates*, *ibid.* And *Megaraeans*, 422. Inslaved by the *Geomori*, *ibid.* By *Syloson*, *ibid.* By *Æaces*, 423. By *Polycrates*, *ibid.* By *Mæandrus*, 433. By *Syloson* II. 437. Forsake their country, *ibid.* Enslaved by *Æaces*, 438. Treachery to the *Ionians*, 437. Subjected to the *Persians*, 439. Revolt to the *Greeks*, 440. Ally with *Athens*, *ibid.* Revolt, *ibid.* Subdued by *Pericles*, 441. Their various changes since, 442, & seq.

Samos,

Samos, island; described, 416, & seq.

—— metropolis of that island described, 417. By whom built, *ib.* Its rarities, *ib.* Taken by *Pericles*, 442.

Samothrace, whence so called, 515. Described, 516. The gods of, dreaded by all nations, 518. The deluge of, 519.

Government, 220. A free island, *ib.*

Samothracia, *Samos*, why so called, 416.

Santorin, island, vid. *Thera*, 473.

Sæon polishes the *Samothracians*, 519, 520.

Sapeans, first inhabitants of *Lemnos*, 510.

Sappho, where born, 450. Called the tenth muse, *ib.*

Saron, the gulph of, described, 526, G.

Sarpedon I. and II. kings of *Crete*, 378.

Sason, an island of *Greece*, 521. Mentioned by antient historians variously, *ib.*

Saturn civilizes the *Cretans*, 381.

Scandea, the temple of *Venus* at, described, 526.

Scardian mountains in *Macedon*, 556.

Scythes, king of *Zancle*, banished, 438. Makes his escape to *Darius*, *ibid.*

Seal royal, sacred among the *Macedonians*, 570.

Sègesta, a city in *Sicily*, described, 81, & seq.

Selinuntines first war against the *Egestines*, 115, & seq. Second war, 136, & seq.

Selinus, the city of, described, 79. Besieged by *Hannibal*, 138. Taken and razed, 139.

—— the river of, 79.

Seriphian frogs dumb, 477, 478.

Seriphians, their origin, government, &c. 477.

Seriphus, island, described, 477, & seq. Famous for loadstones, 478.

Seuthes mediates a peace for *Perdiccas*, 601. Mounts the *Odrysian* throne, 603.

Sicani, who, 87. Vid. *Siculi*.

Sicania, the antient Name of *Sicily*, 88.

Sicily described, 69, & seq. Whether antiently joined to the continent, 70. Famed for learning, 86. By whom first inhabited, 87, & seq. Invaded by the *Athenians*, 116, & seq. By the *Carthaginians*, 143, & seq. 161, & seq. 220, & seq. Invite *Pyrrhus*, 232. Oppressed by him, 233, & seq. Force him away, 235.

Siculi, who they were, 88. Their kings and government, 92, & seq. Various changes, 93, & seq. Assist *Hannibal* before *Agrigentum*, 140. Dismissed by him, 142.

Sigæum taken by the *Athenians*, 454.

Simonides's

- Simonides's* wise instructions to *Alex*, 109. Two worthies of that name at *Cor*, 475, & U.
- Singitic* bay in *Macedon*, now *Golfo di monte santo*, 562.
- Siphnians*, their character, 479.
- Siphnus*, island, its riches, 427. Plundered by the *Samian* exiles, 428, 479.
- Siromus*, king of *Salamis*, 398.
- Sitalces*, invades *Macedonia*, 600, 601. Makes peace with it, 601.
- Smyrna*, by whom built, 37. Described, *ib.* Modern one described, 39. Number of its inhabitants, *ib.* Subject to earth-quakes, *ib.* & note D.
- Smyrneans*, faithful to the *Romans*, 39. Surprized by the *Colophonians*, 39, 40.
- Socrates* courted by *Archelaus*, 607.
- Solæ*, al. *Soli*, a city of *Cyprus*, why so called, 390. Its situation, *ib.*
- Soldiery*, how regulated by the *Macedonians*, 577, & seq.
- Sopater's* speech to the *Syracusians*, 264.
- Sosis*, head of a faction at *Syracuse*, 259, & seq. Forces *Andranodorus* to quit the throne, 260, & seq.
- Sosistratus*, tyrant of *Syracuse*, deposed, 217. Opposes *Tæmon*, 232. Revolts from *Pyrrhus*, 234.
- Sporades*, islands, whence so called, 448. Described, *ibid.*
- Stagira*, a city in *Macedon*, 554. Famous for the birth of *Hipparchus* & *Aristotle*, *ib.*
- Stephanophoros*, the priest of *Cor*, so called, 2, note.
- Stesenor*, king of *Carium's* treachery to the *Cyprians*, 400.
- Stesichorus*, the poet, where born, 82.
- Stesimbrotus*, an account of him, 515, D.
- Stones*, their growth, seen at *Olearos*, 480.
- Strombolo*, the island of, described, 86.
- Strophades*, islands, described, 524.
- Strymon*, a river in *Macedon*, 563.
- Strymonic* bay, 563.
- Sulpitius*, assists the *Athenians* against *Philip*, 8.
- Sulpitius P.* sent against *Macedon*, 341. Relieves *Athens*, *ibid.*
- Sybra*, island, where situate, 522.
- Sylla*, sent against *Mithridates*, 13. Besieges *Athens*, *ibid.* Plunders the *Greek* temples, 15. Turns the siege into a blockade, 18. Takes it, 20. His severity to the *Athenians*, *ib.*

Syloson, I. enslaves the *Samians*, 422.

II. invades *Samos*, 435, & seq. His cruelty to them, 437.

Syracuse, metropolis of *Sicily*, described, 74, & seq. Its harbour described, 76. By whom founded, 89. Adorned, 100. Besieged by the *Athenians*, 120. By the *Carthaginians*, 164. Surprised and plundered by *Nypsius*, 198, & seq. Put to fire and sword, 200. Besieged by *Marcellus*, 274, & seq. Visited with a grievous pestilence, 287. Forced to capitulate, 289, & seq. Taken, 291, & seq.

Syracusians, their government, kings, &c. 95, & seq. Chuse *Gelon* their king, 102. Defeat the *Carthaginians*, 100. Set up a popular government, 111, & seq. The law of perjury repealed, 112, 113. Tyrannise in *Sicily*, 113. Invaded by the *Athenians*, 115, & seq. The cause of that war, *ib.* Outwitted by *Nicias*, 119. Streightly besieged by him, 127. Defeat the *Athenians* by land, 123. Beaten by them at sea, *ib.* Beat them before *Syracuse*, 125. And at sea, 128. Force them to surrender, 131, & seq. Their cruelty to their prisoners, 136. Enslaved by *Dionysius*, 148, & seq. Revolt from him, 153, 155. Reduced by him, 157. Defeat the *Carthaginians* at sea, 165. Crown *Dionysius* II. 184. Their joyful reception of *Dion*, 192. Declare him their general, *ib.* Raise mutinies against him, 194, & seq. Surprised and butchered by *Dionysius*, 198, 199. Enslaved by *Calippus*, 203. By *Hipparinus*, 204. Restored by *Timoleon*, 210. Repeopled by the *Corinthians*, 211. Their gratitude to *Timoleon*, 215. Enslaved by *Sostistratus*, 217. Massacred by *Agathocles*, 219. Groan under sundry tyrants, 231, & seq. Under new disturbances, 260, & seq. Recover their liberty, 262. Put the royal family to death, 264, & seq.

T.

Tabellæ votivæ described, 467, T.

Talus, reigns in *Crete*, 376.

Taphiæ, islands, described, 523.

Taulantii, where situate, 549, & C.

Taurominium, a city in *Sicily*, described, 72.

Taurominius, the river of, *ib.*

Tauropolium, *Diana's* temple, why so called, 465.

Telamon, king of *Salamis*, 531.

- Telchinæ*, first inhabitants of *Rhodes*, 312. Abandon the island, *ib*,
Telchines, an account of them, 517, E.
Teleutias defeated by the *Olynthians*, 609.
Telinus made high-priest of the infernal gods, 95, note.
Temenus, the fabulous story of, 385, A.
Temples of Greece plundered by *Sylla*, 15.
Tenos, island, described, 492. Famed for its wines, *ib*.
 Subdued by the *Persians*, 493. Metropolis of that island, 492.
Tents, Macedonian, how made, 580.
Teos, the state of it, 41, & seq.
Terra Sigillata of *Lemnos*, 509.
Teucer founds the kingdom of *Salamis*, 397. Made by *Virgil* contemporary with *Belus*, *ib*. Introduces human sacrifices, 398.
Thales, his prophecy about the *Milesians*, 51.
Thasians war with the *Athenians*, 514. Reduced by them, *ib*. Revolt and maintain themselves free till the time of *Alexander*, 515.
Thasos, island, described, 514, & seq. By whom inhabited, *ib*. Conquered, *ibid*.
Thearides, made admiral by *Dionysius*, 172. His descent on *Lipari*, 173.
Themis, the first diviner, 371.
Themison, tyrant of *Oropus*, 543.
Themistus plots against the republicans of *Syracuse*, 263. Put to death, on information of *Aristo*, *ib*.
Theocritus, where born, 459, & 461, note.
Theodorus's noble speech against *Dionysius*, 166.
Theodotus's constancy on the rack, 255. Becomes head of a faction, 259, & seq.
Theomestor, tyrant of *Samos*, raised to that dignity for his courage at the battle of *Ptolemais*, 439.
Theopompus, where born, &c. 459, & note.
Thearis, the name of the *Delian* ship, 501.
Thera, the island of, described, 470, & seq. The ruins of, 473.
Theras, the son of *Autesion*, the story of, 470.
Thereans, their wars, 472.
Thermessa, the hot waters of, 86.
Thermcus bay, described, 562.
Thessalians over-reached by the king of *Macedon*, 611.
Thessalonica, by whom founded, 554, & F. Its noble ruins and present grandeur, *ib*.

- Theſta's* noble answer to *Dionyſius*, 167.
Tbia, a new iſland, 472.
Thoas, king of *Lemnos*, 512.
Thraſians, where ſituate, 564.
Thraſo unjuſtly put to death, 255, & ſeq.
Thraſybulus, tyrant of *Miletum*, his advice to *Periander*, 52.
Thraſybulus, king of *Syracufe*, his cruel reign, 110. Banishment, 111.
Thraſydaeus, tyrant of *Agrigentum*, defeated by *Hiero*, 107. Kills himſelf, *ib.*
 ——— the murderer of the king of *Cyprus*, 406.
Throni, a city and promontory of *Cyprus*, 391.
 ——— in *Abantis*, built by the *Eubœans*, 542.
Thurimas, third king of *Macedon*, 584.
Thyrea, iſland, given to the *Samian* fugitives, 428.
Tibites, ſent to diſturb the *Bithynians*, 338. Dies in his journey, *ib.*
Timo, prieſteſs of *Ceres*, her advice to *Miltiades*, 488. Cleared by the oracle, 489.
Timoleon's averſion to tyranny, 205, & ſeq. Kills his brother, *ib.* & 206, not. Sent general into *Sicily*, 206. Goes to *Syracufe*, 208, & ſeq. Takes it, 210. Repeoples it, 211. Eſtabliſhes democracy in it, *ibid.* Defeats the *Carthaginians*, 213. Makes peace with them, 214. Clears the iſland of all its tyrants, *ib.* His death and honours, 215.
Tiribafus's expedition againſt *Cyprus*, 405, & ſeq. Betrayed by *Orontes*, 406.
Titans in *Crete* deſcribed, 371.
Tlepolemus ſettles in *Rhodes*, 313. Made king of it, *ib.* Said to be killed at *Troy* by *Sarpedon*, 316.
Tænion tyrant of *Syracufe*, 231. Joins with his rival to invite *Pyrrhus* into *Sicily*, 232.
Torone, a city in *Macedonia*, 555. Its bay, 562. Taken by *Brasidas*, 603.
Tremitus, a city in *Cyprus*, deſcribed, 391.
Trinacria, *Sicily*, why ſo called, 69. Deſtroyed by the *Syracuſians*, 94.
Triquetra, *Sicily* why ſo called, 69.
Troas, taken by the *Mitylenians*, 454.
Trogilorum Portus deſcribed, 282, U.
Trogilus, a port in *Sicily*, 76.
Tunis taken, plundered, and razed by *Agathocles*, 223.

Tyche, one of the four parts of *Syracuse*, 74.th Taken by the Romans, 284.

V.

V *Alerius* sent into *Sicily*, 246. Obtains the surname of *Messana*, *ib.*

Venus, her temple at *Eryx*, 81. At *Soli* in *Cyprus*, 391. At *Amathus*, 392. How worshipped at *Paphos*, *ib.* In *Cythera*, 394. At *Cyprus*, 396. Her festival at *Delos*, 502. — temple at *Scandia*, a haven of *Cythera*, 526. Thence called *Cytherea*, *ib.*

Vesta, the first builder, 371.

Urania in *Cyprus*, taken by *Demetrius*, 409.

Vulcan, whence the feast of him, 85.

— reigns in *Crete*, 376. Why worshipped at *Lemnos*, 508.

W.

W *Ar*, *Athenian*, in *Sicily*, 115, & seq.

— *Carthaginian*, 136, & seq.

X.

X *Anthus*, prince of the *Pelasgians*, comes to *Lesbos*, and calls it *Pelasgia*, 452.

Xenagoras measures the height of *Olympus*, 560, 561.

Xerxes succeeds his father *Darius*, 592. Disjoins *Athos* from the land, 557, G. & 592.

Y.

Y *Ear*, how calculated among the *Macedonians*, 573.

Youth, how cultivated by the same nation, 572.

Z.

Z *Ancle*, *Messina* antiently so called, 72. When and by whom built, 89.

Zancleans defeated by *Anaxilas*, 72. Invite the *Samians* to settle among them, 438. Expelled by them, *ib.*

Zeno, where born, 53, 393.

Zenobius oppresses the *Chians*, 464.

Zeuxidas, prætor of *Acarnania*, attached to the *Romans*, 29. Deposed, *ib.*

Zeuxippus, a partizan of the *Romans*, kills the *Bæotian* prætor, 25. Suspected by the *Thebans* for the murder, *ib.* Retires to *Athens*, 26.

Zia, island. vid. *sea*, 474.

E N D of the Seventh Volume.

Directions to the Book-binder for placing the Maps.

A Map of *Sicilia*.

Page 69

A Map of the antient City of *Syracuse*.

74

A Map of antient *Greece*, with the islands adjoining to it.

520

A Map of the Kingdoms of *Macedon*, *Thessaly*,
and *Epirus*.

546



A N
Universal HISTORY,
FROM THE
Earliest Account of Time to the Present:
COMPILED from
ORIGINAL AUTHORS;
And ILLUSTRATED with
Maps, Cuts, Notes, *Chronological* and
Other Tables.

V O L. VIII.

Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέρχισθαι μὴ καταόσι, ὡς αὐταῖς γὰρ ἐνέησις ἀπόκρυφαις
ἀπὸς ἱστορίων συνῆξαν ἐνδόκους. Basil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.



D U B L I N:
Printed by EDWARD BATE, for the EDITORS:
M,DCC,XLV.

CONTENTS

O F

VOLUME VIII.

CHAP. II.

A Continuation of the History of the Macedonians.

SECT. IV.

The reign of Philip, Page 1

SECT. V.

The reign of Alexander the Great, 58

SECT. VI.

The division of the Macedonian empire, 252

SECT. VII.

*The history of the reign of Antigonus, and his son Demetrius,
in Asia, .* 297

SECT. VIII.

*The history of the kingdom of Macedon, from the death of A-
lexander the Great, to the conquest thereof by the Romans,*
316

SECT. IX.

*The history of the Seleucidæ in Syria, to the reduction of their
dominions by the Romans,* 432

Directions to the Book-binder for placing the Maps.

	Page
A Map of the Extent of <i>Alexander's</i> Conquests,	58
A Map of <i>Syria</i> after the Death of <i>Alexander the Great,</i>	432

A N

Universal History.

C H A P. II.

*A continuation of the History of the
Macedonians.*

S E C T. IV.

The reign of P H I L I P.

IT was the peculiar felicity of this prince, of whom we are now to record the actions, that his fame suffers no diminution, which ever end of his reign we consider, and whether we enquire from what condition he raised his kingdom, or to what height under his auspice it arrived. When he went suddenly and secretly from *Thebes* to *Macedon*, on the news of his brother's death, he found the people dejected, and the state in the utmost confusion, a king just slain, the whole strength of the kingdom routed, the *Illyrians* preparing for a new invasion, and the *Peonians* on the point of making one; a child on the throne, and two powerful competitors contriving to dispossess him; *Pausanias*, supported by the *Thracians*, and *Argæus*, to whose assistance the *Athenians* had sent their general *Mantias* with an army: Yet was *Philip*, tho' but twenty two years old, so far from sinking under this mighty load, that he not only kept up his own spirits, but invigorated and re-encouraged his despairing countrymen. He applied especially to the army, whom he cared

The miserable state of Macedon at Philip's accession.
Year of the Flood, 2639.
Before Christ, 360.

VOL. VIII. A fed

fed with the tenderest expressions, and the nobility, whom he bound to his interest by the strongest testimonies of confidence, and vast promises. Things a little quiet at home, he began immediately to provide for what was requisite to put foreign affairs in a better situation. In order to abate the vigour of the *Athenian* army, king *Philip* caused *Amphipolis* to be declared a free city, and left it to its inhabitants to govern it how they would. By this step, tho' it seemed a lessening to his kingdom, on account of the importance of the place, yet he was a great gainer; for chiefly for the sake of this city the *Athenians* undertook the war, and supported his competitor, and by leaving it free, he took away all ground of quarrel with respect to himself; and yet added nothing to the power of the *Athenians* in these parts. To the chief men in *Peonia* he made considerable presents, and thereby avoided a dispute in the field, for which as yet he was unprovided. By the same arts he took off *Pausanias*, his friends knowing well, that to a feeble state, gaining time is gaining all^a (A).

THAT

^a DIODOR. SICUL. l. xvi. JUSTIN. l. vii. c. 5.

(A) The discerning reader will easily perceive, that we have taken the liberty to discourse at large on the policy of *Philip*, which is indeed a liberty we ought to account for, this work being intended for an universal register of facts, not of lectures upon them. First then, let it be observed, that this was the most glorious reign which was ever seen in *Macedon*; for *Alexander* cannot be said to have reigned in *Macedon* after his conquests; on the contrary, he rather despised it; and of his successors none, in point of prudence, fortune, or true greatness, can be compared with *Philip*. It is requisite therefore, that this reign, which laid the foundation of the *Greek* empire, should be copiously treated of. Secondly, the reign of *Philip*, though crowded with wars, and adorned with many remarkable victories, was, however, a reign of policy, in which the judgment of the prince wrought more than the force of the people. The *Macedonians* were a brave and generous nation before his time; but it was he who fixed fortune to their arms, and, by making a right use of their valour, procured them those advantages they had deserved, but had scarce tasted before. He found them a nation inured to war; yet he taught them a new discipline, incomparably better than any at that time in use, by which they were enabled to bear away the victory, not only from more numerous armies, but from the best troops in *Greece*, having also numbers on their side; such as the *Phocians*, who made war a trade; and the *Athenians*, in pitched battles held, till then, the expertest among the *Greeks*. He found his subjects low, beaten, and alike
without

THAT the best use might be made of this interval of *His prudence in settling of affairs civil and military.* quiet, *Philip*, who at first acted as guardian only to his nephew *Amyntas* the son of *Perdiccas*, laying the youth aside, stepped into the throne, with the unanimous consent of the *Macedonians*, who declared, that necessity ought to supersede loyalty; and that, since the public safety required a man, they ought not to pay allegiance to a child. He then proceeded to introduce a new and stricter discipline among the troops, which probably he had learned from the *Thebans*, at least in part. He particularly instituted, or rather modelled, the phalanx, and taught the soldiers how to become more

without spirits and without allies. He left them feared by their neighbours, dreaded by the great king, and sovereigns of *Greece*, and all this by dint of genius. Thirdly, they who opposed *Philip*, considered him rather as a *politician* than as a *hero* (unless we take that in the oriental sense, and conceive it to signify a person distinguishable alike for the excellence of his wisdom and for his extraordinary valour). His enemies, I say, considered him in this light, and so ought we, otherwise we shall have but an imperfect idea of his character, as is ingeniously hinted by a great *French* writer, who says, *Philip is in esteem only with such as understand history* (1). Our political reflections are inserted for that very purpose. We have collected them from the best authors, not invented them ourselves; and we have inserted them in such places only, as with great difficulty would be intelligible without them. Thus much on this subject may suffice; let us close this note with a few words on the school wherein *Philip* learned this extraordinary wisdom: It was the house of *Polymnas* the father of *Epaminondas*, the greatest man among the *Greeks*, if we will subscribe to the opinion of the most judicious of the *Romans* (2), frequented by the most learned and the most virtuous citizens of *Thebes*, wherein *Lyfidas* of *Tarentum* read his lectures (3). In all probability *Philip* rather studied *Epaminondas*, than any system of philosophy. That great man raised *Thebes* to be mistress of *Greece*; *Philip* did the same by *Macedon*. *Epaminondas* looked on discipline as the main skill of a general, as well as the main strength of an army; *Philip* taught it his *Macedonians*, and took care they should not forget his lessons. *Epaminondas* was secret and sudden in all his enterprizes; so was *Philip*. We might easily carry the parallel farther; but this is enough to shew, that what *Plutarch* (4) and others of the antients have advanced on this head, is well founded, and that we ought to regard this *Macedonian* statesman as a copy of the *Theban*.

(1) *Mr. Turreil in his preface to Demosthenes.* (2) *Cicero. Tuscul. l. i.* (3) *Diodor. Sicul. l. xv. & xvi. Ælian. Hist. Var. l. iii. Pausan. in Boeotic. D. Chrysof. Orat. inscript. Recusatio magistratus.* (4) *In vit. Pelopid.*

formidable from order and a just conception of the rules of war, than from force ; and by the help of frequent instructions, kind language, and, when it was necessary, some bold strokes of severity, he attained his end. Most authors attribute all things in the *Macedonian* discipline to *Philip*, which in one sense is certainly true, but in another false. *Philip* fixed the rules of discipline amongst his troops ; but it is not likely he invented them, which though a new opinion, is yet probable, as we shall shew in a note ^b (B). *Argæus* with a body

^b DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. ÆLIAN. l. xiv. OROS. l. iii.

(B) It is certain, that in a strict sense *Philip* could not be the inventor of the *phalanx*, since we find the *Purgos* or *Tower*, which was a kind of phalanx, and the very reverse of the *plinthion* or *tile*, mentioned by *Homer* (5). To say the truth, the phalanx was in use among the *Greeks* in general, as our present learned and venerable primate has fully demonstrated (6), though it is probable, that the *Macedonian* phalanx was better disposed, and those who composed it better disciplined, than any of the *Greek* armies had been before. Officers usually improve one on the other. The *Spartans* were famed in the earliest times of *Greece* for exact order ; then the *Athenians* came into high reputation from the improvements made by *Ipheicrates* ; after these came *Epaminondas*, or rather *Pelopidas*, who taught war as an art to the *Thebans*, from whom *Philip* learned it, and quickly surpassed his masters. That he was not, however, the first who introduced the phalanx into *Macedon*, seems evident from the testimony of *Diodorus*, who tells us, the *Illyrians*, when first attacked by *Philip*, had their *plinthion* (7) ; and inasmuch as they lay farther from *Greece* than the *Macedonians*, it would be unreasonable to suppose them better skilled in the *Greek* discipline ; we must therefore conceive, that the phalanx was known to his countrymen before the reign of *Philip*, tho' it was new-modelled, and received a fresh set of rules from him ; which discipline became peculiar to them, rendering the *Macedonian* infantry invincible then, and admirable yet. Whoever reads *Ælian* (8) will discern, that the whole doctrine of drawing up armies conformable to the ground assigned for the line of battle, the methods of changing these forms, marching, countermarching, charging, retreating, and encamping, was thoroughly studied by the *Grecians*, and practised by the *Spartans*, *Athenians*, *Thebans*, *Theffalians*, &c. with great facility and success. As this art of discipline was of great consequence and public utility, it was taught by public professors, stiled *Tactici*, or *masters in military exercise*, from a verb signifying *to exercise*. That what we have advanced may be justified, as well by authority as from probable con-

(5) *Iliad.* μ. v. 43.

(7) *Diodor. Sicul.* l. xvi.

(6) *Potter's Archæol.* l. iii. c. 6.

(8) *Tacticiis cum Binghamii notis.*
jecturæ

body of mercenaries advancing as far as *Ægæ*, and being constrained by the citizens to retire, *Philip* determined to try the mettle of his troops by pursuing them ; which accordingly he did, and coming up with them, engaged and defeated them with great slaughter ; an action which mightily revived and encouraged the *Macedonian* army, taught them to confide in their prince, and to discern the singular advantages they received from regular discipline. The king, however, shewed on this occasion the moderation which distinguished his character from most of the chieftains of his age, by admitting a great body of troops, which had retired to an eminence, to a composition. By this method he secured a present victory, and established a reputation of clemency, which proved of infinite service. *

IMMEDIATELY after this victory, he dispatched ambassadors to *Athens*, and having instructed them to give up all his right to *Amphipolis*, he easily procured a peace ; for tho' the *Athenians* drew great benefit from their colonies and conquests in *Thrace* and *Macedon*, yet the vast expence of sending and of maintaining armies there, discouraged them much, and inclined them to make peace whenever it was offered them, especially on honourable terms, which, as they consisted chief-

He makes peace with the Athenians, subdues the Pæonians, and vanquishes the Illyrians.

* DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.

jecture, it will be necessary to remark, that *Ælian* before-mentioned expressly mentions the alterations introduced by *Philip* in the evolutions of the *Macedonian* phalanx ; whence it is evident, he did not either invent or introduce the phalanx itself. The great change he made was in the mode of their altering their wings at the beginning of an engagement. According to the old method, the motion contrived to effect this purpose had the air of a retreat ; *Philip* had penetration enough to perceive, that this motion reversed would effect the same thing, and yet shew rather as an onset. As all things are of the utmost consequence which have a tendency to encourage the soldiery, *Philip* laid aside the old method, and brought in this which had been practised by the *Lacedæmonians* (9). To these remarks we may add one general one, that discipline, under the eye of an able general, renders troops invincible ; but, under officers of small abilities, it is far from being of such high advantage. Men of inferior *genii* have no ideas of those changes which the alterations induced by time require, and therefore, by adhering too scrupulously to old rules, ruin themselves and those under their command, as we shall have occasion to shew, when we come to speak of the conquest of *Macedonia* by the *Romans*.

(9) c. xii.

ly in words, *Philip* failed not in gratifying them^d. Another thing which contributed to the speedy conclusion of this peace was, the mean opinion the *Athenians* had of *Philip's* power, which inclined them to believe all his ambassadors told them, and made them little apprehensive of his breaking the peace. Thus delivered from one potent enemy by his own address, nature quickly freed him from another, by taking off *Agis* king of *Peonia*. This news no sooner reached the ears of *Philip*, than he determined to lay hold of this opportunity of revenging himself of the *Peonians*, and accordingly invaded their country, took their cities, and reduced them to such extremities, that they were constrained to submit to him, and become his subjects. This war thus happily concluded, he without delay marched against the *Illyrians*, with an army of ten thousand foot and six hundred horse. This was one of the boldest and most martial nations in those parts, and had within a few years often beaten the *Macedonians*. *Bradylis*, however, who was their king, offered to treat with *Philip* of a peace, on this condition, that each should keep what he possessed. *Philip* answered, that he always preferred peace to war, but could not think of obtaining it, by quitting his claim to those places in *Macedonia* at present in the hands of the *Illyrians*. *Bradylis* upon this encouraged his troops, from the consideration of their victories, to behave gallantly; and with ten thousand foot, and five hundred horse, offered *Philip* battle. The engagement was both bloody and obstinate, and, as *Diodorus Siculus* intimates, the *Illyrians* had their phalanx as well as the *Macedonians*. In the end, however, chiefly thro' the conduct of *Philip*, who brought a body of horse to charge the *Illyrians* in flank, whilst himself with the phalanx charged in front, the enemy was routed, and the *Macedonians* pursued, and slew in the whole no less than seven thousand men, which exceedingly broke and disordered the *Illyrians*, and constrained them to buy a peace at the expence of all their conquests^e.

Takes Am-
phipolis,
Pydna,
Potidæa,
&c.
Year of
the Flood
2641.
Before
Christ

358.



By this time the affairs of *Macedon* were in a tolerable posture, and *Philip*, from the success which he already had experienced, animated to greater things. It is not probable, that he already meditated the subjection of *Greece*, because as yet he was master of no force adequate to such an undertaking, but it is most likely he proposed even now the rendering his kingdom not only independent, but raising it to a state of pre-eminence over its neighbours. Whatever his views were, he did not continue long at rest, but suddenly,

^d POLYÆN. Stratag. l. iv.

^e DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.
and

and when it was least expected, attacked *Amphipolis*. This city, as we have already seen, was always a mighty curse to the *Macedonian* princes, and therefore, from the beginning of his reign, *Philip* had kept his eye continually thereupon, watching for a fit time to reduce it. The *Amphipolitans*, sensible of the danger to which they were exposed, sent *Hierax* and *Stratocles* to *Athens*, to offer themselves and their city to that commonwealth. *Demosthenes*, and those who, with him, foresaw how formidable *Philip* would one day become, seconded the deputies of *Amphipolis*; but the agents of *Philip* giving out, that the king intended to deliver it up to the *Athenians* when taken, they suffered themselves to be amused, and denied the *Amphipolitans* relief. *Philip* prosecuted the siege briskly, both by force without, and by negotiation within. At last he took it by storm, and treated it as he did other places, that is, he put to death or banished such as were not in his interest, and treated the rest of the inhabitants kindly. This blow once struck, he proceeded to reduce *Pydna* and *Potidæa*, in the last of which was an *Athenian* garrison, which he drew out, and dismissed with all the marks of honour. After this he delivered the city to the *Olynthians*, according to his maxim, *That those are to be obliged whom we cannot overcome*. These conquests made a great noise, and *Philip* now began to grow terrible to all his neighbours. If this terror had engaged them in a league, in all probability they had set very narrow bounds to the *Macedonian* king; but as it produced a desire of obliging the conqueror, and turning his arms from themselves, the bordering nations concurred to ruin each other; and this they did the more effectually, because *Philip* was so perfect a master in dissimulation, that he seemed to give implicit credit to whatever was told him, though at the same time he communicated his real sentiments to nobody, his success being known as soon as his design.

WE have heretofore shewn, in our description of *Macedonia*, that the tract of country between the river *Strymon* and *Nessus*, was extremely rich in gold. Indeed the fame of its mines had made it often change its masters. When the *Athenians* were first powerful at sea, it belonged to the *Thasians*, from whom they conquered it. This republic declining, it fell into other hands; and a few years before this time the *Thracians* possessed themselves of it, and fortified *Crenides* its capital city. *Philip*, who looked upon gold as the best weapon, and the best servant in the world, resolved

Subdues the country between the rivers Strymon and Nessus
 Year of the Flood, 2642.
 Before Christ, 357.

¹ DEMOSTH. Olynth. i. DIODOR. SIC. l. xvi. ISOCRAT. ad Phil.

² See. Vol. vii. p. 563.

to seize upon this country, and to extract out of its bowels a treasure sufficient to buy that empire for which he so passionately longed. He executed this scheme before it was known that he had formed it, and having taken *Crenides*, he not only altered the city, but in a manner rebuilt it, changing also its name into *Philippi*^a. He likewise gave directions for working the gold mines to greater advantage than had been made of them before, and having by this means established a certain revenue of a thousand talents *per annum*, which was in itself a large sum, and so much the larger in that it was extracted out of the earth, and not from his subjects, he began to turn his eyes towards other conquests.

The birth
of Alexander the
Great.
Year of
the Flood
2643.
Before
Christ,
356.

IN the first year of the one hundred and sixth olympiad, *Philip*, being then in the field received advice, that his wife *Olympias*, the daughter of *Neoptolemus* king of *Epirus*, was brought to bed of a son at *Pella*. This son was the famous *Alexander*, justly surnamed *the Great*. At the same time *Philip* received advice, that his chariot had gained the prize at the olympic games; and upon the heels of this a third courier came, with an account that *Parmenio* had beaten the *Illyrians*. This surprizing run of good fortune is said to have affected *Philip* so much, that he wished it might be tempered by some slight mishap, not that he was insensible of felicity, but because he was afraid that his fortune might decline as swiftly as it had risen¹ (C).

AT

^a DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. DION. CASS. l. xlvii. ¹ PLUT. in vit. Alex. JUSTIN. l. xii. PLUT. Apophthegm. USSER. Annal. A. I. P. 4358.

(C) The birth of *Alexander* we have fixed to the first year of the one hundred and sixth olympiad. Antient authors are much divided on this head, and therefore it is but reasonable to shew on what grounds we have adhered to some, and rejected the authority of others (10). *Arrian* from *Aristobulus* informs us, that *Alexander* died in the month of *Thargelion* the last but one of the *Attic* year, in the close of the first year of the one hundred and fourteenth olympiad, being then thirty-two years and eight months old (11). This plainly refers his birth to the year wherein we have fixed it. *Ælian* indeed says expressly, that he was born and died on the sixth day of the month *Thargelion* (12). *Plutarch* places his birth in the month *Hecatombeon*, which, he says, answered to the *Macedonian* month *Lous* (13); but in this he was mistaken, for it appears clearly from a letter of *Philip*'s still preserved in the orations of

(10) Euseb. Chronicon.
(12) Var. Hist. l. ii. c. 25.

(11) Arrian. expedit. Alex. l. ix
(13) In vit. Alex.

AT this time all Greece was in confusion; the *Phocian*, or, *King Philip* as it was otherwise called, *the sacred war*, of the cause and consequences of which we have spoken elsewhere^k, then raged with prodigious fury, which gave *Philip* an opportunity of securing and extending his frontiers without interruption. It also produced various applications from the contending parties in order to incline his assistance, the effects of which we shall hereafter see. In the mean time, let us follow the track of his conquests. The little city of *Methone* had given him some umbrage; he conceived that his conquests in *Thrace* might be in some danger, if it fell into the hands of his enemies; to prevent which he immediately invested it. The inhabitants made a very stout defence, and submitted at last, on condition, that they might have free leave to quit the place, which was agreed to and executed; after which *Philip* caused the city to be razed, and divided its territories among his soldiers^l. At this siege he had the misfortune to lose an eye, by a very extraordinary accident, if the circumstances transmitted to us may be believed (D). This evil was, however, in some measure alleviated by the skill of his surgeon, who,

lip proceeds, and extends his conquests towards Thrace and the sea-coast.

^k UNIVERS. HIST. Vol. VI. p. 245, & seq. ^l DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. DEMOST. Phil. i.

Demosthenes, that at this time the *Macedonian* month *Lous* did not answer to the *Attic* month *Hecacombeon*, but to the month *Boedromion* (14). In after-times indeed the month *Lous* answered to *Hecatombeon*, which, without doubt, was the source of *Plutarch's* mistake in this point. *Plutarch* hath fallen also into another mistake on this subject; he says, that *Philip* received this news immediately after he had taken *Potidæa*; yet, without doubt, *Potidæa* was taken two years before, viz. In the third year of the one hundred and fifth olympiad, where we have placed it, on the authority of *Demosthenes*, who was *Philip's* contemporary (15), and of *Diodorus Siculus*, a more accurate writer in point of chronology than *Plutarch* (16). There is one thing which may be urged against thus settling the birth of *Alexander* as we have done, and that is, his father's receiving the news of his victory in the olympic games on that very day (17). But admitting that this is improbable, had we not better allow that *Philip* received this news a little before, than depart from a fact so clearly and so exactly settled by *Aristobulus*, who is acknowledged to have been the most authentic historian in whose works the actions of *Alexander* were found?

(D) There is something so fabulous in the story we are told of *Philip's* losing his eye before this place, that we could not judge it

(14) *In Oratione de Corona.* (15) *In Oratione contra Leptinem.*
(16) *Diodor. Sicul. l. xvi.* (17) *Plut. ubi supra. Justin. l. xii.*
VOL. VIII. B

who, tho' he could not save its sight, preserved the form of the king's eye from suffering any disfigurement^m; yet the king was so much chagrined thereat, as never afterwards to hear the word *Cyclop*, or even an *Eye*, mentioned with patienceⁿ; a strange weakness in so great a man!

*Marches
into Thes-
saly.*

Year of
the Flood,
2646.

Before
Christ,

353.

As soon as *Philip* was recovered, he began to think of marching into *Thessaly*, where the petty princes of the country earnestly desired his presence, to redress those mischiefs which the ambition of a single family had brought upon all *Thessaly*. *Alexander of Phærea*, the original tyrant, had been murdered, for his insupportable arrogance, by his wife and his brethren, who thereupon grew into great reputation with the *Thessali-*

^m PLIN. Hist. Nat. l. vii. c. 37.

ⁿ DEMET. PHALER.

de Elocut. c. 3.

fit to appear with those circumstances in the body of our history. The reader, when he has perused the relation as it is commonly told, will judge of the propriety of our conduct. It is said, that when *Philip* invested *Methone*, one *Aster*, a most excellent archer, was recommended to him with this commendation, that he could strike the swiftest bird in its flight. *Very well*, replied *Philip*, *we will call for him, when we make war with starlings*. This so stung the archer, that he immediately threw himself into the city besieged, from the walls of which, when *Philip* was one day viewing the place, he discharged an arrow with this inscription, *For the right eye of Philip*; which it accordingly struck, and put out. The king shot back the same arrow with this answer on the opposite side, *Philip, when the town is taken, will cause Aster to be hanged*; which he also performed (18). It was not here only that *Philip* felt the effects of war; his courage pushed him into all places of danger; and darts, stones, and javelins make no distinction of persons. *Demosthenes* therefore, who cannot be suspected of flattering *Philip*, could not forbear, when the subject afforded him a proper occasion, painting his personal bravery in such a light, as might have roused the *Athenians* to emulation. “I will shew you, said that glorious orator, this same *Philip*, with whom we dispute for sovereignty and empire; I will shew him to you as he is covered with wounds, blind of an eye, his skull cracked, lame of a hand and of a leg, ready to throw himself into the midst of new dangers, and to put it into the power of fortune to deprive him of some other limb, in hopes with the remainder of his body to live with glory and honour; such, *Athenians*, is *Philip* (19)!” It must be owned, that if in the rest of his orations *Demosthenes* had shewn this monarch to be a very bad man, he has here acknowledged him to be the greatest prince of his time; which it is certain was a character so much his due, that how much soever they might seek to lessen, even his enemies could not deny him.

(18) *Suidas in voce κατὰν.*

(19) *Orat. pro Ctesiphon.*

ans; but *Lycophron* the elder brother assuming the government, and acting no better than *Alexander* had done, the *Alluadæ*, so the *Theſſalian* chiefs are called, addreſſed themſelves to *Philip*, and beſought his protection. He, having ſettled his affairs in *Thrace* and on the ſea-coaſts, marched into *Theſſaly*, and made war on *Lycophron*; who, finding himſelf too weak to conteſt with the *Macedonian* foot, joined with the *Theſſalian* cavalry, demanded aid of the *Phocians*, or rather of *Onomarchus* their general, who ſent his brother *Phayllus* with ſeven thouſand men, to preſerve *Lycophron* in his dominions. The tyrant, after the junction of theſe troops, no longer declined battle; yet his ſucceſs no way answered his expectation, for he was defeated by *Philip*, and the *Phocians* driven out of *Theſſaly*. *Onomarchus* hearing this marched with all his forces to ſupport *Lycophron*, and in two general engagements vanquiſhed *Philip*, and compelled him to retire out of *Theſſaly* in great diſtreſs. But tho' his army was beaten, his ſpirit remained unconquered ſtill; ſo that perceiving the reduction of *Theſſaly* was abſolutely neceſſary to his propoſed empire, he applied himſelf with all diligence to the recruiting of his army; and, as ſoon as it was in a tolerable condition, marched immediately againſt *Lycophron*. The tyrant did not wait his coming; but withdrawing his troops to a ſecure camp, ſent again to invite the *Phocians* to his aſſiſtance. *Onomarchus*, being determined to put an end to the war, marched with twenty thouſand foot and five hundred horſe, to oppoſe the *Macedonian*. *Philip* in the mean time had prevailed on the *Theſſalians* to make their utmoſt efforts in his favour; ſo that at length his forces conſiſted of twenty thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe, and then he no longer delayed a general battle. This action proved deciſive, chiefly through the valour of the *Theſſalian* horſe; for the princes who commanded them, knowing that they were to expect nothing but deſtruction from *Lycophron*, if he prevailed, fought with deſperate reſolution; inſomuch, that ſix thouſand of the *Phocians* were ſlain upon the ſpot, and amongſt them their general, and three thouſand were taken priſoners. There had been ſtill a greater ſlaughter, if the engagement had not happened on the ſea-ſhore, when the *Athenian* fleet commanded by *Chares* paſſed by, and thereby afforded ſuch of the *Phocians* as could ſwim a refuge. *Philip* cauſed the body of *Onomarchus* to be ſearched for, and when it was found, he directed it to be hung up with ignominy, denying alſo funeral rites to all that were ſlain, looking on them as ſacrilegious perſons for having violated the temple at *Delphi*. *Lycophron* and his brother *Pitholaus*, ſeeing now no hopes of retaining their prin-

city, were content to resign it; and being dismissed on giving their oaths to be quiet, they delivered up the city of *Phœrea* into the hands of *Philip*, who, as he had promised the *Thessalians*, restored all the cities to liberty, and having thereby secured the friendship of so powerful a nation, he attempted to pass through the *Pylæ*, in order to make war upon the *Phocians*°. This was a very bold attempt; for since the defeat of the *Persians* at *Platæa*, no *Macedonian* prince had ever set foot in *Greece*. The *Athenians* therefore, having notice of his design, marched with the utmost expedition, seized the passes, and obliged him for this time to abandon his purpose, and return into *Macedon*².

*Meditates
the ruin of
the Athe-
nian pow-
er.*

WE may reasonably look on this retreat as the æra of *Philip*'s hatred to the *Athenians*. He saw, that they were the only people in *Greece* capable of defeating his projects, or of giving him uneasiness in his own kingdom; he therefore provided with much diligence a fleet composed of light ships, which continually disturbed their trade, and at the same time enriched his subjects by bringing in wealthy prizes. He also increased his army by new levies, and projected the destruction of the *Athenian* colonies in *Thrace*. Besides these preparations at home, he practised very successfully in *Athens* itself; and by large appointments secured some eminent orators to charm the people with delusive hopes of peace, or to frighten them with very expensive estimates, while they pretended a zeal for carrying on the war. *Demosthenes* was the only man in *Athens*, who had a just idea of the danger his country was in from the growing power of *Philip*, and who had likewise capacity enough to point out the proper methods for reducing his exorbitant greatness³. He shewed the *Athenians*, that the measures they had hitherto pursued were unworthy of them, and would never answer their ends. He told them, that running hither and thither, according as they heard that *Philip* marched this way or that, looked more like following him as their general, than making war upon him as their enemy; he therefore advised transporting two thousand foot and two hundred horse into *Macedonia*, assuring them, that if they had once an army, how small soever, there, the enemies of *Philip* would soon advance it to a formidable greatness¹. The *Athenians* approved, but they did not follow, his advice; all the effect it had was this, that *Philip*, being informed of it, provided with greater vigour,

° DIONOR. SICUT ubi supra. P DEMOSTH. Philip. i.
JUST. l. viii. ¹ PLUT. in vit. Demosth. & Phocion. ² DE-
MOSTH. Philip. i.

and determined at all events to have neither state nor prince independent of himself within the limits of *Macedon*, that the *Athenians* might be deprived of all hopes of treating him as they had done his ancestors, viz. compelling them, by the assistance given to their neighbours, either to put all to the hazard of an unequal war, or to become absolute dependents on their republic ^c.

Olynthus had now, in a great measure, recovered that power and authority, which it had when *Amyntas* the father of *Philip* called in the *Lacedæmonians* to assist him in making war against it. *Philip* himself had contributed to this recovery, by giving up thereto certain cities and territories, when he first began his conquests; but this was only to lull the *Olynthians* asleep, and to save himself the expence of garisons, when it suited not his circumstances to maintain them ^c; but now, when his affairs were altered, he began to think not only of resuming what he had bestowed, but of making himself master of *Olynthus*, and thereby subverting a republic, which had been heretofore an over-match for *Macedon*. The *Olynthians* were too discerning not to suspect *Philip's* design, before he actually put it in execution; as soon therefore as they observed that he was advancing towards the *Chalcidian* region, they put themselves on their guard, and sent ambassadors to *Athens* to intreat a considerable and speedy assistance. *Demosthenes* failed not to espouse the cause of the *Olynthians*. He began with putting the *Athenians* in mind, that till now they had held the balance between the kings of *Macedon* and this state; and that, if they held it not still, they were as sure to be ruined as the *Olynthians* themselves. Hence he inferred, that a prompt and considerable succour should be sent according to the request of the ambassadors, and that commissioners should be appointed for abrogating such laws, as hindered the settling the necessary funds for carrying on a war of such importance with vigour ^u. *Demades* and the rest of the orators, who were corrupted by *Philip*, opposed this proposition with all their eloquence: but as they had not either truth on their side, or a power of speaking equal to *Demosthenes*, the people inclined to follow his advice ^w, and accordingly decreed, that relief should be sent to the *Olynthians*. *Philip* in the mean time took *Zeira*, a town in the *Chalcidian* region, and razed it to the ground. He soon after marched against *Mycaberna* and *To-*

Makes war on Olynthus.
Year of the Flood 2649.
Before Christ 350.

^c DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.

ii. ^u DEMOSTH. Olynth. ii.

supra. SUIDAS in voce Δημόσθους.

^c DEMOSTH. Philip.

^w DIODOR. SICUL. ubi

Year of
the Flood
2651.
Year be-
fore
Christ
348.



rone, both of which he subdued. After this he openly attacked the *Olynthians*, defeated them twice in the field, and at last shut them up in their city *. The *Athenian* succours consisted of mercenaries, which therefore did the *Olynthians* but little service, and were besides so much suspected, that they were little less dreaded than the *Macedonians* themselves ; the citizens therefore sent ambassadors a second time to *Athens*, to intreat fresh assistance, and that it might be of *Athenian* troops. *Demosthenes* seconded this proposition with his usual vehemence, and on his motion *Chares* was sent a second time with seventeen gallies, and a land army of two thousand foot and three hundred horse, all citizens of *Athens* ; but, alas ! the cordial came too late. It did indeed revive the fainting spirits of the *Olynthians* for a time ; and the *Athenians*, hearing of some slight successes of theirs, grew so elate, that they took no farther care of the war, as appears from an oration of *Demosthenes* yet remaining † ; but in the end *Olynthus* was taken, not so much by the bravery of the *Macedonian* troops, as by *Philip's* corrupting its principal magistrates, *Euthykrates* and *Lasthenes*, who basely betraying their country, after the city had made a glorious defence, secretly opened its gates, and let in *Philip* and his army. The king on this occasion proceeded with great severity ; he gave up the houses of the citizens to be plundered, and exposed their persons to sale, acquiring thereby an immense treasure, at the same time as he ridded himself of such as were his implacable enemies. After this he celebrated olympic games in honour of this victory, which happened in the first year of the one hundred and eighth olympiad, causing splendid shews to be exhibited for the diversion of his army, making magnificent feasts, at which they might be merry, and giving great rewards to such as had signalized themselves during the siege, that his soldiers might be encouraged to serve him both gallantly and faithfully ‡.

Remarkable incidents at the olympics instituted by Philip.]

Two incidents happened amidst these solemnities, which deserve to be recorded, because they shew the temper of *Philip* on both sides, and consequently must enable us to form a better idea of the motives on which he acted, than we could possibly have done without them ; for without doubt the reasons of actions are better found by knowing the mind of the actor, than by the most circumstantial accounts of the things acted. The first of these incidents was a complaint brought

* DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.
iii. PLUT. in vit. DEMOSTH.

† DEMOSTH. Olynth.
‡ DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.

by *Euthycrates* and *Lasthenes* against the *Macedonian* soldiers for calling them traitors. To which *Philip* gave this answer, *You must never mind what such fellows say; they are a sort of clownish people, who will call a spade a spade* ^a. As to the other remarkable incident, *Satyrus* a player, whom *Philip* had admitted to a great familiarity with him, was the only person who wore a grave countenance, and reached not out his hand to receive any of the gifts which *Philip* bestowed upon his friends. The king observed it, and with his usual complacency asked him, How he came to look so dull? and why he would not suffer himself to be obliged as well as other people? To which *Satyrus* answered, *I don't either affect gravity, Sir, or put any slight on your presents; on the contrary, I should be extremely glad if you would give me yonder girls, pointing to two young women who were among the slaves; they are the daughters of a man in whose house I lodged. I ask them not out of greediness, but with an intent to give them such portions as may procure them honest husbands.* *Philip* commended his generosity, granted his request, and loaded him with presents of great value ^b. This affability, and particular care in rewarding every man who served him, gained *Philip* friends in every city, and made them eager to run any risque to obtain his favour. He was sensible of this, and was so far from being ashamed of it, that he was wont to say publicly, that he was no less indebted to his purse than to his sword.

THE *Phocian* war was still unextinguished, and *Philip*, tho' he affected a neutrality, placed all his hopes in putting an end to this war, and thereby making himself the arbiter of *Greece*. His hopes were well founded. The *Thebans*, who were at the head of the league formed for reducing the *Phocians*, solicited him on one side; the states confederate with the *Phocians* sought his friendship on the other. He answered neither, yet held in dependence both. In his heart he favoured the *Thebans*, or rather placed his hopes of favouring his own cause on that state; for he knew well enough, that the *Athenians*, *Spartans*, and other states allied with *Phocis*, would never suffer him to pass *Thermopylae*, and lead an army into their territories ^c; yet he shewed so much respect to the embassadors from these states, particularly to *Ctesiphon* and *Phrynon*, who were sent from *Athens*, that they believed the king was in their interest, and reported as much to their masters. The *Athenians*, who were now dissolved in ease and luxury, and consequently were afraid of

He over-reaches the Athenians.

^a PLUT. in Apophthegm.
DEMOST. Philip. ii.

^b DIODOR. Sicil. ubi supra.

being disturbed with wars, received this news with great satisfaction, and named immediately ten plenipotentiaries to go and treat of a full and lasting peace with *Philip*. Of the number of these plenipotentiaries were *Demosthenes* and *Æschines*, the most eminent orators in *Athens*. The king of *Macedon* gave directions, that these ambassadors should be treated with the utmost civility, naming at the same time three of his ministers to confer with them, viz. *Antipater*, *Parmenio*, and *Eurylochus*. *Demosthenes* being obliged to return to *Athens*, recommended it to his colleagues not to carry on their negotiations with *Philip's* deputies, but to proceed with all diligence to court, there to confer with the king himself. On this, he told them, all things would depend, as on what they did depended the safety of their country. The ambassadors, however, were so far from following the instructions of *Demosthenes*, that they suffered themselves to be put off for three months by the arts of *Philip* and his ministers. In the mean time the king took from the *Athenians* such places in *Thrace* as might best cover his frontiers, giving their plenipotentiaries in their stead abundance of fair promises, and the strongest assurances, that his good-will should be as beneficial to them as ever their colonies had been. At last a peace was concluded; but then the ratification of it was deferred till *Philip* had possessed himself of *Phærea* in *Thessaly*, and saw himself at the head of a numerous army; then he ratified the treaty, and dismissed the plenipotentiaries with assurances, that he would be ready at all times to give the *Athenians* proofs of his friendship. On their return to *Athens*, when this matter came to be debated before the people, *Demosthenes* plainly told them, That in his opinion, the promises of *Philip* ought not to be relied on, because they appeared to be of little significance in themselves, and came from a prince of so much art and so little fidelity, that they could derive no authority from their maker^d. *Æschines*, on the other hand, gave it as his sentiment, that the king of *Macedon's* assurances ought to give them full satisfaction. He said, That, for his part, he was not politician enough to see any thing of disguise or dissimulation in the king's conduct; that there was great danger in distrusting princes, and that the surest method of putting men upon deceit, was to shew that we suspected them of it. The rest of the plenipotentiaries concurred with *Æschines*; and the people, desirous of quiet, and prone to pleasure, easily gave credit to all that was said, and decreed that the peace should be kept. All this was the easier

^d DEMOST. Orat. de falsa legat:

brought about, because that *Phocion*, the worthiest man in the republic, did not oppose *Philip*; which was owing to his having a just sense of the state his country was in. He conceived, that the *Athenians* of those times were nothing like their ancestors, and therefore, as he expressed himself on another occasion, he was desirous, since they would not be at the head of *Greece* themselves, they would at least be upon good terms with that power which would be so.

Philip, who knew how to use, as well as to procure, opportunity, while the *Athenians* were in this good humour, passed *Thermopylae*, without their knowing whether he would fall on *Phocis* or *Thebes*; but he quickly undeceived them, by commanding his soldiers to put on crowns of laurel, declaring them thereby the troops of *Apollo*, and himself the lieutenant-general of that god. He then immediately entered *Phocis*, with an air of triumph, as if thunder and lightning had been at his command; which so terrified the *Phocians*, whom he had caused to be proclaimed sacrilegious persons, that they immediately dismissed all thoughts of defence, and without more ado submitted to his mercy. Thus the *Phocian* war, which had so long employed all *Greece*, was ended without a stroke, *Phalaccus*, with eight thousand mercenaries, being permitted to march off into *Peloponnesus*, and the judgment on the *Phocians* remitted to the *Amphictyons*, or grand council of *Greece*. By their decree the walls of three *Phocian* cities were demolished, the people were forbid to inhabit in any but villages, to pay a yearly tribute of sixty talents, and never to make use either of horses or arms, till they had repaid to the temple of *Apollo* the money they had taken sacrilegiously from thence. Their arms were taken from them, broken to pieces, and burnt; their double voice in the council was taken from them and given to the *Macedonians*. Other orders were made for resettling the affairs both of religion and state throughout *Greece*, all of which were executed by *Philip* with great exactness and moderation, paying the most profound respect to the council; and when he had performed its commands, retiring peaceably with his army back to *Macedon*, which gained him great reputation. This seems to have been one of the greatest achievements of his life, and that which laid the foundation of his empire. Hence one historian remarks, that the *Grecians* paid the next honours to divinity, to a prince who had vindicated the honour of the gods; and another tells us, that from this time forward *Philip* prospered

He enters Phocis, and puts an end to the sacred war.

Year of the Flood 2653.
Before Christ 346.

^e PLUT. in vit. Demosth. & Phocion. ubi supr. ^f JUSTIN. lib. viii. c. 2.

^f DIOD. SICUL.

in all things, which was thought to be the just reward of his piety, and the care he had taken in restoring the worship of *Apollo*, and a general quiet to *Greece* ^a.

Athenians
ready to de-
clare a-
gainst him.

AT *Athens* alone the justice and piety of *Philip* was not understood. The people began to see, tho' a little of the latest, that they had been abused and deceived by those who had negotiated the late peace; they saw, that, through their acceptance of it, the *Phocians* were destroyed, that *Philip* was become master of *Thermopylae*, and might enter *Greece* when he pleased; that in abandoning their allies they had abandoned themselves; and that, in all probability, they might soon feel the weight of his power, whom they had so foolishly trusted: They therefore began to take new and violent measures; they ordered, that the women should retire out of the villages into the city, their walls should be repaired, and their forts new strengthened. They seemed inclined to question *Philip's* election into the council of the *Amphictyons*, because it had been done without their consent, and even to proceed to an open war. In all likelihood they had carried things to extravagancy, if *Demosthenes* had not interposed. He told them, that tho' he was not for making the peace, he was, however, for keeping it; and that he saw no manner of occasion for their entering into so unequal a contest as would needs ensue, if they took up arms, not only against *Philip*, but against all the states concurring with him in the late transactions. This seems to have cooled the rage of the *Athenians*, and to have brought them to think of ruining *Philip* by degrees, as by degrees they had raised him ¹ (E).

THE

^a DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. ¹ DEMOSTHEN. Orat. de Pac.

(E) *Libanius* and *Photius* have taken pains to prove, that the oration to which we refer above, ought not to be ascribed to *Demosthenes*. We might well enough defend ourselves by alledging, that it has been generally esteemed his, and, as such, as constantly maintained its place in his works. This would be sufficient for our purpose; but, in truth, the arguments on which the opposite sentiment is built are so easily overturned, that we might be justly blamed for neglecting so favourable an occasion of setting this point in its true light. *Demosthenes*, say those who will not allow this oration to be his, charged *Æschines* with betraying his country on account of his recommending warmly a peace with *Philip*; they cannot therefore think, that *Demosthenes* would run openly into those measures, which he had so lately and so warmly decried, or that he, who, on every other occasion, singly opposed *Philip*, and

run

THE fame of his achievements without the bounds of Diopithes *Macedon* having disposed the subjects of *Philip* to hope every thing from his conduct, and the several states of *Greece* to desire above all things his friendship; that prudent monarch laid hold of this favourable situation to fix his dominion on such a stable foundation as that a reverse of fortune should not immediately destroy it. To this end, while he carried on his negotiations through *Greece*, he likewise kept his army in exercise by taking several places in *Thrace*, which terribly incommoded the *Athenians* *. *Diopithes*, who had the government of the *Athenian* colonies in those parts, perceiving well what end *Philip* had in view, did not stay for any instructions from home; but having raised with much expedition a considerable body of troops, taking advantage of the king's being absent with his army, entered the adjacent territories of *Philip*, and wasted them with fire and sword. The king, who on account of the operations of the campaign in the *Chersonese*, was not at leisure to repel *Diopithes* by force, nor indeed could divide his army without eminent hazard, chose like an able general rather to abandon his provinces to insults, which might be afterwards revenged, than by following the dictates of an ill-timed passion to hazard

with an
Athenian
army en-
ters Mace-
don, while
Philip in-
vades
Thrace.
Year of
the Flood
2655.
Before
Christ,
344.

* DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.

run all hazards to bring him into odium with the people, should now be single on the other side, and attempt to cross the disposition of the *Athenians* in favour of peace and *Philip* (20). These objectors forget, that *Demosthenes* was a patriot as well as an orator; that he did not pursue *Philip* with implacable hatred, because he was king of *Macedon*, but because he thought him both willing and able to obstruct the designs of *Athens*, and even to reduce her from that splendid pre-eminence which she now held in *Greece*, to the ordinary rank of a state in name free, but in truth dependent upon him; this was the motive of *Demosthenes*'s heat on other occasions; and the motive to his coolness now was the strict alliance between *Philip* and the other *Grecian* states, which rendered it a thing impracticable for *Athens* to contend with him and them alone. Besides, as he rightly observes in the harangue, it would have been ridiculous for those, who refused to enter into an equal war for rich cities and fertile provinces, to have rushed suddenly into a most unequal contest about an empty title, or, as he emphatically expresses it, *To take away the shadow of Delphos from him who was master of Delphos itself* (21). We therefore acknowledge this to be the oration of *Demosthenes*, because he was worthy of it.

(20) Phot. Biblioth. cod. 265.
1 acif.

(21) Demosthen. orat.

the loss of his veteran army, whereon lay all his hopes. He contented himself therefore with complaining to the *Athenians* of *Diopithes*'s conduct, who in a time of peace had entered his dominions, and committed such devastations, which could scarce have been justified in a time of war. His partisans supported this application with all their eloquence; they told the *Athenians*, that unless they recalled *Diopithes*, and brought him to a trial for this infringement of the peace, they ought not to hope either for the friendship of *Philip*, or of any other prince or state; neither could they justly complain, if, prompted by such a precedent, others should break faith with them, and fall without the least notice upon their dominions. *Demosthenes* defended *Diopithes*, and undertook to shew, that he deserved the praise, and not the censure, of the *Athenians*. Those of the other party began to charge him then with crimes of a different nature; they alledged, that he had oppressed the subjects, and mal-treated the allies of *Athens*. *Demosthenes* replied, that of these things there were as yet no proofs; that when such should appear, a single galley might be sent to bring over *Diopithes* to abide their judgment, but that *Philip* would not come if they sent a fleet; whence he inferred, that they ought to be cautious, and to weigh well the merits of this cause before they took any resolution. He said, that it was true, *Philip* had not as yet attacked *Attica*, or pretended to make a descent on their territories in *Greece*, or to force his way into their ports; when it came to that, he was of opinion they would be hardly able to defend themselves, wherefore he thought such men were to be esteemed as fought to protect their frontiers, in order to keep *Philip* as long as might be at a distance; whereupon he moved, that instead of disowning what *Diopithes* had done, or directing him to dismiss his army, they should send him over recruits, and shew the king of *Macedon*, they knew how to protect their territories, and to maintain the dignity of their state as well as their ancestors. These arguments had such an effect, that a decree was made conformable to his motion ¹.

*An account
of the
sources of
the conti-
nual differ-
ences be-
tween
Philip,
and the
Athenians.*

THE reader must certainly be somewhat at a loss as to the grounds on which these parties proceeded; nor is it easy to set them in a clear light. *Philip* is, generally speaking, represented not only as a politic and over-reaching, but a fraudulent and perfidious, prince, one who had small regard

¹ DEMOSTHEN. Orat. de Chersones. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. ARISTOT. de Rhetor. lib. ii Orat. 8.

to treaties, and who set no bounds to his ambition. But then it must be considered, that we have all these reports from the sworn enemies of *Philip*; he had the misfortune to have been at variance all his reign with the *Athenians*, and the *Athenians* were at that time the most eloquent, as their authors are yet esteemed the most excellent, among the *Greeks*. The orations of *Demosthenes* many of them remain, but for any answers that were made to them, time has swallowed them up; and we have scarce any apologies for *Philip*; yet in spite of these cross accidents, it may be discerned, that *Philip's* character ought not to be considered in altogether so bad a light as the orator has placed it. For, first, all speakers in popular assemblies are wont to exaggerate the subjects on which they declaim, and like the painters of domes and cupolas make large allowances for the distances between their pictures and those who are to look up to them. Secondly, The *Athenians* naturally hated kings, and conceived all nations to be barbarians who were governed by them. Thirdly, they held their territories in *Thrace* by a very dubious title, which we shall take this occasion to explain. When the republic was in the zenith of its glory, they had possessed themselves of the *Chersonese* by force. When *Iysander* destroyed *Athens*, the inhabitants of the before-mentioned country put themselves under the protection of the *Lacedæmonians* ^m. *Conon* afterwards reduced them to the obedience of their antient masters ⁿ, and *Cotys* king of *Thrace* conquered them once more from *Athens*. *Chersobleptes* his son, finding himself unable to oppose *Philip* of *Macedon*, gave up this place again to the *Athenians*, reserving only the city of *Cardia* which stood on the isthmus ^o. *Philip* having now dispossessed *Chersobleptes* of his kingdom, the citizens of *Cardia*, unwilling to fall under the *Athenian* yoke, submitted themselves voluntarily to *Philip*; whereupon *Diphithes* began the war, on a supposition, that so enterprising a prince would not stop here, but would make use of the advantages he had already gained, utterly to dispossess the *Athenians* of their colonies in these parts ^p. Such were the sources of those differences, which so long embroiled the *Athenians* and *Philip*; sources which, lying as they did in the constitutions of *Macedon* and *Athens*, could never be dried up; for the prudence of *Philip* giving him to understand, that till he

^m PLUTARCH. in vit. Iysand. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. ii.

ⁿ CORN. NEPOS, vit. Conon.

^o DEMOSTHEN. Orat. ad.

Arilloc. DIOD. SICUL. ubi supra.

^p DEMOSTHEN. Orat.

de Chersones.

was master of *Greece*, he would never be able to keep the *Athenians* under ; and till that was done, knowing himself to be unsafe at home, and scarce to be called a king ; he chose to run all hazards in order to be the *former*, chiefly because of all situations he dreaded to be in the *latter* (F).

His expedition in repressing the Illyrians, and his negotiations in Greece.

WHILE affairs stood thus, the *Illyrians*, recovering courage, and seeing *Philip* at such a distance, harassed the frontiers of *Macedon*, and threatened a formidable invasion ; but this attempt of theirs prejudiced none so much as themselves, and for *Philip* by quick marches arrived on the borders of *Illyrium*, and struck this barbarous people with such a panic, that they were glad to compound for their former robberies

(F) The extended country of *Thrace* was inhabited by many nations. The reader will meet with what can be collected respecting their history hereafter, at present it will be necessary to say something of the families of those kings with whom *Philip* had to do. *Teres* king of the *Odrysians*, by the conquest of many little princes, raised himself to a very high rank, and swelled his dominions to a large extent ; he had two sons, *Sitalces* and *Spartocus* (22). The descendants of these sons were engaged in continual wars amongst themselves, which extremely broke and ruined all their principalities, till at last *Seuthes* raised a considerable kingdom out of the conquests he made, and left it to his son *Cotys* the father of *Chersobleptes*, as *Demosthenes* tells us (23) ; but *Diodorus* will have him to be his brother (24). After the death of *Cotys*, his dominions were shared by *Chersobleptes*, *Berisades*, and *Amadocus*. *Chersobleptes* quickly dispossessed the other two, and, flushed with these conquests, and the hopes he had of the friendship of the *Athenians*, he began to contend with *Philip*, who, falling upon him with a veteran army of well-disciplined troops, defeated and dethroned him. This *Chersobleptes* we shall hear much of hereafter : The *Athenians* granted him the honour of being inrolled in their city-register, and he, when he found *Philip* too strong for him, resigned a part of his dominions to them. The truth is, conquest was the best title that any of them had, except the *Thracians*, who may be said to have had a birth-right in their own country. *Philip* therefore wisely added that tract of land he conquered, between the rivers *Strymon* and *Nessus*, to *Macedonia*, without pretending to make himself absolute master of *Thrace*. His son *Alexander* indeed did conquer it, but after his death, it fell again under the obedience of a native, viz. *Seuthes* the son or grandson of *Chersobleptes*, who defended his right and his possession against the *Macedonians*, more successfully than his ancestors had done (25).

(22) *Aristot. Polit. lib. v. c. 10.*

(23) *Demosthen. a. l. v.*

Aristot. (24) *Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvi.*

(25) *Demosthen.*

ubi supra. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xviii. c. x. a.

at the price he was pleased to set^a. Most of the *Greek* cities in *Thrace* now sought the friendship of the king, and entered into a league with him for their mutual defence. As it cannot be supposed, that each of these free cities had a power equal to that of *Philip*, we may therefore look upon him as their protector. This is exactly conformable to the account which *Diodorus* gives us of this matter; but *Demosthenes* represents this transaction as downright robbery, insinuating, that to have *Philip* for a protector, was to own him for a master; and that consequently his proceeding in this manner was making a conquest of so many cities, and an injury to all *Greece*^c. About this time *Philip's* negotiations in *Peloponnesus* began to come to light; the *Argives* and *Messenians*, growing weary of that tyrannical authority which the *Spartans* exercised over them, applied to *Thebes* for assistance; and the *Thebans*, out of their natural aversion to *Sparta*, sought to open a passage for *Philip* into *Peloponnesus*, that, in conjunction with them, he might humble the *Lacedæmonians*. *Philip* readily accepted the offer, and resolved to procure a decree from the *Amphietyons*, directing the *Lacedæmonians* to leave *Argos* and *Messene* free; which if they complied not with, he, as the lieutenant of the *Amphietyons*, might, with great appearance of justice, march with a body of troops to enforce their order. When *Sparta* had intelligence of this, she immediately applied to *Athens*, earnestly intreating assistance, as in the common cause of *Greece*. The *Argives* and *Messenians*, on the other hand, laboured assiduouly to gain the *Athenians* to their side, alleging, that if they were friends to liberty, they ought to assist those whose only aim was to be free. *Demosthenes* at this juncture out-wrestled *Philip*, if we may borrow that king's expression; for by a vehement harangue, he not only determined his own citizens to become the avowed enemies of the king, but also made the *Argives* and *Messenians* not over-fond of him for an ally^d; which when *Philip* perceived, he laid aside all thoughts of this enterprize for the present, and began to practise in *Eubæa*.

THIS country, now called *Negropont*, is separated from *Greece* by the *Euripus*, a streight so narrow, that *Eubæa* might easily be united to the continent. This situation made *Philip* call it, *the Fetters of Greece*, which he therefore sought to have in his own hands. There had been for some years great disturbances in that country, under colour

The causes of the war in Eubæa. Year after the Flood, 2659. Year before Christ,

^a DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. Philip. iii. iv

^c DEMOSTHEN. Orat. 340.

^d DEMOSTHEN. Philip. ii.

of which *Philip* sent forces thither, and demolished *Porthmos*, the strongest city in those parts, leaving the country under the government of three lords, whom *Demosthenes* roundly calls tyrants, established by *Philip*^r. Shortly after the *Macedonians* took *Oreus*, which was left under the government of five magistrates, styled also tyrants at *Athens*. Thither *Plutarch* of *Eretria*, one of the most eminent persons in *Eubæa*, went to represent the distresses of his country, and to implore the *Athenians* to set it free. This suit *Demosthenes* recommended warmly to the people, who sent thither their famous leader *Phocion*, supported by formidable votes but a very slender army; yet so well did he manage the affairs of the commonwealth and her allies, that *Philip* quickly found he must for a time abandon that project, which, however, he did not, till he had formed another no less beneficial to himself, or less dangerous to *Athens*^u. It was the prosecution of his conquests in *Thrace*, which he thought of pushing much farther than he had hitherto done, or could be reasonably suspected to have any intention of doing (G).

THE

^r PLUT. in vit. Phocion. DEMOSTHEN. Philip. iii. ^u DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. PLUTARCH. ubi supra. DEMOSTHEN. ubi supra.

(G) We have shewn above of what importance *Eubæa* was both to *Philip* and to the rest of *Greece*; we shall here take occasion to speak of the form of government which *Philip* would have established there. We no-where find, that he had any idea of annexing it to his dominions, or of obliging the people to live under new laws, or new modes of rule. *Eubæa* was full of great cities, each of which was a kind of republic, and, together with the benefits of freedom and independence, were sometimes disturbed by that spirit of dissension which frequently enters where liberty is adored. In these disputes both parties were wont to have recourse to foreign assistance, the *Athenians*, *Thebans*, *Lacedæmonians*, all in their turn, had sent auxiliaries to support their friend in this island; and now it seems the king of *Macedon* thought fit to do the like, without doubt on a principle of interest, for when do princes act from any other? We have very imperfect accounts of this war, which ended at last to the disadvantage of the *Athenians*: Instead therefore of drawing together all the jejune passages in antient authors, wherein the *Eubæan* war is mentioned; we will from *Demosthenes* himself give a succinct detail of the tyranny which *Philip* set up in *Oreus*, one of the principal cities of *Eubæa*. *Philistides*, *Menippus*, *Socrates*, *Agapetus*, and *Theas*, were at the head of affairs, and were professed friends to *Philip* of *Macedon*; *Euphreus*, who had

THE preparations he made for the campaign were extraordinary, his army larger than he was wont to make use of, and the precautions he took for the safety of his dominions in his absence, by appointing his son *Alexander* regent, such as shewed he had vast designs in his mind. At length when the season of the year permitted, he marched with thirty thousand men and invested *Perinthus* *. This city was one of the most considerable in the *Propontis*, always firm to the *Athenians*, and consequently both dreadful and dangerous to *Philip*. The siege was hardly formed before the king received advice, that his restless neighbours had taken arms, supposing that they could easily deal with forces commanded by a child; for *Alexander* was not above fifteen. But before he had leisure to reflect on this danger, he was farther informed, that *Alexander* had marched against them with such secrecy and expedition, as to fall upon them before they were aware, and thereby struck them with such consternation, that, making a precipitate retreat, they covered themselves with shame, and crowned the youth they despised with laurels: *Philip*, however, sent for his son immediately to the camp, fearing that this success might make him adventurous, and that fortune might not be always so favourable as, upon this occasion, the

Philip invades the cities of the Hellespont.

* DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. JUSTIN. lib. viii. DEMOSTHEN. pro Ctesiphon.

had formerly dwelt at *Athens*, began to treat these magistrates as traitors; he alledged, that they were entirely devoted to the *Macedonian*, and would betray the city into his hands, *Philistides* and his colleagues immediately threw this man into prison; the people it seems concurred with their magistrates, and looked upon him as a disturber of the public peace. When the disorders in the rest of *Eubœa* had occasioned *Macedonian* troops to be sent thither, the magistrates of *Oreus* owned them for their protectors, banished such as had confederated against them, and assumed the direction of public affairs to themselves, which had such an effect on the patriot they had imprisoned, that he laid violent hands upon himself. *Philistides* and his colleagues are qualified by the *Athenian* orator with the name of tyrants, and *Philip*, who was their protector, is made the tyrant of tyrants (26). This was the true style of *Athens*, where all power, underived from, or unexercised for, them, was held tyrannical. It is very possible, the *Eubœans* might speak another language, and without question the partizans of *Philip* protested loudly, that he interested himself in the affairs of *Eubœa*, in order to preserve the people from being oppressed by foreign states.

(26) *Demosthen. Orat. Philip. iii.*

had been. The *Perinthians*, however, made a gallant defence, their city being well fortified, as well as remarkably strong from its situation. *Philip* on his side pressed it closely both by his artillery, that is, *Battering engines*, and by sap : he caused also moveable towers to be erected, and bringing them near the walls, his soldiers from thence threw all sorts of missile weapons into the city¹. *Athens*, for whose sake *Perinthus* thus suffered, heard the complaints of her ambassadors, supported by the pathetic orations of *Demosthenes*, with compassion. Succours were immediately decreed in spite of all the arts which the friends of *Philip* could make use of ; however, *Chares* was made choice of to command them, and if *Philip* had been to have appointed a general, he would probably have been the man. He was vain, luxurious, haughty, insolent, and unjust ; was very indifferently skilled in military matters, yet so full of promises of what he would perform, that *the promise of Chares* became a proverb, to signify an undertaking which would never be fulfilled. This commander in chief set sail with a small squadron of galleys, a considerable body of land-forces, and an excellent band of music, which he chose with great care, and paid at an extravagant rate. His character was so well known, that the *Perinthians*, in as bad a state as they were, refused to admit him into their port, so that he was forced to return home, without doing any thing more than plundering the allies, and thereby bringing disgrace on the *Athenian* name².

Philip
writes a
letter to
the Athe-
ans.

As *Philip* was perfectly well acquainted with the state of *Athens* at that time, and knew that the engaging it in a war would in all probability revive that spirit of ambition and that appetite of glory, which had in former times rendered it so powerful ; he had recourse to those mighty talents which distinguished him in that age, and which may be said to have distinguished him from all kings. He wrote the *Athenians* a letter, which is still extant, and which it would be injurious to his memory to abridge, or to publish in any other than his own words. It was intended as a manifesto to the commons and to his enemies in *Athens*, and as a scheme of instruction to his friends ; how well it answered both purposes, the reader will discern, and form from thence a just Idea of a prince, who was his own secretary, as well as his own general, his own minister, and his own treasurer ; not that

¹ DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.
Phocion. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.

² PLUTARCH. in vit.

he was opinionated of his own parts, but because he was a perfect judge of those of other men, as appears from a saying of his relating to these *Athenians*. He was told they elected annually ten generals : *They are a happy people, said he, who every year can find ten generals, since I in my whole life have found but one, which was, Parmenio*^a. But to the letter, thus it ran :

Philip to the senate and people of Athens, greeting ;

“ After applying to you often, though always in vain, by
 “ my ambassadors, in order to engage your paying the same
 “ regard to your oaths and treaties that I do to mine ; I am
 “ determined to explain to you myself the mischiefs I sustain
 “ by your persisting in a contrary conduct. Do not be sur-
 “ prized at the length of my letter ; to enter into a detail
 “ of your infractions and my patience, requires no small
 “ room.

“ I begin with *Nicias* my herald, taken out of my do-
 “ minions. Instead of punishing such as were concerned
 “ in this fact, you were pleased to detain him in prison for
 “ no less a time than ten months before you sent him back,
 “ neither did you make any difficulty of taking from him,
 “ and reading in the public assemblies, the letters with
 “ which he was intrusted by me. After this the ports of
 “ the isle of *Thasus* were opened to the *Byzantine* gallies, or
 “ rather to all sorts of corsairs, which you saw with the same
 “ indifference, as if this practice did not involve you in the
 “ guilt of evident perjury. Then your general *Diopithes* en-
 “ tered my territories in a hostile manner, carrying into sla-
 “ very the inhabitants of *Crobylus* and *Tiristafas*, pillaging
 “ and sacking all the villages in that part of *Thrace*. When
 “ *Amphylochus* my ambassador went to treat for the ransom of
 “ the prisoners. *Diopithes*, to crown his worthy exploits,
 “ clapped him up, and forced him, to rescue himself from
 “ ill usage, to pay down nine talents, and all this he did
 “ with your participation and countenance. Ought the vio-
 “ lating the respect due to a herald at arms, or an embassa-
 “ dor, to be borne rather from you than from other people ?
 “ What think you of the business at *Megara* ? As soon as
 “ its inhabitants had injured *Anthemacrites*, cloathed by you
 “ with a public character, you thought yourselves oblig’d to
 “ take a public and proportionate revenge ; you excluded such
 “ as were guilty from any commerce with you ; and you e-

^a PLUTARCH. Apophtheg.

“ rected a pyramid before your gates to perpetuate the mo-
 “ mory of your justice and their crime. Well then ! an
 “ outrage held so intolerable, when done to yourselves, doth
 “ it pass for nothing when you yourselves do it ?

“ *Callias*, one of your generals, made not the least scru-
 “ ple of reducing under your obedience all the towns seated
 “ on the *Pegasean* gulph, though they were expressly com-
 “ prehended in our treaty under the name of my allies.
 “ This done, he attacked all the vessels bound to *Macedonia* ;
 “ passengers, merchants, all were held good prize, and sold
 “ for slaves. These piracies you have applauded and justified
 “ by your decrees ; for my part, I don’t see what you could
 “ have done worse, if you had declared open war against me.
 “ Nay, heretofore, when the sword was drawn, you con-
 “ tented yourselves with carrying on hostilities in an open
 “ manner ; you made reprisals on my subjects ; you did all you
 “ could to injure their trade ; you supported my enemies, and
 “ endeavoured to make descents on my territories ; but now,
 “ while we are at peace, you stop not at these things, your
 “ rancour and your injustice have pushed you on to stir up
 “ a barbarian to become my enemy ; and your ambassadors
 “ have solicited the king of *Persia* to over-whelm *Macedonia*.
 “ What strange conduct is this ? to beseech that monarch to
 “ ally himself with you against me, without remembering,
 “ that before he had subdued *Egypt* and *Phœnicia*, you re-
 “ solved to invite me and the rest of the *Greeks* into a confe-
 “ deracy against him as the common enemy. Very consistent !
 “ T’other day you were for going with me against him,
 “ now you desire him to go with you against me, Your
 “ ancestors, as I have been informed, objected it as an un-
 “ pardonable crime to the children of *Pisistratus*, that they
 “ invited the great king into *Greece* ; yet the same thing is
 “ done by your modern politicians. You are not thus it seems
 “ ashamed to injure me by methods you condemned even in
 “ your tyrants, so that all things become lawful and laudable,
 “ as soon as it is discerned they will spight *Philip*. You
 “ have given me a signal mark of this in your decrees, in-
 “ joining me to put *Teres* and *Cheersobleptes*, as citizens of
 “ *Athens*, into quiet possession of their estates. I shall not in-
 “ quire whether they were comprized in our treaty of peace,
 “ whether their names are to be found in your list of citizens,
 “ or whether they are natives or descendants of *Athens* ;
 “ this I know very well, that I have seen *Teres* serving in
 “ my armies against you, and *Cheersobleptes* being on the very
 “ point of swearing to a treaty concluded with my embassa-
 “ dors, declined it, terrified by the menaces of your general,
 “ who

“ who threatened to proclaim him an enemy to your republic,
 “ What justice ! what equity ! what consistency is here !
 “ when he was about to become my friend, you threatened
 “ to declare him your enemy ; after doing me all the mischief
 “ he could, now truly he is your citizen. You who hereto-
 “ fore received and protected a murderer, while yet *red* with
 “ the *blood* of *Sitalces* ! *Sitalces* king of *Thrace* ! *Sitalces*,
 “ whom you called your citizen ! yet in regard to this title,
 “ you are now for taking *Chersobleptes* under your protection,
 “ and for making war on me on his account ; however,
 “ upon other occasions, you have more than once regarded
 “ in another light these adopted citizens, your laws, and
 “ your decrees. But to cut short this dispute, you cannot
 “ deny, that you have seen dethroned, and ignominiously
 “ banished, *Evagoras* of *Cyprus* and *Dionysius* of *Syracuse*,
 “ two kings, who for themselves and their descendants were
 “ honoured with the high titles of citizens of *Athens*. If
 “ your eloquence can be so effectually employed as to per-
 “ suade those who have driven these tyrants from their thrones
 “ to replace them again, you may be assured, that you will
 “ find me no less tractable in resettling *Teres* and *Chersoblep-*
 “ *tes* in all and several their dominions in *Thrace*. If you
 “ look upon that to be a crime in me, with which you
 “ will not so much as upbraid others, can you wonder, that
 “ I pay little regard to your censure ? I could say many
 “ things more upon this head, but I chuse rather to suppress
 “ them.

“ WITH respect to other things, be it known to you, that
 “ if you attack the *Cardians*, they shall be succoured ; I
 “ will and I ought to do it, not only in respect to the strict
 “ alliance there has been between us, long before I conclud-
 “ ed the treaty with you, but on account also of your ob-
 “ stinacy in refusing to submit the differences between you
 “ and them to arbitration, as they and I have often desired
 “ you to do. Would you not take me for the meanest
 “ creature in the world, if upon this occasion I should de-
 “ sert my old and constant friends, for the sake of people
 “ who thwart me in every thing I do ? I can no longer be
 “ silent, your insolence is come to a height not to be borne ;
 “ your late proceedings are of such a cast, that moderation
 “ is no longer a virtue. The *Peparethians* did but tell you
 “ they were oppressed by me ; and, without further inquiry,
 “ you direct your generals to avenge these islanders, whom I
 “ had chastised more mildly than they deserved. These
 “ faithless people had in full peace surprized *Halonnesius*, nor
 “ would they part either with the island or the garison, tho’
 “ I often

“ I often solicited them by my ambassadors. When I was
 “ thus insulted, you said not a word ; but when I came to
 “ do myself justice, what a clamour have you set up ? You
 “ know very well, that I took this *Halonnesus* neither from
 “ them nor you, but from *Sostrates* the pirate. If you say
 “ that he held it under your protection, you declare your-
 “ selves his accomplices : If you disown him and his robbe-
 “ ries, why should you think of depriving me of my just
 “ reward, for clearing the seas and protecting trade ? I be-
 “ lieve I can guess the reason. All things I do offend you,
 “ kindnesses not excepted. I offered you this *Halonnesus*
 “ merely out of the great respect I had to your friendship ; this
 “ did not please your demagogues, they talked you into a
 “ refusal of my offer, and which was somewhat singular, they
 “ talked you into reclaiming what they made you refuse to ac-
 “ cept. Would you know the reason ? Come, I’ll tell it you :
 “ Either I must have restored the island, which you know
 “ would have been a full proof of my taking it unjustly ; or
 “ I must have refused to restore it, and thereby have opened
 “ a way to those violent motions which they long to make
 “ in your assemblies. Well, I penetrated all this, and, to
 “ be even with them, offered to submit our disputes to arbi-
 “ tration, resolving to make you a present of the island, if
 “ it was adjudged to me, and to have yielded it up, if judg-
 “ ment had gone against me. Many a time did I offer this,
 “ and as often did you reject it. The *Peparethians* in the
 “ mean time seized the island. Well, what was I to do
 “ then ? Was I bound not to punish those violators of their
 “ oaths ? Was I patiently to submit to injuries of such a na-
 “ ture, offered in such a manner ? Consider a little ; if *Ha-*
 “ *lonnesus* belonged to these people, how came the *Athenians*
 “ to demand it ? If it belonged to you, why did you not
 “ attack the usurpers ? Things came at last to such a pass,
 “ that, to secure the passage of *Macedonian* vessels from the
 “ privateers, fitted out from your colonies by order of *Poly-*
 “ *crates*, authorized so to do by your decrees, I was constrain-
 “ ed to come in person before the ports of these corsairs,
 “ in order to keep them in awe. I had little reason to act
 “ with all this caution, when that general at the same time
 “ sent to the *Byzantines* to join with him, and declared pub-
 “ licly, that, when occasion should offer, he would make
 “ war upon me. All this did not engage me to act with a
 “ violence proportioned to yours. I attempted nothing
 “ against you ; I seized not either your gallies or your domi-
 “ nions, though it was in my power to have taken a part, if
 “ not the whole, of both ; and all this time I continued to
 “ solicit

“ solicit you, that our differences might be put to arbitra-
“ tion. Judge for yourselves, whether equity is best award-
“ ed by reason or the sword, and whether it be fit, that
“ you or I should be judges in our own causes ; consider too
“ with yourselves, how unreasonable it will appear, that
“ the *Athenians*, who forced the *Thasians* and the *Maronites*
“ to be content with an arbitration made on their respective
“ claims to the city of *Stryma*, should refuse to submit to
“ the decision of their own differences with me in the same
“ way. Your obstinacy must appear still more unreasona-
“ ble, when it is remembered, that the arbitration I offered
“ would not have left you exposed to the incertainties which
“ usually attend such judgments. If it went against you, you
“ were to lose nothing ; a decree in your favour would have
“ given you my conquests.

“ To crown all your oddities, you refuse to hear my em-
“ bassadors, who are impowered, in the name of me and
“ my allies, to assure you that we are willing to compro-
“ mise upon reasonable terms whatever differences subsist
“ between us and other *Greeks*. Could you take any bet-
“ ter method than complying with this proposition ? At all
“ events, it must have been beneficial to you ; for I must
“ either have acted conformable to my offers, or not : In
“ the first case, you would have had the honour of protect-
“ ing all the *Greeks*, who, you say, have taken umbrage at
“ my power : In the second, you would have had the great-
“ est advantage over me ; my want of faith could not have
“ been concealed, I must have passed for a traitor convict
“ throughout *Greece*. To say the truth, my propositions
“ were perfectly suited to your people ; but, alas ! your de-
“ magogues could not find their accounts in them. Those
“ who are best acquainted with your government say, that
“ these sort of people know no sort of war so cruel as a
“ peace, and never taste so much of peace as in the midst
“ of war. When the sword is drawn every *Athenian* ge-
“ neral is tied down to compound with them ; and must ei-
“ ther pay for their crying him up, or for their not crying
“ him down. Your dealers in words carry it still far-
“ ther : In order to have reputation, a man’s character
“ must be publicly given by them. This is a general bu-
“ siness, nor is it of any great consequence what country
“ he is of, who desires to be commended ; the noble
“ citizen, the illustrious stranger, a whole string of these
“ sort of epithets are at their command ; and, once bestowed
“ in the assembly, those who are honoured with them become
“ most excellent commonwealth’s-men in the opinion of
“ the

“ the vulgar. I could upon very reasonable terms have
 “ silenced their invectives or even have converted them into
 “ eulogies ; but I scorn to acquire your friendship in so
 “ scandalous a manner. I should be ashamed to have any
 “ thing to do with these mercenaries, who, because they
 “ did not sell me *Amphipolis*, have the impudence to say,
 “ I usurp it. I am positive, my title to that city is built
 “ on reasons too strong for them with all their eloquence
 “ to overthrow. For, if *Amphipolis* ought to belong to its
 “ most antient possessors, how do I hold it unjustly ? *Alex-*
 “ *ander*, one of my ancestors held it first : witness the riches
 “ taken by him there from the *Persians*, the first fruits of
 “ which he consecrated in a statue of gold, set up in the
 “ temple at *Delphi*. Well, if you don’t like this reason,
 “ shall *Amphipolis* belong to its last master ? I am content,
 “ for by this title also it is mine. I took it from the *Lace-*
 “ *dæmonians*, who, after they had driven you out, settled
 “ in it a colony of their own. As I take it, all cities are
 “ held either by a right of succession or a right of con-
 “ quest. Now both these rights have I ; you have neither
 “ the one or the other ; and yet, because you held the
 “ city some time, you are pleased to set up a claim to it,
 “ though you have confessed my right in the most authentic
 “ manner in the world. For in your answers to my letters
 “ on this subject, you have over-and-over acknowledged me
 “ for the lawful sovereign of *Amphipolis* ; besides you have
 “ recognized me for its master by your last treaty of peace.
 “ Is it possible to have the possession of a place better gua-
 “ ranteed than I have this ? My ancestors held it formerly,
 “ I have conquered it, you have acknowledged my right,
 “ you who never parted with any thing, to which you
 “ had so much as the colour of a title. You see then the
 “ grounds of my complaints. Because you are without
 “ contradiction the aggressors, because I have spared no pains
 “ to prevent your having any reason for a rupture, you
 “ load me with reproaches, and make it your business to
 “ blacken me all you can. I take the gods to witness the
 “ goodness of my cause, and the necessity I am under of
 “ doing myself that justice which you have refused me ^b(H)”.

THE

^b Vide apud DEMOSTHEN. Orat. hanc Literam & Refutat.

(H) There are some few passages in this eloquent letter which may be illustrated from antient authors. *Evagoras* king of *Cyprus* was originally a private citizen of *Salamis*, but descended of a no-

THE judicious reader will not be displeased at the extraordinary length of this letter, when he considers, that it is an accurate and authentic history of many curious events, and at the same time an artful apology written by the most potent prince and most consummate politician of his time. Happy would it have been for us, if more such letters as these had been preserved; but time has swallowed them up, and we have only a few short epistles, which serve barely to demonstrate, that this is truly *Philip's* from the conformity of its stile, as it must be allowed worthy of him from the consideration of its matter.

IN all probability, this epistle had wrought its desired effect, if *Demosthenes* the constant adversary of *Philip* had not *Measures taken by the Athe-*

ble family, and a man of great spirit; he persuaded his fellow-citizens to throw off the *Persian* yoke, which they did under his conduct, and conquered a great part of the island; he was afterwards slain by *Nicocles*; however his son *Evagoras* the younger pretended to the kingdom of *Cyprus*, and was supported by the *Athenians* against *Protagoras* the successor of *Nicocles*. The *Athenians* were induced to take his part on account of the great assistance his father had given their admiral *Conon*, when he laboured to restore *Athens* to her former grandeur (27). As to *Dionysius* the younger, the reader has had his history already; there is, however, a passage relating to him, which deserves to be mentioned here. It is said, that *Philip*, having an interview with this prince, could not help asking him, how in so short a time he had lost the flourishing kingdom left him by his father? *Dionysius* answered frankly, *Because, Sir, my father did not leave me his fortune with his kingdom* (28). When the king of *Macedon* wrote in a high strain to the *Lacedæmonians* to leave the *Argives* and *Messenians* free, he received this *Laconic* answer: *Dionysius at Corinth*; by which they intimated, that he was no less a tyrant than *Dionysius*, and no more out of fortune's power than he (29). The islands of *Peparethus*, *Halonnesus*, and *Sciatbus*, lie in the *Ægean* sea, where they form a triangle. *Philip*, as he tells us in the letter, would have given up *Halonnesus* to the *Athenians* as a present, but *Demosthenes* engaged them to refuse it in that light, alledging, that their acceptance would be injurious to them as a republic (30). *Æschines*, however, told them plainly, that it was foolish to refuse an island, and dispute about words; that these sort of proceedings would do service to *Philip*, and afford him an opportunity of charging them with haughtiness and insincerity, as often as they upbraided him with breach of faith (31).

(27) *Pausan. in Attic. Diodor. lib. xv. xvi.* (28) *Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. xii. c. 60.* (29) *Demet. Phaler. de Eloc. c. 8.*
(30) *Orat. adv. Ctesiph.* (31) *Æschin. de fals. legat.*

undertaken to open the people's eyes, and to convince them, that the king's design was only to suspend their judgments, and to hinder their taking any vigorous resolution, till he had subdued such places in the country where his army now lay, as would leave him without apprehensions from that quarter ^c. It happened, that about this time the news arrived at *Athens* of *Chares's* being excluded the ports of the allies; this occasioned great heats in the assembly, the partizans of *Philip* insisting warmly on the contempt shewn towards the republic, by first soliciting supplies, and then refusing to admit them. *Phocion* cleared up this; he told them in few words, that the allies had not insulted the people of *Athens* by endeavouring to secure themselves from a rapacious *Athenian*; and that, if they would retrieve their reputation, they ought to send back their succours under the command of some man of honour ^d. According to the wonted flexibility of popular councils, this motion was approved, and *Phocion* himself named admiral and captain general. In this flow of their good humour, the *Athenians* did every thing that could be expected from them; as, on the other hand, *Phocion* shewed himself a true patriot by accepting readily this command, when he found it in his power to execute it with honour to himself and to the state; though upon other occasions he had opposed their declaring against *Philip*, when he judged those declarations would only serve to irritate him and do themselves no good. Such were the enemies of *Philip* on this side. The *Persian* kings, as we have already frequently noted, were wont to regard the *Macedonian* princes, not only as their tributaries, but as their faithful allies. The fortune of *Philip*, the continual clamour of the *Athenians* against him, and his dethroning at his pleasure the petty princes of *Thrace*, concurred to make the *Persian* view him in another light. When therefore he led his troops against *Perinthus*, the great king, as he was stiled by the *Greeks*, sent his letters mandatory to the governors of the maritime provinces, directing them to supply the place with all things in their power; in consequence of which they filled it with troops, granted large subsidies in ready money, and sent besides great convoys of provisions and ammunition. The *Byzantines* also, conceiving their own turn would be next, exerted their utmost force for the preservation of *Perinthus*, sending thither the flower of their youth with all other necessaries for an obstinate defence ^e. Thus

^c DEMOSTHEN. ubi supra.

^e DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xvi.

^d PLUT. in vit. Phocion.

Philip found all this part of the world either open enemies or suspicious friends.

THESE difficulties, which would certainly have made a strong impression on a prince of less firmness or more moderate abilities, served only to stimulate the ambition of the *Macedonian*. As soon therefore as he saw a small breach made in the wall, he proceeded to the attack, and stormed *Perinthus* with a vast effusion of blood on both sides. It is not likely that, with all these advantages, the *Perinthians* would have been able to have sustained many such efforts, if the situation of the city had not proved of greater use to them, than either themselves or *Philip* foresaw. For standing as it did on the side of a hill, and their houses being built with great regularity, every street, with the help of a few works, was converted into a new wall, which, while the besiegers battered, they were exposed to all the shot of the besieged; which, as the houses rose gradually one above another, did prodigious execution. *Philip* seeing this, and being informed by his engineer named *Polindus*, that nothing but time could overcome these difficulties, he instantly bethought himself of a method, whereby he hoped to indemnify his army for their long and great fatigue, though for the present he increased it; for marching suddenly with a great corps of troops, he blocked up *Byzantium*, which as it was in a manner exhausted by the succours sent to *Perinthus*, had well nigh fallen into his hands immediately, and could never have endured a siege even of a moderate length. But while *Philip* dreamt of gaining two cities at a time, he was compelled to leave them both; for *Phocion*, arriving with his fleet, quite changed the face of affairs. The inhabitants of the *Chersonese* declared immediately for the *Athenians*, and *Philip*, seeing all hopes of succeeding taken away, raised both his sieges, and marched off with an army excessively harassed, and not a little dispirited¹. *Phocion* made the best use of his absence, he retook such places as the *Macedonian* had garrisoned, took many of his ships, and by frequent descents raised contributions throughout the maritime provinces of *Macedonia*².

THIS reverse of fortune served only to aggrandize the character of *Philip*; he sent immediately to treat of a peace, and that the reputation of his arms might not suffer from his late disappointment, he turned them instantly on a *Scythian*

¹ PLUTARCH. in vit. Phocion. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.
² DEMOSTHEN. pro CTESIPH. PLUT. ubi supra. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.

Philip
compelled
to raise the
sieges of
Perinthus
and By-
zantium.
Year of
the Flood
2660.
Before
Christ
339.



Makes
war on the
Scythians
and defeat,
the Tri-
balli.

prince, who sought to take advantage of his misfortune; and, having totally defeated his forces, made the *Macedonians* rich with their plunder. The *Triballi*, a fierce and barbarous nation, refused him passage through their country, unless he would share with them the spoil he had taken. *Philip*, considering rather the wound his reputation would have received by complying with such a proposition, than the worth of what they required, absolutely rejected their demand, and marched to give them battle. The engagement was obstinate and bloody, and had well-nigh been fatal to the king; for after receiving a wound in his thigh, his horse was killed under him, and himself trampled to the ground. This being perceived by the young *Alexander*, he flew immediately to his assistance, and having covered his father's body with his shield, slew or put to flight such of the *Barbarians* as were got about him. *Philip* being remounted gained a signal victory, and returned into *Macedon*, as he was wont, covered with laurels, and received with loud acclamations, tho' in himself he was much dissatisfied, and began to form new projects for depressing the *Athenians*, who, kept continually warm by the orations of *Demosthenes*, were far from being so ready as they had formerly been to clap up a peace ^b.

Philip succeeds in his project of entering Greece.
 Year of the Flood. 2661.
 Before Christ, 338.

THE effects of the *Athenian* war became daily more and more insupportable to the subjects of *Philip*; for, as the *Macedonians* were never very powerful at sea, the *Athenians* now deprived them of all their trade, by keeping continually such squadrons on their coasts, that their vessels durst not stir out of port. If *Philip's* design had succeeded in *Thrace* and on the *Hellepont*, he would have starved *Athens*, her provisions as well as her revenues being chiefly drawn from those countries; the *Athenians* were now even with him in the same wars, with this unlucky circumstance, that the king knew not how to relieve himself ^c. Yet he did not despair; he formed, on the contrary, a project of invading *Attica*, though he had no fleet to transport his troops, and notwithstanding that he knew well enough the *Thessalians* were not to be depended on, if he attempted to march through the *Pylæ*, and that the *Thebans* would even then be ready to oppose his march. To obviate all these difficulties, he had recourse to *Athens* itself, where, by means of his partizans, he procured *Æschines* his old friend to be sent their deputy to the *Amphictyons*; this seemed a small matter, and yet this was the

^b JUSTIN. lib. ix. c. 3.
 PLUTARCH. in Phocion.

^c DIMOSTHEN. pro CTESIPH.

hinge on which his whole project turned. By that time *Æschines* had taken his seat, a question was stirred in the council, whether the *Locrians* of *Amphissa* had not been guilty of sacrilege in plowing the fields of *Cyrrha* in the neighbourhood of the temple at *Delphi*. Sentiments being divided, *Æschines* proposed a view, which was accordingly decreed. But when the *Amphietyons* came in order to see how things stood, the *Locrians*, either jealous of their property, or spurred thereto by the suggestions of some who saw farther than themselves, fell upon these venerable persons so rudely, that they compelled them to secure themselves by flight. The *Amphietyons*, considering this matter in council, decreed, that an army should be raised under the command of one of their own number to chastise the delinquents ; but as this army was to be composed of troops sent from all the states of *Greece*, the appearance at the rendezvous was so inconsiderable, that the *Amphietyon* sent to command them durst undertake nothing. The whole matter being reported to the council, *Æschines* in a long and eloquent harangue shewed, how much the welfare and even the safety of *Greece* depended on the reverence paid to their decrees ; and after inveighing against the want of public spirit in such as had not sent their quotas at the time appointed by the council, he moved that they should elect *Philip* for their general, and pray him to execute their decree. The deputies from the other states, conceiving that by this expedient their respective constituents would be freed from any farther trouble or expence, came into it at once ; whereupon a decree was immediately drawn up, purporting, that ambassadors should be sent to *Philip* of *Macedon* in the name of *Apollo* and the *Amphietyons*, once more to require his assistance, and to notify to him, that the states of *Greece* had unanimously chosen him their general, with full power to act as he thought fit, against such as had opposed the authority of the *Amphietyons* *. Thus of a sudden, and before any body foresaw it, *Philip* by this round-about method acquired all that he sought ; and having an army ready in expectation of this event, he immediately marched to execute the commands of the *Amphietyons* in all appearance, but in truth to fulfil his own deligns ; for having passed into *Greece* with his army, he meddled not with the *Locrians*, but seized immediately *Elatea*, a great city in *Phocis*, on the river

* PLUTARCH. in *Demosthen.* & DEMOSTHEN. in *Orat.* supr. citat.

Cephus ¹. This amazed all *Greece*, nor was there any body who could pretend to say what step he would take next (H).

The Athenians and Thebans resolve to oppose him.

THE *Athenians* were in the utmost confusion on the news of *Philip's* march; an extraordinary assembly was called, in which the people demanded advice of *Demosthenes* by name. That great orator with much presence of mind exhorted them to send' ambassadors throughout all *Greece*, but especially to the *Thebans* to engage them to rise at once and oppose the *Macedonian* torrent before it bore down all.

¹ DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xvi. PLUTARCH. in Phocion. & Demosthen.

(H) This was *Philip's* master-piece; upon this occasion he shewed that he was able to over-reach all the statesmen in *Greece*; for it is morally certain, that if any of the *Grecian* states had suspected his design, they would never have consented to the decree, which gave him a passage into the heart of their country. By seizing *Elatea*, he provided himself the fittest place in the world for his head quarters, since it awed *Bæotia*, and opened him a passage into *Attica*. It is true, the *Thebans* barred his passage, but that was what he could not foresee; for inasmuch as he had done them very considerable services, particularly in the *Phocian* war, he might better have reckoned upon them than upon any of the *Grecians*. These were not the only people who were not over-grateful to the king of *Macedon*; the *Peloponnesians*, for whom he had done much, openly hissed his chariot at the *Olympic* games, offering him thereby the highest affront in the sight of all *Greece*. When it was reported at the court of *Philip*, there wanted not some to declare, that such insolence ought to be chastised; but *Philip*, who was practised in the art of swallowing injuries (32), answered very mildly: *If the Peloponnesians hiss us for doing good turns, what will they not say, if we should do them ill ones* (33)? This calmness of his had its desired effect. His enemies, while they indulged their tongues, never thought of acting to his prejudice: When therefore he seized *Elatea*, they stood amazed, instead of running to arms, and, as if they had been fascinated by the charms of *Philip*, stood gazing on his army, expecting where it would march next. This sight was doubtless as pleasing to *Philip* as his subsequent victory at *Cheronea*, since it was the avowed maxim of this sagacious monarch, that an advantage gained by policy was more glorious than a conquest by arms, because in the glory of the latter his whole army had a right to share, whereas in respect to the former the same resulting therefrom belonged to himself alone (34).

(32) Longin. de Sublim. c. 25.

(33) Plutarch. in Apophthegm.

(34) Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvi. prope fin.

The people instantly assented, and *Demosthenes* went to *Thebes* at the head of the embassy ^m. *Philip* had sent to the same city *Pytho* as his ambassador ; he was a man of great abilities, by birth a *Byzantine*, by his merit a citizen of *Athens*, by choice the minister of *Philip* ⁿ. This orator easily overcame the colleagues of *Demosthenes* ; but *Demosthenes* himself who could overcome ? His speeches had such an effect on the *Thebans*, that forgetting all the obligations they owed to *Philip*, they considered him no longer as their benefactor, but as one who sought to arrive at the sovereignty of *Greece*. Fired therefore with resentment, they concurred unanimously with the *Athenians*, and concerted with *Demosthenes* the measures proper to be taken in so nice a conjuncture. *Philip*, on the other hand, did not sit still, he sent his ambassadors to *Athens* to treat of peace, and he is said to have engaged the priests at *Delphi* to prophesy nothing but destruction to those who should make war against him. *Demosthenes* defeated both designs, he engaged the *Athenians* not to listen in any degree to his propositions, and encouraged them also to pay no regard to the oracle, by telling them that *Pythia Philipized*. An army was immediately raised, which marched with incredible diligence to *Eleusis*, where they were joined by the *Thebans*, who shewed a laudable zeal for the liberty of *Greece*. The confederates made the greatest appearance that had ever been seen in *Greece*, and the troops were without doubt exceedingly good, but, unfortunately generals were wanting. *Charos*, that scandal to his country, and *Lyficles*, a man without conduct, commanded the *Athenians* ; the *Thebans* were without any general of note ; however, they prepared for a battle, which all circumstances considered, could not but be decisive ^o.

Philip, when he found his arts defeated, and that all his negotiations could not hinder this extraordinary junction, ^{And are} resolved as his last resource to have recourse to an engagement. ^{defeated at} *Cheronæa*. Thus determined, he advanced to *Cheronæa*, in the neighbourhood of which city the confederates were encamped. The next day, by that time the sun was up, both armies were in the field. The king gave the command of the left wing to his son *Alexander*, then about nineteen years of age ; but he placed about him his most experienced generals to prevent any accident his extraordinary courage, unsustain-

^m DEMOSTHEN. PRO CRESIPH. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.

ⁿ DEMOSTHEN. Orat. pro. Coron.

^o DIODOR. SICUL.

ubi supra. THUCYD. apud. PLUT. in Demosthen. DEMOSTHEN. ubi supra.

ed by experience, might draw on him. The right he commanded in person. On the other side, the *Athenians* were on the left, the *Thebans* on the right. *Alexander* began the charge, and his troops seconded his ardor with an alacrity conformable to his wishes. The sacred band of the *Thebans*, however, made a steady and gallant resistance^p. The *Athenians* in the mean time had the better on the left, and having pushed the enemy from their ground, *Lysicles* their general had the imprudence to cry aloud, *Come on, my fellow soldiers, let us drive these cowards to Macedon*. On which the *Athenians* losing all order rushed on to the pursuit. *Philip*, who saw and heard this from the side of a hill, whereon his phalanx remained in excellent order, said coldly to those who were near him, *These Athenians don't know how to conquer*^q. Then bearing down upon them, all in confusion as they were, he obtained an easy, though a very bloody, victory; a thousand *Athenians* being slain on the spot. At the same time, and with a like effusion of blood, *Alexander* triumphed over the *Thebans*: Thus the confederates were totally overthrown, and the authority of *Philip* effectually established. *Demosthenes*, who had been so instrumental in bringing the *Athenians* and *Thebans* into the field, was there in person; but it seems he wanted military courage, for in the beginning of the rout he threw away his shield and betook himself to flight. We are farther told, that a stake catching hold of his robe as he fled, he, not doubting but it was an enemy, cried out, *Alas! spare my life*^r. On his return to *Athens*, he was well received, though *Lysicles* was put to death. As to *Philip*, in the first transport of his joy, he behaved very ridiculously; he caused the decree of *Demosthenes* to be sung in his presence, spoke contemptibly of the powers of *Greece*, and insulted his prisoners, till *Demades* the *Athenian* brought him to his senses, by telling him, *Heaven, O king, hath assigned thee the part of Agamemnon, and thou wilt needs play that of Therfites*^s (I). It was the peculiar felicity of this prince, that

^p DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. OROS. lib. iii. ^q POLYÆN. Stratagem. lib. iv. ARRIAN. lib. vii. ^r PLUTARCH. in vit. dec. Orat. ^s DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.

(I) We need not wonder at *Philip's* intemperate joy on account of his victory. Heroes and kings are the greatest of men, but they are still men. *Demosthenes*, who alone preserved his courage, when *Thebes* and *Athens* were struck with terror, lost it when he came to engage those *Macedonians*, against whom he made it the business

that he would hear advice, and receive those things kindly which to monarchs of a weaker brain would have founded like treason. He instantly ordered *Demades* to be released, esteemed him as his friend, and loaded him with benefits ever after. His conversation, *Diodorus* tells us, gave *Philip* so high a relish of the *Athenian* civility, that he dismissed all his prisoners. But when they afterwards demanded their baggage, though he granted their request, he could not help saying, *These men, I believe, do not think we fought in earnest*. The reflection of *Polybius* on this act of clemency ought ever to accompany its recital, since it is no less honourable to its author, than the act itself was to *Philip*. By this, says that polite *Grecian*, he gained a second victory more glorious than his former; for whereas at *Cheronæa* he triumphed only over such *Athenians* as opposed him, he now vanquished the whole city.

† *PLUT.* in *Apophtheg.* *DIODOR. SICUL.* ubi supra. † *POLYB.* lib. v.

business of his life to excite enemies and raise armies. *Philip*, so wise in his designs, so cool in the execution of them, could not behold this success without transports. When the news of *Philip's* death reached *Athens*, *Demosthenes* put on a garland and appeared publicly in pomp, though his daughter was but just dead. He did that for the death of *Philip*, which *Philip* had done for the political death of *Athens*; both were mad from the same motive, and both, if either, were excusable alike (35). It is indeed alledged in favour of *Philip*, that his senses were overcome with wine; but methinks the joy of his victory might intoxicate him sufficiently. He had good sense enough to foresee that he should fight no more battles against *Greeks*; that this victory would establish the pre-eminence of *Macedon*, and leave him at liberty to pursue those vast designs he had formed. But if all that has been said will not wipe off the stain of his intemperance on this occasion, his future conduct ought to obliterate it; he buried the *Athenians* who fell in the battle honourably, and on all occasions afterwards acknowledged them to be the bravest and politest people in *Greece*. Nay, he was wont to do justice to the merit of *Demosthenes*, at whom when some of his courtiers were railing, *Let the man speak freely*, said *Philip*, *since he is not in our pay, though we would gladly give him a larger appointment than to any of our household* (36). At another time, speaking of the different kinds of eloquence, *Isocrates*, said he, *fences with a foil, but Demosthenes with a sword* (37). 'Tis plain, that if *Philip* had vices and follies, he had also many good qualities, and much good sense.

(35) *Plutarch. in vit. Demosthen.* *Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra.*

(36) *Lucian. in laud. Demosthen.*

(37) *Dionys. Halicarn. in*

Isæo. Liban. in Demosthen.

He carried his moderation still farther; for he concluded a peace with *Athens* on their own terms, and leaving a good garrison in *Thebes* did the rest of the *Bæotians* no manner of hurt.

The consequences of this victory.

THUS *Philip* of *Macedon*, with an army of thirty thousand foot, and two thousand horse, effected what *Xerxes* with his millions attempted in vain. He attained by one victory the sovereignty of *Greece*, though it cost the *Greeks* many to establish its liberty. He did not indeed disturb his countrymen with the rattling of their chains; but when there was a necessity, he did not spare to shew them that he was, and would be, their master. The *Athenians* in the mean time acted as they were wont, that is, violently and beyond all bounds of reason. They cried up the virtue of *Demosthenes* to the stars, they inveighed loudly against such as had any share in betraying *Greece*, they interred those who were slain at *Cheronæa* at the public expence. *Demosthenes* published their virtues in a funeral oration, and, if we may be allowed to express our sentiments in a metaphor, they shewed by the solemnity of its interment what a high value they set upon their liberty^w. The rest of the *Greeks* did not either so readily perceive, or did not think it prudent so publicly to lament, the change which this expedition had made in their affairs; instead of deploring their servitude, they rejoiced in the lenity of their sovereign, and seemed rather to regard the greatness of *Philip* as due to his merit, than acquired by his arts and arms.

Philip chosen generalissimo of the Greeks against the Persians.

We are now to behold the king of *Macedon* in a new light; hitherto we have seen him struggling with his neighbours, courting the *Athenians*, and practising as the times required with the other states of *Greece*. He was now lord of all, and the use he made of his power was to convoke a general assembly of the *Greeks*, wherein he was recognized generalissimo, and with full power appointed their leader against the *Persians*. Having by virtue of his authority settled a general peace amongst them, and appointed the quota which each of the states should furnish for the war, he dismissed them, and returning into *Macedon* began to make great preparations for this new expedition; an expedition which, beside the ancient hatred of the *Greeks* towards the barbarians, occasioned by the injuries received from them, he coloured with a new pretence relating particularly to himself, viz. the assistance given by the *Persian* to the cities of *Perinthus* and *Byzantium*^x.

^w PLUTARCH. in Demosthen. DEMOSTHEN. pro CTESIPH.

^x ALEXAND. ad Dar. ap. ARRIAN. lib. ii. c. 14.

FROM the very time that *Xerxes* invaded *Greece*, its inhabitants had projected a return of his visit, not in a piratical way, by making descents on his sea-coasts, for that they did immediately after they had driven him back into *Asia* ^{which encouraged} ; but with a view of making an absolute conquest of his dominions, or at least so much of them as might suit them best ; ^{Philip to invade Asia.} of this we have seen already, that one of the *Spartan* kings had some thoughts, and actually gave ear to a plan laid before him for that purpose ^a. One of his successors, *Agésilas*, carried it still farther, and with an inconsiderable army gave law to the lieutenants of the great king. It is true, *Agésilas* did not openly profess a design of conquering the whole empire, but that he really intended no less may be gathered from his affecting to sacrifice in the same manner with *Agamemnon*, when he went upon his expedition, and his reply to one who called the *Persian* emperor, as the *Greeks* were wont, *the great king*. In what, said *Agésilas*, *is he greater than I, if he be not braver or better*. His sacrificing shewed, that he meant to emulate *Agamemnon*, who did not harass but subvert *Troy*, and his apophthegm, that he desired to make himself equal to him who was called *the great king* ^a. *Jason* of *Thessaly* is thought to have been meditating the same thing when his thread of life was abruptly cut off through a domestic conspiracy ^b. *Philip* seemed to have entered upon this momentous conquest with more probable and auspicious hopes ; he was by common consent elected general of *Greece*, and he had so effectually humbled the *Grecians*, that he had reason to expect they would obey him ; he had besides a numerous, well-disciplin'd, and victorious army, and, which might be justly reckoned his peculiar felicity, able and faithful ministers, brave and experienced officers : At the head of the former stood *Antipater*, whose character might have taken up a page, if his master had not summed it up in a line ; having risen later than usual one morning, he said, rubbing his eyes at his levee, *I have slept soundly to day, for I knew Antipater was waking* ^c. This was an eulogium worthy of the prince and of his minister ; yet *Alexander* described him better, when it was observed to him, that all his lieutenants except *Antipater* wore purple ; true, said he, *but Antipater is all purple within* ^d. In short, he was a man of prodigious abilities, but made no display of them. And, as his master rightly depicted him,

^a PLUT. in vit. Aristid. CORN. NEPOS, in vit. Pausan. Thucyd. lib. i. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xi. ^b HERODOT. lib. vi. ^c PLUTARCH. in vit. Agesil. & in Apophthegm. ^d DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xv. ^e PLUTARCH. Apophthegm. ^f DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xvii.

was alike aspiring in his thoughts, and humble in his manners. *Parmenio* was of another cast, *Philip*, the best judge in *Greece*, had pronounced him *the only general he ever met with*^c. *Parmenio* returned his master's compliment upon another occasion, in a manner which shewed the penetration of a statesman and the frankness of a soldier. The ambassadors of the *Grecian* states expressed some uneasiness, that *Philip* came not out earlier in the morning. *Be quiet, gentlemen*, said *Parmenio*, *for while you slept he was waking*. *Antipater* would have thought this, but only *Parmenio* would have said it, who as he conceived justly is remarkably famous for speaking freely, which under *Philip* procured him the highest honours, under *Alexander* a violent death ; such was the state of things in *Greece* and in the court of *Philip*, when he projected the conquest of *Asia* † (K).

How

• PLUTARCH. Apophthegm. † DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xvi.

(K) We have in the text attempted to make some discovery of those motives which induced *Philip* to undertake the conquest of the *Persian* empire. It may not, however, be amiss to put the reader in mind, that the *Persians*, by their foolish attempt to conquer *Greece*, had first inspired the *Greeks* with a thirst of conquering them, and by their subsequent proceedings cherished and kept up that desire, either thro' want of foresight, or from a fatal necessity. We do not mean by this any enevitable destiny, but such a necessity as is the constant attendant on imprudence and luxury: When governors, either through want of thought, or which is often the case, from a wrong turn of thought, suffer those of whom they have the care to sink into all the excesses of debauchery, they must not expect from these weak and effeminate men either generous thoughts, or gallant actions. When a people become slaves to their lusts, they are in the fairest train imaginable of becoming slaves to their neighbours. Politicians may for a time indeed ward off the blow ; but how ? Why, by making use of mercenary troops. Thus the cowardly spendthrift pays a bully to fight his quarrels, and when he pays him no longer, is beaten by him himself. This was the fate of the *Persians* ; they hired *Greek* troops, maintained them in the exercise of their discipline, made them perfectly acquainted with their country and their manners, suffered them to see and to consider those errors in their government, which made it in spite of its grandeur appear contemptible ; and then those very *Greeks* on their return home were continually prompting their countrymen to go and pull down that empire whose weight scarce permitted it to stand. If the *Persian* emperors had always encouraged feuds in *Greece*, the *Greeks* could never have turned their arms upon them ; for we see, that till one state subdued the rest, an expedition into *Asia* might be talked of, but could not be executed. Instead of this,

How great soever he appeared there, how happy soever he might be here ; in his family, he was not only uneasy, but miserable. His wife *Olympias* was the daughter of *Neoptolemus*, brother of *Arymbas*, king of *Epirus*, whom *Philip* raised to a participation in the kingdom ; his son *Alexander*, by the favour of the same monarch, was raised to the sole possession of the throne to the prejudice of *Æacidas* the son of *Arymbas* ; all which testifies how great a share *Olympias* once had in the affection of her husband. She was a woman of a high spirit, great abilities, a fine address, much cunning, and has been terribly wronged, if she had not more intrigues than that with *Jupiter*, to which *Alexander* sought to ascribe his birth^e. The reader must remember, that *Philip* in his letter to the *Athenians*, speaks with great heat of their seizing his herald, taking from him his letters, and reading them in a public assembly, in which if they shewed their disrespect to *Philip*, they shewed at the same time a high regard to *Olympias*, to whom they sent a packet of letters taken at the same time without presuming to open them^h. How this lady embroiled herself with her husband might be somewhat mysterious even in those days ; at present it is impossible to give a very distinct account of it. Whatever it was, the king was so extremely offended with her, that he proceeded to a repudiation, and married *Cleopatra* the niece of *Attalus*ⁱ. This conduct of his, added to some other slights, either real or so conceived, inspired *Alexander* with a warm dislike of his father ; and as young princes have seldom prudence enough to conceal their

^e JUSTIN. l. viii. c. 6. ^h PLUT. in vit. Demet. ⁱ DIODOR. SICUL. l. xvi. ARRIAN. in præfat. expedit. Alex.

this, the necessity I before-mentioned compelled the *Persian* to compose the quarrels of the *Grecians*, that they might furnish him with troops. Peace enervated the *Greeks*, the facility of recruiting their mercenaries made the *Persians* neglect all martial discipline. In the mean time *Philip*, blessed with an excellent education, exercised with early troubles, endued with invincible fortitude, and full of restless ambition, raised the nation he governed from an indigent and dependent state to be first the terror of its neighbours, then the mistress of *Greece*, last of all a match for *Persia*. On this foundation stands the fame of *Philip* ; these were the causes of his being in a condition to pass into *Asia* ; and these the sources of that weakness and inability to resist, which afterwards appeared, in the *Persian* administration (37)

(37) *Plut. in vit. Alex. Arrian. in expedit. Alex. Remarques de M. Turreil sur les Philippiques.*

sentiments,

sentiments, he gave evident tokens of it, insomuch, that the whole court knew and observed it. An accident happened which put all things into a flame. At the nuptial feast, *Attalus*, the young queen's uncle, was so unpolite as to tell the king in the hearing of his son, that his *Macedonians* hoped he would give them now a lawful heir to the throne. *Alexander* in the heat of his resentment cried out, *What then, rascal, do you take me for a bastard?* And, while he spoke, threw a flaggon at his head. *Attalus* returned the compliment in the same way, and the king, extremely provoked at this disturbance, drew his sword, and, forgetting that he was a cripple, hastily made towards his son; but in his passage fell down, which gave the courtiers time to get between them. *Alexander* rising up, and forgetting that he to whom he spoke was both his father and his prince, had the assurance to say in quitting the room, *The Macedonians are likely to conquer Asia, when led out of Europe by a prince who cannot go from one table to another, without hazarding his neck.* He rightly conjectured, that it would not, after this, be proper for him to remain in *Macedon*, where his father *Philip* was both revered and beloved; he therefore retired with his mother into *Epirus* * (L).

A little

[* PLUT. in vit. Alex. ARRIAN. l. iii. c. 6.

(L) *Philip's* greatest fault was his proneness to feasting and flattery. If we may believe a certain author, he made one of his flatterers, whose name was *Thrasidæus*, king in *Thessaly*, merely because he had a happy way of making his compliments. *Neoptolemus*, the *Athenian* poet, was at once his favourite and the chief manager of his affairs in that city. At this time of day a poet would be thought a very indifferent agent in politics; but it was quite otherwise at *Athens*. That writer knew how to manage the people so well, that he gave umbrage to *Demosthenes*, who failed not to raise a spirit of persecution against him, which constrained the poet to retire to *Macedon*, where he was extremely well received by *Philip*, and became the darling of the whole court (38). When his affairs required it, the king was patient, abstemious, and attentive to every thing; when they allowed of relaxation, he made great entertainments, drank hard, and talked very freely with his friends. It would have been well if nothing worse than freedom had mingled in his feasts; but, it is said, they were polluted with every kind of vice, and all the various debaucheries, which the most sensual wits could devise (39); yet it must be allowed, that,

(38) *Orat. pro p. v. Joseph. Antiq. l. xi. c. 7.* (39) *Theopomp. ap. Athen. Deipn. l. vi.*

A little after these disturbances at court, *Damaratus* the Philip re-
Corinthian, who had been *Philip's* host, and who lived with *calls his son.*
 him, not only in the strictest friendship, but with the greatest
 familiarity, came to make him a visit. When the first com-
 pliments were over, *Philip* asked him, If all things were quiet
 in *Greece*? *You have reason, Sir,* returned he, *to trouble yourself*
about the peace of Greece; you who have filled your own family
*with noise and dissention*¹. The king, who, tho' he liked
 flattery, loved truth, received this reproof as kindly as it was
 meant, immediately made up the breach between himself and
 his son, and thereby recalled *Alexander* to court. It is not
 clear, whether the king of *Epirus* engaged heartily in his sis-
 ter's quarrel or not. In all probability he temporized with
Philip, who in a short time after gave him his daughter *Cleo-*
patra in marriage, with an intent, it is likely, to preserve all
 things in quiet during his absence. It is time now to return
 to public affairs.

As *Philip* piqued himself on bearing the character of a reli- *Prepares*
 gious prince, he sent deputies to consult the oracle at *Delphi* *for the war*
 as to the success of the *Persian* war. *Pythia* returned for an- *in Persia.*
 swer a single line in verse, in *English* thus;

The ox's destin'd head now wreaths in thral,
To slaughter doom'd, and quickly shall he fall.

The king when he received this response, immediately con-
 jectured, that it portended his leading the *Persian* king as a vic-
 tim to be offered to the *Grecian* gods^m. But when the event
 shewed that he was mistaken, others held that to be clearly

¹ PLUT. ubi supra.

^m DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.

in his graver moments, *Philip* saw the folly of this, and reflected
 severely enough on the inequality of his own conduct. He would
 often say, *That he was obliged to Messieurs the speech makers of Athens*
for pointing out his faults, and thereby giving him an opportunity to
amend them (40). Indeed he always heard reproofs, not only with
 patience, but with pleasure, and shewed, upon every occasion, a
 strong inclination to reward such as put him upon doing right.
 Once at a public sale of captives, a poor man, approaching the
 tribunal, whispered in his ear, *Sir, it would be more decent if you*
let your robe fall lower. Here, cried *Philip*, *set me this man at li-*
berty; I did not know he was my friend (41). The regard we owe
 to truth obliges us to record these things.

(40) Plut. in Apophthegm.

(41) Plut. ubi supra.

pointed out, which had been utterly unsuspected before (M). *Attalus* and *Parmenio*, who with an excellent corps of troops were detached to open the war, had orders given them to set the *Grecian* cities at liberty ; for how much soever *Philip* might be esteemed a tyrant at *Athens*, he affected to pass for a lover of liberty at home, requiring that as a just respect from others, which the *Athenians* called a slavish submission. Without question the *Greek* cities, whose inhabitants had so readily libelled him, when *Phocion* forced him to raise the sieges of *Perinthus* and *Byzantium*, were now as ready to load him with panegyrics, since they were entirely at his mercy, the *Athenians* having it neither in their power nor their will to afford them now any kind of assistance ; on the contrary, *Athens* herself at this time sought to sooth the victor, and began, with

(M) There is no subject that hath been oftener treated, and remains yet less clear, than this of oracles and their responses. Some, struck with particular instances of the correspondence between their answers and the events which followed them, have been led to confess, that there were in them undeniable marks of supernatural assistance (42). Others, fixing their eyes on the many instances of doubtful, and even false, responses which are recorded in history, have attributed the whole to priestcraft, and have excluded the devil's having any further share in the answers of the oracles, than he may claim as the patron of fraud and the father of lies (43). We do not pretend to unravel in a note a knot twisted by so many volumes ; on the contrary, we shall confine ourselves to the response mentioned in the text, and shall propose to the learned some difficulties which have occurred to us, and which, we cannot think, can be resolved by either of these systems. *Philip* had been, in a particular manner, the protector of the temple at *Delphi* ; if therefore any dæmon delighted in the worship offered to him there, why did he not give this royal friend of his a fairer caution ? Or, if the oracle was a mere engine of priestcraft, and, as *Demosthenes* alledged, had by this time learned to *philippize*, how came he to give such a response, as particularly enough pointed out, not only *Philip's* sudden death, but the very manner of it ? It should seem, that a verse might easily have been contrived to have spoke the future success of *Philip*, without wearing that cloudy aspect, which was evident in the verse delivered. We shall enter no farther into this matter here ; but when we come to speak expressly of the methods in use among the *Greeks* for penetrating into the mysteries of providence, we shall shew, that *Chance* was chiefly relied on in these cases, and that the clearness in some instances, the doubtfulness in others, and the falshood in many, resulted intirely from hence, and from nothing else.

(42) *Delrio, More, Beauchamp, &c.* (43) *Van Dale, Fontenelle, &c.*

the rest of *Greece*, to *philippize*, as *Demosthenes* emphatically called it. Indeed *Philip* had been very kind to them, giving up the places they so much desired in *Eubæa*, and removing as far as was consistent with his own safety, whatever might be grievous to them, or afford them apprehensions. They seemed also to be highly pleased with the expedition he was about to take, and sent their deputies to compliment him upon that occasion. The rest of the *Grecian* states did the same thing; so that *Philip* had now need of a second monitor. He had already appointed one of his pages to salute him every morning with this sober compliment, *Philip, remember thou art a mortal*; a caution, which, as we shall see, he forgot long before night, being in himself much addicted to pleasure; tho', when it was necessary, no one was more indefatigable in business. Amongst the rest of his cares, that of making his family easy gave him a good deal of concern. He had not only a young wife, whom he had lately married, but several concubines also, by whom he had children. *Alexander* was very jealous of these, and *Philip* no less uneasy at his jealousy; he sought, however, to sooth him; and when the prince would sometimes break out into harsh expressions, *Philip* would say, *Be patient, my son, and let my having other children engage you to act in such a manner, as that the preference I give you may appear the effect of your own merit rather than of my choice* (N). To quiet also the relations and friends of *Olympias*,

(N) It may be justly said, that *Philip* was a better father than *Alexander* proved a son. As soon as the young man was capable of instruction in the sciences, *Philip* put him under the care of *Aristotle*, from whom, such was that monarch's modesty, he was contented to receive lessons in government himself. The king formed the design of educating his son thus on his very birth. Here is his letter to *Aristotle* on the occasion, alike concise and inimitable; "You are to know I have a son. I thank the gods for it; not so much for that they have given me one, as that he is born cotemporary with *Aristotle*. I promise myself, from your care, he will become worthy of succeeding us and of ruling *Macedon*" (44)". We have given some instances of his care of that young prince's person, of his concern for his reputation at the battle of *Cheronæa*, and of his desire to infuse into him noble and heroic principles. To these let us add, that tho' *Philip*, as a politician, had a great opinion of the force of gold, and was wont to say, that no city was impregnable, through the gates of which an ass laden with that metal could pass, tho' he was addicted to the retaining

(44) *Aul. Gel. l. ix. c. 3.*

pias, the king of *Macedon* thought it necessary to celebrate, in a public and splendid manner, the marriage between her brother *Alexander* and his daughter *Cleoptara*. He accordingly appointed *Ægæ* for the place wherein this solemnity should be performed, and also signified, that there, for the last time, he would regale the *Greek* ambassadors, before he marched into *Asia*. The concourse on this occasion was prodigious, not only the *Macedonians*, but all the *Grecian* states, striving to outvie each other in expressions of zeal and friendship, towards *Philip* and his government. Amongst the rest the *Athenians*, always ingenious in flattery, sent him a gold crown, which, when presented by their minister, he also declared, that if any plotter of treason against *Philip* should, for the future, endeavour to shelter himself in *Athens*, he should immediately be delivered up. The king was mightily pleased with this, and no less delighted with a dramatic entertainment composed by *Neoptolemus* the *Athenian*, a famous tragic poet and highly in *Philip's* favour. The title of this piece was *Cinyras*; and it was intended to represent the king as having already triumphed over the *Persian*, and made himself lord of *Asia*. The following lines, representing the pride of those antient enemies of *Greece*, particularly affected *Philip*, insomuch, that he caused them to be more than once repeated.

*Your tow'ring hopes above heaven's concave stray,
O'er all the globe of earth you seek to sway;
Palace to palace join, and, madly vain,
Think that no bounds should life or lands restrain.*

pensioners in every state, and also lavish of his money to domestic flatterers, yet he checked this humour as soon as he perceived it in his son. He wrote him a letter on the subject, full of excellent philosophy: "How came you, young man, said he, to reason so
" wretchedly with yourself, as to fancy those will serve you
" faithfully, whom daily you corrupt with money? Do
" you this, that the *Macedonians* may hereafter take you not for
" their king, but for their steward or pay-master? If you dis-
" charge these offices well, you must make but a pitiful prince.
" They are spoiled who take gifts, by being taught thereby a ha-
" bit of taking (45)". Thus, as a father, he endeavoured to eradicate those vices, which he practised and boasted of as a prince. Perhaps he thought them lawful, or at least more excuseable, when done from political motives, than when springing from an idle inclination of wasting and throwing away.

(45) *Cicero de Offic. l. ii.*

*Alas! that lot, which ye wou'd far remove,
 With hasty step, your constancy shall prove.
 Secure in thought, a stroke doth now impend,
 Which to extended views shall give an end;
 Sudden and sure it falls, nor shall your pow'r defend *.*

The correspondence between the response of the oracle and this prediction of the poet gave *Philip* an unusual confidence, and spread an air of joy and satisfaction through the greatest part of his court. Some, it is said, there were, who suffered themselves to doubt of these omens; they thought the answer of the oracle equivocal; they held the compliment of the *Athenian* ambassador portentive of some secret conspiracy; they conceived those lines, which so much moved the king, descriptive, not so much of the *Persian* state, as of his own. Whether these conjectures were made before the king's death is a little uncertain; if they were, certain it is, that they were well grounded; for a plot there was against the king's life, a plot as dark in its circumstances as in its nature. We are indebted to *Diodorus* for the fullest account of it; and from him therefore we shall take it (O).

THERE

* DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.

(O) We have different accounts of the manner in which *Pausanias* was injured. Some say, that *Attalus* himself abused him at a feast, and afterwards prostituted him to the rest of the guests (46). However it was, *Attalus* without question was much to blame, and so also was *Philip*, in not doing justice upon the complaint of *Pausanias*. On another occasion he shewed himself remiss in the same way, and was recalled to his duty by the quick answer of a poor woman. She had offered him a petition several times, and as often had been told, that he had not leisure to hear her. At last stung with this ill usage, she could not forbear replying, *If you have not leisure to do justice, be no longer a king*. The propriety of this reproof was at that time so visible to *Philip*, that he immediately heard her complaint, and redressed it. Happy had it been for this monarch, if the good woman's logic had made a deeper impression on his heart. Certain it is, that a politician could not have made a nicer distinction than this, *that a denial of justice is an abdication of magistracy* (46). At other times *Philip* was more strict, and would not sacrifice his duty to his passions. His courtiers once pressed him vehemently to interpose in favour of a man who was

(46) *Plut. in Apophthegm.*

Pausanias
conspires
against
him.

THERE were in the court of *Macedon* two young men of quality of the same name, viz. *Pausanias*. One of these was in great favour with the king, who treated him with such indulgence and familiarity, that it began to be suspected the king's inclination for him transgressed both the bounds of reason and of nature. This had reached the ear of the other *Pausanias*, who, having frequent quarrels with the favourite, was wont, by way of reproach, to call him *either sex*. The lad, stung with this terrible outrage, addressed himself to *Attalus* one of the king's friends, and whose niece *Cleopatra* he afterwards married, shewing him how he had been insulted, and wishing for some opportunity to wipe off the stain. Some time after this, in a general engagement against the *Illyrians*, this *Pausanias* fighting near the king, and perceiving that the enemy directed against him a shower of arrows, threw himself before his master, and received them into his own body, falling immediately afterwards dead upon the spot. The extraordinary courage of the youth, his fidelity, and the manner of his death, made him much spoken of. *Attalus* thought fit to inform the king of the cause from whence the young man grew desperate; he also took it into his head to revenge him upon the other *Pausanias*; which he did in a manner alike cruel and detestable. He invited him to an entertainment, and having taken care to drink him down, he exposed him, when void of sense, to the lust of his grooms, who abused him according to their beastly appetites. *Pausanias*, who was an *Orestian* by birth, and had all the haughtiness natural to his countrymen, applied himself frequently to the king, passionately demanding justice against *Attalus*. That monarch, always partial to his friends, and especially to the uncle of his young wife, put him off with good words; and, in order to make him forget his disgrace, made him captain of his guards. Herein he greatly mistook the temper of *Pausanias*, who was not to be wrought upon by such methods. Instead of growing easier he became more impatient, and, from hating *At-*

on the point of being condemned; and they gave this reason for it, *because, if judgment went against him, all the world would decry him*. Very well, said *Philip*, *I had rather the world should decry him than me* (47). *Attalus*, it seems, had a better interest than this man; but his interest cost *Philip* dear. His death however, ought to be a lesson to princes, and teach them, that injustice begets injustice; which therefore they should be afraid to commit, because it is the only means by which themselves can suffer.

Attalus, began more grievously to hate the king. It happened, while he was in this sullen disposition, that conversing one day with *Hermocrates* the sophist, he put to him this question, *What must he do who would be famous?* He must, replied *Hermocrates*, kill him who has done the greatest things; for when the fame of him whom he slew shall make him often remembered, that remembrance will of course lead to the mention of him who slew him. *Pausanias*, after meditating some time longer on his own wrongs and the sophist's advice, came at last to a resolution of killing the king, in hopes thereby of restoring that reputation which *Attalus* had taken away from him; a strange resolution this! and a strong testimony of the weakness of human reason, both in the sage and in his disciple! A bad resolution is always easier executed than amended. *Pausanias*, having directed horses to be placed for him at the gates of the city, contrived within himself how to dispatch *Philip*, and afterwards how to preserve himself. These things busied his mind, while the king was taken up with the solemnities of which we have before given an account. We come now to the accomplishment of *Pausanias's* plot, and the last scene of the king's lifeⁿ.

THE next day, after the open audience of the ambassadors of *Greece*, *Philip* went in state to the theatre, where certain shews were to be exhibited in honour of his daughter's marriage. All the seats were early taken up, and the shews began with a splendid procession, wherein the images of the twelve superior deities of *Greece* were carried, as also the image of *Philip*, habited in like manner, as if he now made up the thirteenth. At this the people, who, as the humour takes them, readily make a man either a *god* or a *devil*, shouted aloud. Then came *Philip* alone, in a white robe, crowned, his guards at a considerable distance, that the *Greeks* might see he placed his safety not in them, but in the loyalty of the people. *Pausanias* had fixed himself by the door of the theatre, and, observing that all things fell out as he had foreseen they would, took his opportunity, when the king drew near him, to draw his sword from under his garment, and plunging it into his left side, laid him dead at his feet. He then fled as fast as his feet could carry him to the place where his horses were, and had escaped, if the twig of a vine had not caught his shoe, and thrown him down. This gave *Attalus*, *Perdiccas*, and *Leonatus*, who pursued him time to come up with him. *Perdiccas* threw himself on the assassin first, and wounded

Philip murdered.
Year of
the Flood,
2663.
Before
Christ,
336.

ⁿ DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.

him with his sword, and then the rest quickly put an end to his life °. Thus fell this great prince by the hand of his own subject, not without strong suspicions, that *Olympias* and *Alexander* were not altogether ignorant of his death, being about forty seven years of age, and having reigned twenty four (P).

WE

° ARIST. Polit. l. v. c. 10. DIODOR. SICUL. l. xvi. ZONAR. Annal. Tom. x. JOSEPH. l. xi. c. 7. JUSTIN. l. ix. OROS. l. iii.

(P) The deaths of kings, especially when violent, are usually attended with mysterious circumstances. From the account given above, it seems, as if *Pausanias* had, out of a mad pique, murdered his sovereign, without consulting any but his passions, and the sophist *Hermocrates* indirectly; yet, as we have hinted above, suspicions have not been wanting, that tho' the arm of *Pausanias* dispatched *Philip*, yet it received its direction from other minds than his own. If this had been only a flying rumour, or the suggestion of a single or suspicious historian, it would not have deserved a place here; but the fact is otherwise, and we shall shew from indubitable authorities, that *Philip* lost his life by a conspiracy, and not merely from the malice of *Pausanias*. *Ptolemy* the son of *Lagus*, judged to be in truth the son of *Philip*, who was the bosom confident of *Alexander*, and afterwards king of *Egypt*, wrote the history of *Alexander's* reign. From this history *Arrian* chiefly took his; and in his history we have a letter from *Alexander* to *Darius*, wherein the former, setting forth the causes of the war, hath these remarkable words; *My father was slain by traitors, whom you had hired for that purpose, as you have publicly boasted in your letters* (48). The fact is now clearly established, that a conspiracy there was, which wrought the death of *Philip*. We can also name some of the conspirators, viz. the sons of *Eropus* the *Lyncestean*, *Alexander*, *Amyntas*, *Hieromenes*, and *Arrabæus* (49). Of these *Amyntas* fled to *Darius*, and actually fought against *Alexander* at the battle of *Iffus*. As to the suspicion which fell on *Alexander*, it seems to have taken rise from two causes; the first, his embroiling himself with his father on account of his mother *Olympias*, which we have heretofore mentioned. This quarrel, it seems, went so far, that several persons of distinction, who were deep in *Alexander's* interest, were forced to quit *Macedon*, and durst not return till after the death of *Philip*: particularly *Harpalus* *Ptolemy* the son of *Lagus*, *Nearchus*, and *Erigyus* and *Laomedon* brothers (50); all of whom were in high favour with *Alexander* afterwards. The second cause of sus-

(48) *Arrian*. l. ii. c. xiv.
Curt. l. iu.

(49) *Idem*, l. i. c. 25.

(50)

WE ought now, according to the established method of *His* *cha-* historians, to enter into the character of this monarch, whose *ra*cter. actions and whose death we have recorded ; but we have already taken so many opportunities of illustrating the recital of events during his reign, by manifesting their motives and consequences, not from conjecture, or to gratify a partiality which too frequently grows on writers, in favour of those of whom they write, but to render the narration clear ; that on this account therefore we have the less to say here, and shall content ourselves with a very short portrait of this glorious prince, of whom it may be reckoned his peculiar felicity, that he has been always most admired by the most knowing. *Philip* of *Macedon* then was in the cabinet by very much the most sagacious prince of his time. He had a perfect idea of the state of his own country, the condition of *Greece*, and the weakness of the *Persian* empire. He was secret, without affecting closeness ; eloquent, without either being ready to speak or vain of speaking ; obliging in his deportment as a king, and yet never departing from the king in any act of complaisance. In the field he was in all things a complete general, an expert engineer, an indefatigable soldier. He studied war as an art, and acted as coolly in an engagement, as if he had been only attending to a praxis on the lessons he

picion resulted from *Alexander's* behaviour after his father's death ; for notwithstanding *Amyntas* the son of *Æropus* fled into *Asia*, and it was known that himself and his brethren were in the conspiracy against the king, yet he not only pardoned *Alexander* one of the brothers, on the slight pretence that he was the first who saluted him king, but made him afterwards general of his horse ; which had well nigh proved fatal to him ; for, as we shall see hereafter, *Alexander* conspired against him too, and sought to deprive him at once both of life and kingdom. There is one circumstance more that deserves mention on this subject ; and it is this. *Alexander*, when he visited the temple of *Jupiter Ammon*, inquired of the oracle, if all his father's murderers had been punished (51) ? To which the oracle answered in the affirmative ; but as every body knows there was no credit given to what passed at this interview, this question recoils upon him who put it ; the rather, because if the oracle really made that answer, it was certainly false, *Alexander* the son of *Æropus*, who was a confederate in that business, being at that time alive. There is this however, to be said for the oracle, that *Alexander* alone consulted it, and in justification of his own character, might report what answer he pleaded (52).

(51) *Idem ibid.* (52) *Arrian. l. iii. c. 3. Curt. l. iv. Plut. in vit. Alexand.*

had given his soldiers. His discipline was strict, but without severity, which he effected by treating all who served under him with familiarity ; whereby he convinced them of the necessity of order, which he exacted not more for his own service than for their safety. He was not so much the commander in the camp, as the father of those who were in it, the meanest of whom he treated upon all occasions with the endearing titles of comrade and fellow-soldier. If a private man distinguished himself, *Philip* personally praised and rewarded him ; if he grew old ; he provided for him ; if he fell in the field he was interred with honour, and his family taken care of. In private life there was no man more affable, chearful, or kinder to his friends than *Philip*. He was himself learned, and a great patron and lover of learning. He esteemed wit in an enemy, and rewarded it amply in those who professed their respect for him. With these shining qualities he had some very dark ones. His ambition had no bounds ; his treaties always gave way to his interest. He was the most finished dissembler of his time ; he treated such as opposed his designs with great severity, when they fell into his hands. He was greatly addicted to women ; and yet was suspected of a lust too foul to name. He would drink immoderately, took delight in flattery, was surrounded with pimps, panders, buffoons, pantomimes, and all that rabble of parasitical vulturs, which gnaw the bowels of the people through the folly of their prince. To sum up all, he was a great man, but had great vices (Q).

BEFORE

(Q) Throughout the whole of this life and reign of *Philip*, we have followed no direct guide, tho' such an one we might have had in *Theopompus*, who wrote fifty books upon this subject, all of which have been swallowed up by time. Some fragments indeed there are remaining, preserved by such authors as were happy enough to have perused his accurate work. It may seem strange, that *Plutarch*, who was so industrious in preserving the stories, and vindicating the characters, of the *Grecian* heroes, should altogether neglect *Philip's* ; but for this an excellent *French* critic has accounted thus : “ I doubt, whether *Alexander* can be compared to
 “ *Cæsar*, notwithstanding that comparison has been generally receiv-
 “ ed, or universally maintained. Neither the unanimous agree-
 “ ment of the antients and moderns upon this subject, nor my
 “ unwillingness to be singular in an opinion, can hinder me from
 “ thinking, that this comparison is built upon a wrong principle.
 “ I believe there will appear a greater resemblance between *Philip*
 “ and *Cæsar*, at least if we ground it upon their manners and cha-
 “ racters,

BEFORE we conclude this chapter, it will be necessary to *And proge-*
 speak of the offspring of *Philip*. By *Olympias* he had *Alex-*
ander his successor, and *Cleopatra*, who married her uncle
Alexander king of *Epirus*. By an *Illyrian* lady, whose name
 was *Audaca*, he had a daughter named *Cyna*, who was mar-
 ried to *Amyntas* the lawful heir of the *Macedonian* crown,
 being the son of *Perdiccas Philip's* elder brother. By *Nica-*
sipolis, a *Thessalian* lady, he had *Nicæa* who became after-
 wards the wife of *Cassander*. By *Cleopatra*, the niece of *At-*
talus, he had a son named *Caranus* and a daughter *Europa*,
 both slain by *Olympias*, the last in her mother's arms. *Ar-*
sinoe one of his mistresses he gave in marriage to *Lagus*, when
 she was big with child ; which child proved a son, and was
 the famous *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*. By *Philena* of *Larissa*, a
 dancer, he had *Aridæus*, who for a while was titular king of
Macedon ; but afterwards put to death by the cruel Olym-

“ rafters, rather than their successes. *Philip* perhaps had no place
 “ in the lives of *Plutarch*, because that historian, pre-possessed
 “ in favour of his own nation, wanted the conqueror of *Asia* to
 “ oppose to him of *Rome* ; and foresaw very well, that, in the
 “ eyes of the multitude, the most illustrious of the *Romans*, mas-
 “ ter of an empire that laboured under its own weight, would
 “ be too great a match for a *Macedonian*, who acted in a narrow
 “ sphere, and whose conquests had no other theatre than the ad-
 “ jacent parts of a petty kingdom. At first glance indeed there
 “ seems a resemblance in every thing between *Cæsar* and *Alexan-*
 “ *der* ; the extent of their conquests, their valour, activity, vi-
 “ gilance, and that sublimity of soul, which made them sensible
 “ that they deserved to command the rest of mankind, together
 “ with an imperious passion that would let them endure no supe-
 “ rior ; but made them look on the world as their inheritance.
 “ But when we come to examine them at leisure, trace them from
 “ their cradles, study their inclinations, observe their proceedings
 “ and their progresses, we shall find this resemblance to diminish
 “ or fall to nothing (52)”. However, *Plutarch* in other treatises,
Diodorus Siculus in his most learned, comprehensive, and excellent work
Pausanias in his survey of *Greece*, *Polyænus* in his stratagems, with
 many other *Greek* writers and not a few of the *Latins*, have re-
 corded enough to shew, that *Philip* was indeed the greatest man
 of his age. And with respect to his son, *Cicero* has given such a
 judgment, as, we believe, none of the critics will reverse. *Phi-*
lip of Macedon, says he, *in deeds and glory was surpassed by his*
son ; but, in point of disposition and humanity, he seems to me to have
surpassed him (53).

(52) *M. Turreil's* preface to the *Philip*.(53) *Cic. de Offic.*

pias ^P (R). If *Philip* had not fallen so suddenly, he would certainly have provided for the safety of these unhappy branches of his family ; whereas, by his unforeseen death, they fell under the power of their greatest enemies ; yet did they not immediately perish, the veneration the *Macedonians* had for *Philip* defending them. But by degrees, when the glory of *Alexander* had in some measure swallowed up that of his father, and again the miseries, which the *Macedonians* endured, had withdrawn their affection from the royal house, they fell apace, as will be seen in the subsequent part of this history ; whence the propriety of treating so fully of the life and actions of *Philip*, as we have done, will clearly appear.

S E C T. V.

The reign of ALEXANDER the Great.

THE new-erected empire of *Macedon*, so formidable to the *Greeks* and so dreadful to the *Persians*, did not change its fortune with its prince ; on the contrary, it seemed to reap new advantages therefrom, and to derive from the vigour of *Alexander* that exalted grandeur, of which it was rendered capable thro' the policy of *Philip*. How this came to pass, how so violent a shock went off without disordering the government ; how a prince of twenty years old became truly the father of his country ; how he so readily took up, and so happily conducted the thread of his father's design, without weakening or breaking it ; and all this in spite of violent

^P REINEC. geneal. Alex. Mag:

(R) *Cleopatra*, the niece of *Attalus*, is by *Arrian* called *Eurydice* (54). There are also some variations, in respect to the rest of the proper names, to be met with in antient authors ; but these, as they occur in the subsequent part of our work, we shall take notice of, without troubling the reader with a long critical detail here. However, it may not be amiss to take notice of some other princes of the blood of *Macedon*. *Amyntas* was the son of *Perdiccas*, the son of *Amyntas*, *Philip's* father. *Archælaus*, *Argæus*, and *Menelaus*, were the natural sons of the same *Amyntas* king of *Macedon*, by his concubine *Cygnæa*. There were besides several sons of *Æropus*, brethren of *Pausanias*, from whom *Amyntas* the father of *Philip* took the kingdom (55). We do not find, that *Philip*, in his life-time, either was uneasy, or had any occasion to be uneasy,

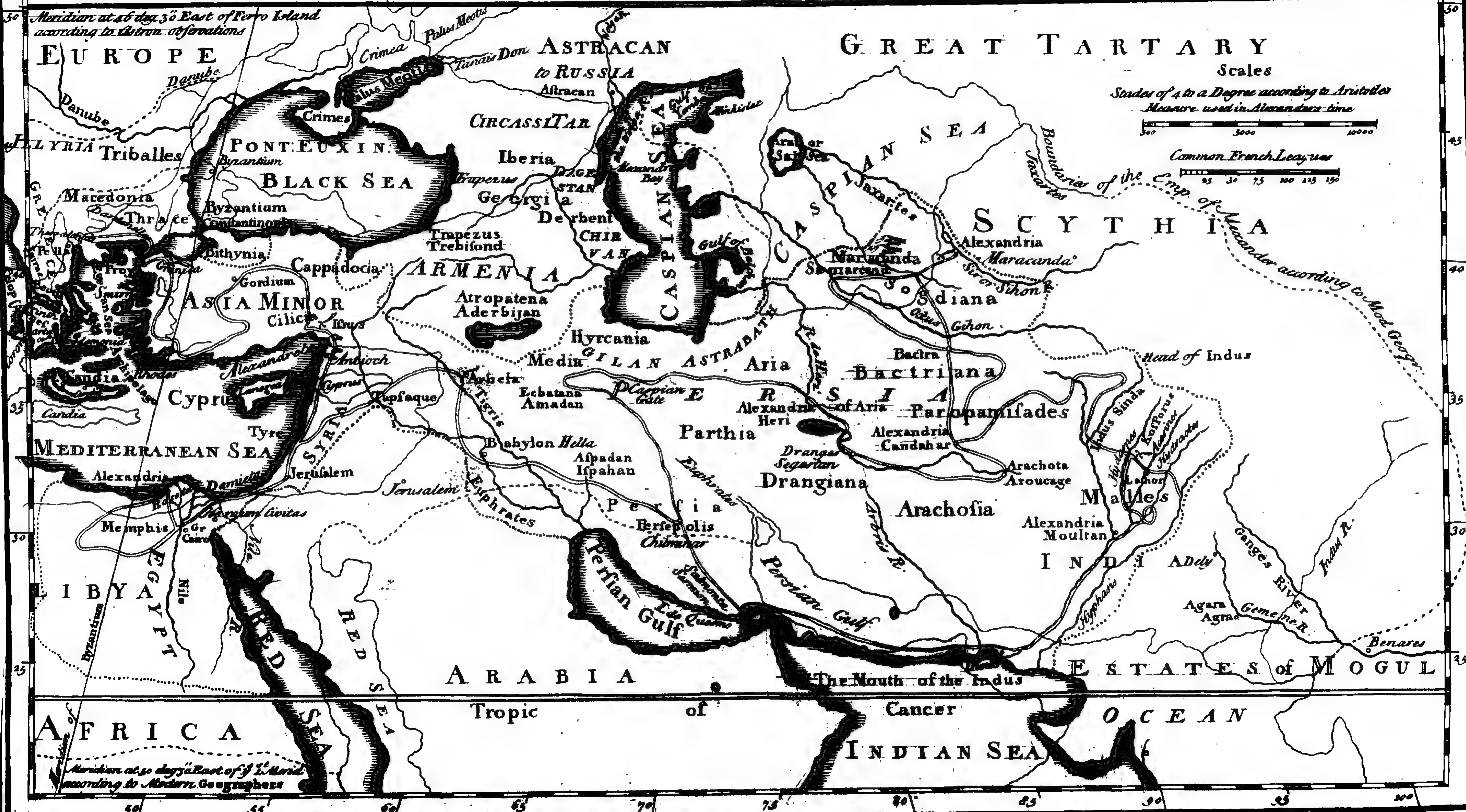
(54) *Arrian. l. ii. c. 14.*
Mag.

(55) *Reinec. geneal. Alex.*

This Map Contains only the places which prove the extent of this Empire according to the System of the Author.

A MAP of the EXTENT of ALEXANDER'S CONQUESTS
According to M. Delisle Geographer to Lewis is Compared with those of other
Modern Geographers Ann 1731.

NB. The dark lines show the plan of *l'Author*, the light ones that of the Modern Geographers; and the double stroke letters show the present names of Countries Cities &c.



violent and obstinate opposition, leads us to the view of *Alexander's* character at this time, on which the understanding these passages intirely depends. This we shall draw from sober and authentic historians, leaving whatever favours of the *wonderful* to those rhetorical declaimers, who love to amaze their readers, and to illustrate with a pomp of words stories altogether incredible^a.

THE natural capacity of the *Macedonian* prince was every way suited to sustain the mighty fabric, which his father intended to raise thereon. It was lively, but not slight; solid, without being intractable, and tho' capable of judging by its own lights, inquisitive and fond of conversation. When the *Persian* ambassadors were at the court of *Philip, Alexander*, then a perfect boy, entertained them with much civility and politeness; but, instead of asking questions about the hanging gardens, the splendid palaces, the vast retinue of the king, or other marks of grandeur, for which the *Persian* court was famous, he inquired about the road leading into the *Upper Asia*, the forces which the great king could raise, their discipline, and the place in which the king took post when his army drew into the line of battle^b. This admirable genius was cultivated by an excellent education. *Philip* was a lover of letters, as some think, to a fault; but this hindered not his regarding other things necessary, as well as learning, to the forming of a prince. *Alexander* had therefore all sorts of

^a PLUT. in vit. Alex. DIODOR. SICUL. l. xvii. ARRIAN. expedit. Alex. l. i. ^b PLUT. ubi supra.

easy, about these princes; but we shall see, that it fared otherwise with his successor. The truth is, *Philip* was so kind to his people, and put them into so different a state from that in which he found them, that they could not avoid loving and admiring him. Whoever would see this placed in the strongest light, need only turn his eyes on a speech of *Alexander's* recorded by *Arrian*. It was otherwise with this son of his, who, great and glorious as he was, found it enough to do to keep the *Macedonians* and *Greeks* in obedience. In the very dawn of his reign he was vexed with conspiracies, and was never out of the fear of them during his life, though he did not spare very rigorous and cruel executions; a fault with which none can charge his father, whose conduct was so full of clemency, that he was accountable for no man's death except his own

masters, according as his years and improvements required them. *Leonidas*, who was his mother's relation, a man of severe morals, and of a very exact behaviour, was his governor; *Lyfimachus* the *Acaranian*, a man of very moderate abilities, his preceptor; and *Aristotle*, when he was grown old enough to receive his instructions, became not only his tutor in respect of literature, but his master also in respect of politics, which gave that wonderful perfection to his acquirements, which remain as unequalled as his conquests. In his exercises he distinguished the useful from the fanciful, in his diversions he declined whatever was unmanly, and in his studies despised alike whatever was trifling or pedantic. He diligently cultivated what may be stiled the art of speaking with dignity, or the rhetoric of kings, in which none ever exceeded him. He applied himself to metaphysics and natural philosophy; but morality especially pleased him, and the knowledge of the duties which are essential to social life. In order to understand these he studied *Homer*, *Aristotle* having corrected an edition of that poet's works for his use. This study made him the man he was; nor can any thing more truly speak his character than this short sentence, *Alexander was a hero formed on the principles Homer hath laid down*. Taking this as a key, we may easily decypher the actions of this prince, or rather trace them to their source; but we must have a care of thinking, that the sublimity of the verse, the beauty of the composition, the surprizing majesty of the poet's thoughts, captivated the mind of *Alexander*, and inclined him to doat upon this poem. On the contrary, his extraordinary regard for it was owing to the recommendation of *Aristotle*, who taught him the true merit of the piece. *Homer's* poems in such hands were a complete body of divinity, morality, and politics, delivered not in dry discourses, but set forth in strong, moving, and most natural characters; and so they were afterwards considered by the learned, particularly by *Horace*, who prefers them to the labours of all the philosophers. Such were the foundations of *Alexander's* magnanimity and prudence. They were continually strengthened by the conversation of the ablest men in *Philip's* court, and the superstructure carefully and quickly raised by a happy mixture of theory and practice. The turbulent transactions in the midst of *Philip's* reign served as a school of war to *Alexander*, as the last years of peace afforded an opportunity of teaching him true policy and the interests of *Greece*. Above all he was happy in the indulgence of a fa-

ther, the greatest statesman and the greatest captain of his age. He it was, who cast his eyes on *Aristotle* for the tutor of *Alexander*; he it was who taught the youth to execute what the philosopher laid down; and he it was who excited the *Macedonians* to turn their eyes on this rising sun, whom, in *Philip's* life-time, they began to stile their king, allowing his father only the title of their general. *Philip* himself carried the compliment still higher; for, embracing *Alexander*, who shewed more skill than all the grooms in *Greece* in breaking *Bucephalus*, O! my son, (said he) look thee out some kingdom as extensive as thy abilities; Macedonia will be too narrow for them. From a person thus accomplished all things were to be hoped; we may now therefore proceed to shew how he accomplished all things, and gave laws to *Greece*, at a time of life when modern princes are scarce held of age to govern themselves^d (A).

THE first act of *Alexander*, as a king, was doing justice on his father's murderers, it may be from a double motive, of shewing affection to *Philip's* memory, which he always honoured, and to wipe away the imputation of being concerned in it, which was not easily done, if we credit *Plutarch*. Next he turned his attention to matters of state, which in a moment were all in confusion. As soon as the

^d PLUT. ubi supra.

(A) If we were to record exactly every incident relating to the childhood and infancy of *Alexander*, it would undoubtedly swell our work excessively; we have therefore chosen as the more useful, and at the same time the conciser method, to throw together such circumstances as may serve to elucidate his character, and to refer the curious and inquisitive reader, for further information, to the life of *Alexander* written by *Plutarch*, and to the two orations of the same author, which treat of the virtue and fortune of *Alexander the Great*. As to the rest of the writers, who have transmitted to us the history of *Alexander*, they are such as either have written expressly of his actions, as *Diodorus*, *Arrian*, and *Curtius*; or they speak accidentally of particular actions of his, as *Strabo*, *Polyænus*, *Pausanias*, and many others. We shall make use of them all, preferring, however, *Arrian*, not only on account of his great impartiality, but also because his history is collected from those of *Aristobulus* and *Ptolemy*, which, of the many accounts of *Alexander's* expeditions once extant, were always preferred to the rest. But inasmuch as *Arrian* is sometimes very concise, and many circumstances, relating to the facts he speaks of, are preserved in other authors, we shall make use of their writings to supply what he has omitted, without pretending to set their authority on the same level with his.

neighbouring

neighbouring nations heard of the death of *Philip*, they conceived themselves intitled to liberty, and began to think of disclaiming the authority of *Macedon*. In *Greece* its respective states longed to throw off the yoke; and at *Athens Demosthenes*, by his example, drew the people into open testimonies of excessive joy, and into immediate negotiations against *Alexander*, whom he stiled a giddy boy, unfit for and unbecoming empire. As for the *Persians*, before the death of *Philip* they were contriving to transfer the war to *Macedon*; but now, as if all danger had died with that monarch, they thought nothing of his successor, till his fame grew so loud they were unable to think of any thing else. *Attalus*, who, with *Parmenio*, had the joint command of the *Macedonian* army on the frontiers of *Asia*, aspired to the crown, and sought to debauch the soldiers. Thus was the morning of *Alexander's* reign disturbed with the noise of foreign wars, and at the same time overcast with the gloom of domestic treasons^e.

IN the councils held on this distracted state of things, it was judged adviseable, by *Alexander's* best friends, that dissimulation should take place of force, and that he should cajole those whom he could not subdue. *Alexander* disliked this; he thought vigorous measures at first would check some present, and prevent many future inconveniencies; wherefore he betook himself to arms, and boldly looked every danger in the face^f. First he marched southwards into *Thessaly* with a numerous army, yet without committing any act of hostility. The princes assembling, he made a long and eloquent oration, wherein alledging their common descent from *Hercules*, the kindness between their ancestors, and the victories they had won together, he so strongly charmed them to his interests, that, as the son and successor of *Philip*, they declared him general of *Greece*. The neighbouring states he drew over in the same manner, partly by awing them with his army, partly by the charms of his eloquence; for being perfectly versed in their interests, he spoke home and warmly to their passions. Having restored tranquillity on this side, and procured the title of generalissimo of *Greece* to be conferred on him, he returned to *Macedon*. *Heccateus*, a person in whom he confided, was dispatched with recruits for the *Asiatic* army, with orders to seize *Attalus*, if it was practicable, or, if not, to dispatch him. As for that ambitious general, perceiving the presence of *Parmenio*, and the same

^e ARRIAN. l. i. c. i. PLUT. ubi supra. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. ^f PLUT. ubi supra.

of *Alexander* with-held the soldiery from following his purposes, he suddenly changed them, and sent to *Alexander* an epistle of *Demosthenes*, and professed himself wonderfully loyal; which professions, whether true or false, had no weight with the king, whose instructions *Heccateus* followed in putting *Attalus* to death^a. Thus the dawn of his government began to clear, and the first rays of his glory to display a pleasant prospect, which afterwards appeared brighter and brighter, till it overspread the noblest countries on the globe.

AT the approach of the spring, *Alexander* marched with his forces towards *Thrace*, intending to penetrate into the country of the *Triballians* and *Illyrians*, now called *Bulgaria* and *Slavonia*. In this expedition he followed rather his own sentiments, than the counsels of others, acting regularly on the principle he had laid down, that the power of *Macedon* was to be supported by the same vigorous measures by which it had been attained. In consequence of this resolution he ordered his army to assemble at *Amphipolis*, from whence he marched towards the river *Nessus*, and, leaving the city of *Philippi* and mount *Orbelus* on the left, he in ten days reached mount *Hæmus*^b. This post the barbarous nations, against whom he made war, had seized and fortified, in the best manner they were able. On the tops of the cliffs, and at the head of every passage they placed their carriages and waggons, so as to form a sort of parapet, with their shafts inwards, that when the *Macedonians* should have half ascended the rock, they might be able to push the heaviest of these wains upon them. They reckoned the more upon this contrivance, because of the close order of the phalanx, which, they conceived, would be terribly exposed, by the soldiers wanting room to stir, and thereby avoid the falling waggons. But *Alexander*, who had studied the art of war under the ablest masters, defeated their design; for, having directed his heavy armed troops to march, he gave orders, that, where the openness of the way would permit it, they should open to the right and left, and suffer the falling carriages to go through; but that, in the narrow passes, they should throw themselves on their faces with their shields behind them, that the carts might run over them. His contrivance had the desired effect, and the *Macedonians* reached the enemy's works without the loss of a man. Then the light-armed troops began the attack. The barbarians made an obstinate resistance for some time, till *Alexander* himself charged at the head of the targeteers. Then they began to break, and on the approach of the phalanx fled out-right, leaving their camp,

^a DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. ^b ARIAN. expedit. Alex. lib. i. c. 1, & seq. DIODOR. Sicul. ubi supra.

full of women, children, and cattle behind them. Three days after the king reached the river *Ister*, in an island of which, called *Peuce*, the *Triballians*, *Thracians*, and other barbarous nations, had conveyed their wealth and women, resolving to defend them with all their force. Some few ships there were, which, through the *Euxine* sea, had come to *Byzantium*; on board of these *Alexander* embarked as many of his troops as he could, and endeavoured to make a descent with them on the island before-mentioned; but the river being rapid, the shore steep, and the enemy pressing thither in great multitudes, he relinquished this design, and landed his forces at their old camp. *Alexander* observing, that the *Getæ*, who inhabited on the other side the river, were inclined to give him all the trouble they could, and had for that purpose, raised an army of four thousand horse and ten thousand foot, determined to be before-hand with them, and by subduing them strike a terror into all their neighbours; the same night therefore he caused a considerable number of boats to be got together, and having ranged them from one side of the river to the other, he re-embarked his forces on board his small fleet, which made a line a little higher. He then caused the tents, which, as they were made of skins, floated in the water, and yet afforded firm footing, to be thrown into the middle space; whereby he passed over fifteen hundred horse and four thousand foot. He then marched through the standing corn, the spears of the phalanx being reversed, and the horse behind them, till they arrived in the open country; and then gave the command of the left wing, consisting of the foot, to *Nicanor*, drawing up his horse on the right, under his own command, with intent to give the *Getæ* battle. These, tho' a brave and bold people, were so astonished at his passing the river, without either a bridge or a fleet, that they did not sustain even the first shock; but fled immediately to the next town, which they intended to defend; but when they saw that *Alexander* did not follow them impetuously, but drew his foot slowly along the side of the river, to prevent his falling into any ambuscade, they conceived that no place would protect them against such a general; and therefore abandoning the town, they placed all hopes of safety in the distance of their flight. *Alexander* entered the city, and having collected the spoil, delivered it to *Nichagor* and *Philip*, officers of great rank in his army, that it might be conveyed to the sea, and then razed the place. Here he sacrificed to *Jupiter Soter*, i. e. the Saviour, to *Hercules*, and to the *Ister*, for affording him a safe passage¹.

¹ *ADRIAN. exped. Alex. l. i. c. 2, 3, 4.*

The next day he brought all his forces into his camp on the other side of the river, whither immediately ambassadors came from all the neighbouring nations to make peace with him ; amongst the rest from *Syrmus* king of the *Triballi*, who saw that it was to no purpose to resist him ; as also from the *Celtes*, a robust and high-spirited people. The king treated them all with great civility ; but, as he was always inclined to indulge his vanity, he could not help asking the deputies from the last mentioned nation, *What, of all things, they feared most ?* supposing they would have answered, his arms ; but they very roundly told him, *That, except the falling of the clouds upon their heads, they feared nothing ;* which so pleased the king, that, after saying the *Celtes* were a haughty people, he granted them his friendship, and ranked them in the number of his allies. Soon after he adjusted his differences with the rest of the neighbouring nations, and then prepared for his return into *Macedonia* ^k.

He makes a general peace with the barbarous nations.

As he passed through the countries of the *Agrians* and the *Peonians*, he was informed, that *Clytus*, the son of *Bradilis*, had revolted from him. This *Bradilis* had been king of *Illyria* ; and his son, it seems, had a mind to remain no longer a dependent on the king of *Macedon* : He therefore entered into a league with *Glaucias* king of the *Taulantii*, and into a treaty with the *Autariatae*, to defend themselves against *Alexander*, whom they looked upon as their common enemy. The king immediately resolved to attack these enemies, and began to enquire of the force and situation of the last-mentioned people. *Langarus* king of the *Agrians* being near him said aloud, *Sir, trouble not yourself about these people ; I, with my own subjects, will make an inroad into their country and find them so much employment, that they shall be able to give no interruption to your march.* This accordingly he performed to so good purpose, that he put it absolutely out of the power of this nation to proceed in their defection. *Alexander* on his return to the camp, received him with great honour, and promised him his sister *Cyna* for a wife ; but that promise did not take place, king *Langarus* dying soon after. The king being come into the neighbourhood of *Pellion*, a strong city into which *Clytus* had thrown himself with a great body of troops, resolved to besiege him therein ; and accordingly caused the place to be invested ; but *Glaucias* king of the *Taulantii*, coming with a great army to the relief of *Clytus*, the king was obliged to raise his siege, and to give them battle, wherein, after a stout resistance, he was victorious. Three days

He defeats the Taulantii and Clytus, king of Illyria.

^k Idem ibid.

after *Alexander* surprized *Glaucias* and *Clytus* in their camp, and after making a great slaughter of their troops, forced them to fly for shelter to the mountains ¹.

He makes
a very
quick
march into
Greece.

IN the midst of these victories, *Alexander* received advice, that all *Greece* was in commotion. This was occasioned chiefly through the indefatigable zeal of *Demosthenes*, the inveterate enemy of *Macedon*; and the several disaffected states were encouraged to shew their inclinations more openly, by a report confidently spread about, that *Alexander* was dead in *Illyria*. The *Thebans* laying violent hands on *Amyntas* and *Timolaus*, eminent officers in the *Macedonian* garison which held their citadel, dragged them to the market-place, and, without any form of process, put them to death. They then disposed all things for the siege of the citadel, and openly excited the rest of *Greece* to throw off the yoke. The king, as soon as he had intelligence of this, immediately bent his march towards them, with such diligence, that in seven days he arrived at *Pellene* in *Theffaly*, and in six more entered *Bæotia*, before the *Thebans* had any intelligence of his passing *Thermopyla*. When they were informed of this, they said it must be *Antipater* with a body of *Macedonian* militia; nay, when repeated advices acquainted them, that the army was commanded by *Alexander*, they would still have him dead, persuading themselves, that this was *Alexander* the son of *Æropus*. The king however, did not leave them long in their mistake, advancing briskly to the temple of *Iolaus*, where he made a halt, that the *Thebans* might have time to return to their senses, and thereby prevent his having recourse to extremities; for it was no-way his inclination, as indeed it was no-way his interest, to embroil himself with the *Greeks*; he therefore endeavoured, by the terror of his presence, having with him thirty thousand foot and three thousand horse, to compel his enemies to lay aside their malice, rather than to gratify his own ^m. This sudden march had in part the success he wished; for it prevented the rest of the *Grecian* states from aiding the *Thebans*, tho' they were actually assembling forces for that purpose; and so affrighted the *Athenians*, that, repairing their walls and filling their magazines, they provided, not for their neighbours, but for their own defence, answering exactly what *Alexander* had said when he entered *Bæotia*, that to this *Demosthenes*, who called him a *child* when he was in *Illyria*, and a *youth* when he came into *Theffaly*, he should certainly appear a *man* when he approached the walls of *Athens* ⁿ. The *Thebans*, far from profiting by *Alexander's*

¹ Idem ibid. ^m DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. ⁿ PLUT. in vit Alex.
moderation

moderation, attacked his outguards ; and tho' their troops were repulsed with great disadvantage, yet they determined to hazard all rather than purchase peace by their submission. The king seeing this encamped over-against the gate leading to *Attica*, that he might be near the citadel, which they had surrounded with a double wall, in order to prevent their cutting his garison to pieces before his face. He did not, however, invest the city, or pretend to besiege it ; but caused open proclamation to be made, that he was ready to receive any *Thebans* who would join with him in defence of the *common liberties of Greece*. Whereupon the *Thebans* made proclamation, that they were ready to receive any who would join themselves to the *great king* and them, to fight against the tyrant of *Greece*. This exceedingly provoked *Alexander* ; however, if we may believe *Ptolemy*, he gave no orders for an attack : But *Perdiccas*, who lay nearest the walls, perceiving some advantage, suddenly attempted them, and, being seconded by *Amyntas*, broke into the city. *Alexander*, seeing his friends engaged, was constrained to support them ; and thus the *Thebans* were driven to the temple of *Hercules*. There the citizens recovered their consternation, and having desperately wounded *Perdiccas*, fell upon the *Macedonians* with such resolution, that they drove them with great slaughter out of the city ; which *Alexander* perceiving, he, with a fresh body of troops, attacked the *Thebans* in flank, routed them, entered the city pell-mell with the flying garison, and, after a prodigious slaughter, took the place by storm. The *Macedonian* garison, issuing from the citadel, contributed not a little to this event ; which, however glorious to the king, was extremely fatal to the *Thebans*, who for several hours were slain and destroyed, without regard either to sex or age. Afterwards the city was razed, excepting only the house of *Pindar*, a famous poet out of respect to the merit of its owner, and for that he had celebrated *Alexander* the first king of *Macedon* ; a circumstance which might well weigh with his successor *. The lands, except such as were destined to religious uses, were shared among the soldiers, and the prisoners sold for slaves ; whereby four hundred and forty talents were brought into the king's treasury. The king, however, took care to colour this extraordinary severity, by procuring a decree of the *Amphictyons*, enjoining him to do what he was already inclined to, under pretence, that the *Thebans*, in allying themselves with the *great king*, were become enemies to the *Greeks* ; wherefore the decree was clothed with an express

* ARIAN. l. i. c. 7. DIO. CASSIUS. Orat.

prohibition to any *Greek*, either to conceal or protect a *Theban*: Yet it must be owned, that these generous *Thebans* fought solely for liberty, refusing quarter, and provoking the *Macedonians*, during the sack of the place, to take away their lives, esteeming them not only worthless, but burdensome, when held at the will of a master. To carry on the same shew of zeal for the freedom of *Greece*, *Alexander* ordered the cities of *Orchemenus* and *Plataea* to be rebuilt, giving special directions for adorning the latter, out of regard to the generous conduct of its inhabitants, when *Pausanias* fought in its neighbourhood that decisive battle, which destroyed the *Persian* hopes. This behaviour of *Alexander* struck all the *Greek* states with terror; the *Eleans* restored their exiles because they were his friends; the cities of *Ætolia* deprecated his wrath by a most submissive embassy; as for the *Athenians*, they were terrified to such a degree, that they made themselves ridiculous; for they sent to compliment the king on his safe return from his expedition against the barbarians, and also to assure him of their great satisfaction in his chastising the rebellious *Thebans* ^P. *Alexander* took all in good part; only he demanded by letter, that *Demosthenes*, *Lycurgus*, *Hyperdes*, *Polyeuctus*, *Charetes*, *Charidemus*, *Ephialtes*, *Diotimus*, and *Merocles* should be delivered up to him, alledging, that they were the authors of all the mischiefs which had happened in *Greece*, since his father *Philip* had been elected general. The *Athenians*, however, did not comply with his request, tho' *Phocion* advised them to do it. This was owing to the art of *Demades* the orator, who having first procured a vote in favour of the persons demanded, drew up afterwards such a decree as might pacify *Alexander*; the purport of which was, that the orators should submit themselves to the laws of their country, and that the *Athenians* undertook to punish them, if they appeared to be guilty. *Demades* himself went at the head of the deputies who presented this decree to *Alexander*, and who were charged also with other requests, viz. that, notwithstanding the decree, they might be permitted to receive the *Theban* fugitives; and that the king would for the future regard them as his faithful allies. *Alexander*, affecting to shew an extraordinary esteem for the *Athenians*, granted all their requests, excepting that he commanded the orator *Charidemus* to banish himself; upon which he instantly fled to *Darius*. He used *Demades* with the utmost civility, and commanded him to assure his citizens, that

^P DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. PLUT. ubi supra.

they had nothing to fear⁴. The reader, who remembers, that in the history of *Athens*, we have given a different account of this matter⁵, must not conceive, that this variation happened through carelessness or mistake; we have the authority of antient authors for both relations, and the reader, by considering the citations, will easily discern why we inserted that in the *Athenian*, this in the *Macedonian*, history. All authors agree, that the king was sorry for, and greatly regretted, the mischiefs done at *Thebes*; insomuch, that *Plutarch* informs us, he never afterwards denied any request a *Theban* made⁶. To speak the truth, there is no part of *Alexander's* character better established than this, that as he was violent in his passions, so he was steady in repentance (B).

As

⁴ ARRIAN. l. i. c. 10. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Alex. ⁵ UNIVERS. HIST. Vol. VI. p. 256. ⁶ PLUT. ubi supra.

(B) It is an observation very justly made, in respect of the antient historians, that they seldom mention any great event, without introducing it by omens and prognostics. With respect to this critics are apt to judge according to their own prepossessions; if they have themselves any opinion of these things, then the antients are in the right; if not, they are in the wrong, or at least disbelieve these stories tho' they recorded them; which judgment, by the way, is really more injurious to their memories than the other; for to say, that a man writes what he knows to be false, is to say that he is a deceiver, which is certainly the highest reflection that can be thrown upon an historian: Whereas superstition, which is the imputation in the other case, is a mere human frailty, and affects his character very little. Having premised this, we shall go on to speak of these ominous appearances which are recorded by the ancients, as predicting the fall of *Thebes*. *Diodorus* tells us, that in the temple of *Ceres*, a slender spider's web was observed to spread itself as broad as a cloak, and to represent the rainbow in an arched circumference; upon this deputies were sent to consult the oracle at *Delphi*, to know what it imported. The answer was,

*This web stands as a sign from heaven confess
To thee, Boeotia, first, then to the rest.*

The oracle, in their own country, explained it thus:

One party's loss, the other's gain, this shows.

This

Continued
genera-
lissimo at
Corinth.

As soon as he had settled *Greece* in tranquillity, he went to *Corinth*, where, in a general assembly of the states of

This happened about three months before *Alexander's* march. About the time of his arrival, the *statues* in the *forum* sweated, so that great drops stood upon them. In the lake of *Onchestus* the roaring and bellowing of oxen was heard. The waters in *Dirce* seemed of a sanguine hue; and advice came from the temple of *Delphi*, that the roof built by the *Thebans*, out of the spoils of the *Phocians*, was besmeared all over with blood. Such, continues our author, as studied the explanation of these things gave it as their opinion, that the web portended the retreat of the *gods* from their city; its having the colour of the rain-bow, various troubles and dissensions; the appearance of sweat signified extreme miseries; and the smeared roof of the temple, that the city would be stained with slaughter and bloodshed: they therefore concluded, that the *Thebans* ought to have sought an agreement, and not to have urged all things to extremity (1). But they, it seems, were not to be moved; for when *Alexander* demanded only *Phœnix* and *Prothyes*, who had occasioned the murder of his officers, to be delivered up, they sent him word, he should send them *Antipater* and *Philotas* (2). Thus they in a manner sought their own destruction. The circumstances attending the sack of this city, are most exactly recorded by *Arrian*, who, tho' in the general, a very succinct writer, expatiates on this subject, and shews, that it was the most terrible destruction that any state ever sustained to that time; concluding his description thus: "They are reported to have been forewarned of this great and tremendous subversion of their city, by sundry prodigies from heaven, which they all along disregarded, till afterwards the events recalling them to their remembrance, they were forced to own them fulfilled (3)." This author is frequently cited as a person disregarding omens, and having a slender opinion of all sorts of miracles; yet this notion of him seems to be rashly taken up. He does indeed mention them more sparingly than *Diodorus* or *Plutarch*; and the reason is clear, because he was a closer writer, and extremely careful of straying from his subject; yet, on particular occasions, he records both omens and prodigies, without any tokens, that we can perceive, of disbelief or disrespect; but rather the contrary, as the reader may perceive from the passage just cited. Thus much we thought ourselves obliged to say in regard to truth; for as to the credibility of these things, we meddle not with that matter here. The facts themselves either happened, or did not happen; if they happened, and were held ominous, an historian ought not to be blamed for recording them or their interpretations. They are so many points laid before us, which we may consider as long as we will, and on which we may decide at last as we please.

(1) *Diodor. Sicul. bibliothec. l. xvii Olymp. cxi. 2.* (2) *Plut. in vit. Alex.* (3) *Arrian, l. i. c. 1.*

Greece, every thing relating to his dignity as generalissimo was exactly settled. Here he received the compliments, not only of the several states, but also of the most eminent persons among the *Greeks*, either for valour or wisdom, many of whom thought it not below them to travel a considerable space for this purpose ^c; but *Diogenes* of *Sinope*, who was then in *Cranium*, a suburb of *Corinth*, did not so much as wait upon the king; which when it was remarked to *Alexander*, he went himself to visit the philosopher. He found him, as his manner was, lying on the ground, basking himself in the sun. When those who attended the king surrounded him, the sage raised himself a little, and looked upon *Alexander*. The king with his usual civility, asked him, if he wanted any thing? *Yes* answered *Diogenes*, *I would have you stand a little out of the way, that I may enjoy the sun-shine*. Those who were about *Alexander* laughed at this saying, as the effect of a haughty and morose disposition; but the king himself said gravely, *If I was not Alexander, I could wish to be Diogenes*, the sense of which, as it is interpreted by *Plutarch*, was, that if he had not been capable of philosophising actively, he would have preferred speculative wisdom to the ordinary employments of life ^u. This is certainly a very noble, if it be not the just, sense of *Alexander's* words. Certain it is, that we ought always to consider carefully the sayings transmitted to us by the antients, lest we should reject a diamond for a pebble, merely for want of knowing how to divest it of its coat. When the assembly at *Corinth* broke up, the king returned with his army into *Macedonia*.

AT *Ægæ* he held a grand council of state and of war, in *His preparations for* order to advise about his expedition into *Asia*. The gravest *Antipater* and *Parmenio*, among whom were *Antipater* and *Parmenio*, gave it as their opinion, that he should first marry, and have heirs to the crown, before he thought of any foreign expedition. *Alexander* disliked this, as indeed he did every motion of delay; but, however, he did not reject it without offering a reason. He said, that after *Greece* had elected him her general, and he had drawn together that veteran army, which, under his father, had made so many conquests, he should not sit down idle at home, marry, and beget children ^w. He therefore sacrificed to *Jupiter Olympius*, and

^c DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.^u PLUT. de virtut. Alex.^w DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.

revived the games which had been instituted by his predecessor *Archelaus*. He sacrificed likewise to the muses, consecrating a day to each muse ; then he appointed mighty feasts, entertaining no less than a hundred of his friends at his own table, after which he distributed all the crown-lands amongst them, and even the rest of his revenues, giving one a farm, another a village, a third the customs of a port. *Perdiccas*, observing this waste of the royal revenue, in which he refused to participate, asked the king, What he reserved for himself ? *My hopes*, answered *Alexander*. *Very well, Sir*, replied *Perdiccas*, *you will not then take it amiss, that among those who are to share your dangers, there are some who desire to share your hopes also* *.

*An account
of his
troops.*

THESE feasts once over, the army had orders to assemble, in order to their passing immediately over into *Asia* ; but what their numbers were, historians by no means agree. *Arrian* says, that there were thirty thousand foot and above five thousand horse. *Diodorus Siculus* is more particular ; for he tells us, there were thirteen thousand *Macedonian* foot, seven thousand of the confederate states, and five thousand mercenaries. These were under the command of *Parmenio*. Of the *Odrysians*, *Triballians*, and *Illyrians* there were five thousand ; and of the *Agrians*, who were armed only with darts, a thousand. It is generally thought, that our author is mistaken in his first number, and that, instead of thirteen, there were but twelve thousand *Macedonians* ; because in the whole *Diodorus* says there were thirty thousand foot. It may be the *Agrians* are omitted in this total. As for the horse, he tells us there were eighteen hundred commanded by *Philotas* ; as many *Thessalians* under the command of *Callas* ; out of the several states of *Greece* six hundred led by *Eurygius* ; and nine hundred *Thracians* and *Peonians*, who led the van, under *Cassander*. *Plutarch* tells us, that, according to a low computation, he had thirty thousand foot, and five thousand horse ; and, according to the largest reckoning, thirty-four thousand foot, and four thousand horse. As to his fund for the payment of the army, *Aristobulus* says, it was but seventy talents ; and *Onesicritus*, who was also in this expedition, not only takes away the seventy talents ; but affirms the king was two hundred in debt. As for provisions, there was sufficient for

* DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Alex. ARRIAN. l. i. c. 11.

a month,

a month, and no more. *Antipater* was left behind in *Macedon*, with twelve thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse ¹. *Justin* tells us, that to prevent any disturbances in his absence, *Alexander* caused such of the blood royal as he suspected to be put to death ²; in which, however, he deserves no credit, since neither *Diodorus*, *Arrian*, *Plutarch*, nor any other *Greek* or *Latin* historian mentions any such thing; on the contrary, he is said to have checked his mother *Olympias* for having treated *Cleopatra* ill in his absence ³.

THE army assembled at *Amphipolis*; from thence he march- *He passes*
ed to the mouths of the *Strymon*, then crossing mount *Pan-* *the Hel-*
gaeus, he took the road to *Abdera*. Crossing the river *Ebrus*, *lespont.*
he proceeded through the country of *Pætis*, and after twenty days reached *Sestos*, thence he came to *Eleus*, where he sacrificed on the tomb of *Protesilaus*, because he was the first among the *Greeks* who at the siege of *Troy* set foot on the *Asiatic* shore; he did this, that his landing might be more propitious than that of the hero to whom he sacrificed, who was slain soon after. The greatest part of the army under the command of *Parmenio* embarked at *Sestos*, on board a fleet of a hundred and sixty galleys of three benches of oars, besides small craft. *Alexander* himself sailed from *Eleus*, and, when he was in the middle of the *Hellepont*, offered a bull to *Neptune* and the *Nereids*, pouring forth at the same time a libation from a golden cup. When he drew near the shoar, he launched a javelin which stuck in the earth, then in complete armour he leaped himself upon the strand, and having erected altars to *Jupiter*, *Minerva*, and *Hercules*, he sacrificed to them, and then proceeded to *Ilium* ^b.

Strabo informs us, that at the time *Alexander* came thither *Sacrifices*
Ilium was little better than a village, distinguished only by a *at Ilium.*
small temple dedicated to *Pallas*; here the king sacrificed to the heroes buried in the neighbourhood, especially to *Achilles*, whom he declared to be particularly happy in two things, in having *Patroclus* for a friend, and *Homer* to record his actions. *Hephestion*, as a mark of his friendship to *Alexander*, crowned the tomb of *Patroclus* with flowers; after this the king sacrificed to *Minerva*, and taking down some arms which had hung there from the time of the *Trojan* war, consecrated his own in their stead. He sacrificed likewise to the ghost of *Priam*, to avert his wrath on account of his own descent from *Achilles*. We have thought fit to mark particularly these

¹ DIODOR. PLUT. ARRIAN. ubi supra.

² Hist. l. xi.

c. 5. ³ PLUT. de virtut. Alex.

^b DIODOR. ARRIAN. PLUT.

steps, because they greatly contribute to shew the genius and temper of this young hero. It is clear from them, that he was a zealous observer of the religious rites of his age, and that he had the greatest regard to decency and order, in every thing he did. Indeed, he took his rules of war from *Homer*, and scrupulously adhered not only to the maxims but to the customs mentioned by him ; thus instead of *Calchas*, who was the augur of the *Greeks*, he had *Aristander* the *Telmissian* for his soothsayer, without consulting of whom he suffered nothing of moment to be done. *Hephestion* was his *Patroclus*, and many things more of this kind we might note, if the nature of this work did not require a brevity inconsistent with such reflections * (C).

Alexander

* DIODOR. ARRIAN. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Alex.

(C) *Alexander* did not neglect the usual application to oracles on the undertaking his expedition. After the destruction of *Thebes* he went in person to *Delphi*, but arriving at the time that was held unlucky, the priestess refused to do her office. *Alexander* thereupon drew her by force into the temple, and she at last offering to sit down on the tripod, said by way of excuse for breaking through the antient custom of the temple, *My son thou art invincible*. At these words *Alexander* cried out, *I accept the answer!* (4), and said for no other. This with some may pass for an act of irreligion, whereas it was far from being so ; sudden answers were always held oraculous by the *Greeks*, if they were applicable to the thing inquired of, as we shall elsewhere shew at large. While the *Olympic* games were celebrating at *Ægæ*, *Arrian* tells us, there came advice that the statue of *Orpheus* on mount *Pieria* sweated, concerning the import of which, the *Augurs* and *Soothsayers* were much divided ; but *Aristander* of *Telmissus*, who, as we observed in the text, was the *Calchas* of *Alexander*, settled the king's mind by the following interpretation : *Let it not disturb you, Sir, said he, the sweating of the image portends that all sorts of poets shall labour and sweat in describing your great actions* (5). When *Alexander* was at *Troy* the priest of *Minerva* having observed the statue of *Ariobarzanes*, the king of *Persia's* lieutenant, to have fallen down in the temple, with other portentous signals, told the king, that if he fought in *Phrygia*, he would gain a great victory, kill some officer of distinction with his own hand, and be himself slightly wounded ; and on this account it was that *Alexander* took down the consecrated armour in the temple of *Pallas*, and left there his own (6) Long before this, if we may believe some authors, the destruction of the *Persian* empire by this

(4) *Plutarch. in vit. Alex.*
tarab. ubi supra.

(5) *Arrian. lib. i. c. 11. Plu-*
(6) Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra.

Alexander continued his march towards the river *Granicus*, He spares without meeting with any considerable accident, if we except *Lampsa-* only the preservation of the city of *Lampfacus*, which on ac- cus, thro' count of its adhering to the *Persians*, he had determined to the art of destroy. *Anaximenes*, an eminent historian, well known in Anaxime- the court of *Philip*, and for whom *Alexander* himself had a nes. great esteem, met him on the road in order to intercede for the place of his birth. The king's indignation ran so high, that as soon as he came into his presence, he cried out, *Anaximenes; I swear solemnly that I will not do what you desire me. My request then, Sir, (said the old man smiling) is, that you would turn Lampfacus.* *Alexander*, charmed with his address, and considering at the same time the oath that he had made, ordered the city to be spared ^d. In the interim, the *Persians* had assembled a great army in *Phrygia*, amongst whom was *Memnon* the *Rhodian*; he was indeed the very hopes of *Persia* and the best officer *Darius* had. When it was known that the *Macedonians* were marching directly towards them, this *Memnon* gave it as his opinion, that they should burn and destroy all the country, and transport a moderate army over into *Macedon*. But the *Persians*, depending on their horse, refused to comply with his advice, and therefore posting themselves along the river *Granicus*, they determined there to wait the arrival of *Alexander*. *Justin* would have us believe, that the *Persian* army consisted of six hundred thousand foot ^e; *Arrian* says, there were but twenty thousand and the like number of horse ^{*}, which is most probable; *Diodorus Siculus* makes them ten thousand horse and a hundred thousand foot. All agree, that the horse

^d VALER. MAX. lib. vii. c. 3.^e Hist. ubi supra.

very prince had been predicted. The priests of *Diana* at *Ephesus*, when the temple of the goddess there was burnt down, are reported to have given it as their sentiment, that the conqueror of *Asia* was that day born (7), which was true of *Alexander*, who came then into the world. It may be, these interpretations, and even the facts themselves, were forged long after the *Macedonian* conquest; but inasmuch as they serve to enlighten various passages in the best *Greek* and *Latin* authors, they ought to be recorded somewhere, and therefore, to avoid perplexing the text, we have thrown them into notes.

^{*} *Arrian* says as above, that the *Persian* army consisted of about 20,000 horse and a like number of mercenary foot; but the authors in the history of *Persia*, (Vol. V. p. 58, note U) say their foot amounted, according to *Arrian*, to 200,000; which mistake seems to have been occasioned by the addition of a cypher.

(7) *Plutarch. ubi supra.*

were drawn up in one line, fronting the river, and the foot behind them †. The river itself was rapid, and the bank steep.

The battle
at the
Granicus.
Year of
the Flood,
2665.
Before
Christ,
334.

As soon as *Alexander* was informed of the posture the *Per-
sians* were in, he ordered his forces to be drawn up in bat-
talia, the foot in two lines, the horse on the right and left,
and the baggage in the rear, and then moved directly to-
wards the river. *Parmenio*, perceiving that he intended to
fight, immediately addressed him in these words: “ To
“ me, my prince, it seems expedient, that we should en-
“ camp close by the river-side. For the enemy being far
“ inferior to us in foot, I am persuaded their courage will
“ not serve them to remain all night in their posts; and if
“ they decamp, we may cross the river by break of day.
“ We shall then have time to take all our measures before
“ they can form, whereas we cannot pass now without great
“ hazard. For how shall we lead our soldiers to ford a ri-
“ ver in the sight of our enemies, which of itself is rapid,
“ full of eddies, its banks deep and uneven as you see?
“ Besides, will not the enemy’s horse, who are perfectly
“ well disciplined, take the advantage of our heavy armed
“ foot, as their order must be broke in climbing the oppo-
“ site bank, to charge them in flank. If any ill accident
“ should happen at present, it would not only be attended
“ with terrible consequences, but would be also thought to
“ have an ominous appearance in respect to the future pro-
“ gress of the war. ” I agree; “ *Parmenio*, returned
“ *Alexander*, that what you say is very reasonable; but how
“ shameful would it be for us, who have so easily passed the
“ *Hellepont*, to be stopped by this brook. Such a conduct
“ would reflect on the *Macedonians* and on myself, as if we
“ were not able to look any danger in the face. The *Per-
sians* too would from thence take heart, and believe them-
“ selves our equals, if our first attempt speak not that supe-
“ riority in military boldness for which the arms of *Macedon*
“ are already famous § ”. As soon as he had done speaking,
the king distributed his orders. To *Parmenio* he consigned
the care of the left wing. The right he commanded himself,
and under him *Philotas*. The *Perians*, when they saw him
advancing, for he was easily distinguished by his armour and
by his guards, immediately brought some squadrons from
the right wing to reinforce the left; so soon were they

† ARRIAN. ubi supra. DIODOR. ubi supra.
lib. i. c. 12.

§ ARRIAN.

struck with his presence. *Ptolemy* the son of *Philip* had the command of the forlorn, and entered the river first ; *Alexander* with the whole right wing followed him ; but instead of marching directly cross, as the *Persians* expected, he suffered his troops to slope according to the motion of the current, whereby they had an opportunity of forming in the water, and of charging in good order. The horse and light-armed troops commanded by *Amyntas* and *Socrates* were very warmly received ; the sons of *Memnon*, and *Memnon* in person, charged them briskly, and behaved so well, that most of them were slain, those few who were left retired to the right wing, as it advanced, commanded by *Alexander*, who instantly threw himself into the thickest of the fight, and performed wonders there till his lance broke. *Arctes* the master of his horse, when he commanded him to give him another, shewed him the broken staff of his own with which he was fighting ; *Demaratus*, however, one of the king's friends, reached him a spear, which as soon as *Alexander* grasped, he rode directly to attack *Mithridates*, son-in-law to *Darius*, who advanced at the head of a fresh body of horse, and, at their first meeting, striking him through the mouth, bore him to the ground ; immediately *Rhesaces*, a *Persian* nobleman, struck the king over the head with his sword, cut off a part of his helmet, and slightly wounded him ; but while he gave the stroke, the king, bearing upon him with his lance, struck him through the body, so that he fell down dead. Yet *Spirithridates*, coming behind *Alexander*, had at the same instant struck off his head, if *Clytus* had not disabled him, while his arm was lifted up^a. The *Macedonian* horse began now to reach the shore in all parts, and the light-armed foot mixing themselves amongst them, the *Persians*, who were unable to stand the shock, began first to break where *Alexander* charged in person. The king did not pursue them far, because the mercenaries remained as yet firm, till being surrounded on all sides, they were, except two thousand who surrendered, cut to pieces to a man. Of the *Macedonians* twenty five of the king's body guard were slain, whose statues, cast in brass by *Lysippus*, the king sent to *Dium*, there to be set up as a memorial of their bravery and his gratitude. Besides these there fell of the horse between sixty and seventy, and of the foot thirty. These were the next day interred in their arms by the king's command ; he granted also to their children, and to their parents, the freedom of those cities in which they

^a PLUT. in vit. Alex.

dwelt, together with the release of all taxes and duties whatsoever ; as for the wounded, he visited them in person, saw them dressed, and heard from every man whatever he thought fit to say of his own deeds. He gave directions also for burying the *Persians* and *Greek* mercenaries ; but for such of the latter as remained prisoners, he sent them back to *Greece* in chains, saying, it was fit usage for such as he found in arms against their country. He likewise sent to *Athens* three hundred suits of *Persian* armour to be consecrated in the temple of *Minerva*, with this inscription ; *Alexander the son of Philip, and all the Grecians, the Lacedæmonians excepted, have dedicated these spoils taken from the Barbarians who inhabit Asia.* (D).

THIS

¹ *ARRIAN*. lib. i. c. 17. *DIODOR. SICUL.* ubi supra. *PLUT.* in vit. *Alex.* *JUSTIN.* lib. xi. c. 5.

(D) The different accounts we have of the battle of *Granicus* are in many respects absolutely incompatible. *Diodorus Siculus* says, that *Alexander* commanded the left wing, or at least that he charged there, though at the beginning of the paragraph he assigns that command to *Parmenio*. Instead of *Mithridates*, he calls the *Persian* *Spithrobates*, with whom *Alexander* fought, and tells us, that with his javelin he struck the king into the right shoulder-blade, from whence *Alexander* drew it, and returned it immediately (8). He also attributes to *Rosaces* what *Arrian* tells us of *Spithridates*, which in all probability induced *Freinshemius* in his supplement to *Curtius* (9), to look on *Mithridates* and *Spithridates* as the same person, in which he has certainly rectified no mistake in *Arrian*, but through an itch of criticising hath fallen into one himself. Whoever reads *Arrian* carefully will discern, that *Mithridates* was dead before *Spithridates* attacked *Alexander* ; that *Mithridates* was killed by *Alexander* himself, but *Spithridates* by *Clytus*. Besides, when he reckons up the great officers among the *Persians*, who fell in this battle, *Arrian* says expressly, there were *Spithridates* governor of *Lydia*, and *Mithridates* son-in-law to *Darius*. We have mentioned these facts, not so much on account of their importance, as to vindicate our following *Arrian* rather than any other writer on this subject ; and we hope every impartial reader will see and approve our reason, because his accounts are clearest and most consistent with themselves. *Plutarch* says, that the *Persians* lost twenty thousand foot and two thousand five hundred horse in this battle, and the *Macedonians* only thirty four ; to eternize whose memory, *Alexander* caused so many statues of brass to be set up (10). This is certainly a little incredible, but *Arrian's* account inserted in

(8) *Diodor Sicul lib. xvii.*

(9) *Sup. Curt. lib. ii. c. 5.*

(10) *Plut. in vit. Alex.*

THIS battle put the king in possession of all the adjacent coun- *The conse-*
 try, of which he began immediately to take care, as if it had *quences of*
 been part of his hereditary dominions. *Colas* was constituted *his victory.*
 lieutenant of the province, from which the same tribute was
 exacted as heretofore had been paid to *Darius*. He himself
 marched towards *Sardis*, and when he was about seventy sta-
 dia distant from that city, he was met by *Mythrenes* gover-
 nor of the garison in the castle, accompanied by the chief ci-
 tizens ; these surrendering the city into his hands, and *My-*
threnes the castle with the royal treasures therein contained.
 He then proceeded to the river *Hermus* about twenty stadia
 distant from *Sardis*, where he encamped, and from whence
 he dispatched *Amyntas* the son of *Andromedes* to *Sardis* to
 take the government of the castle, and carrying *Mythre-*
nes with him, treated him honourably. To the *Sardians* and
 other *Lydians*, he granted the privilege of being governed
 by their antient laws. He then entered the castle, which
 was garisoned by *Persians*, and seemed to him well forti-
 fied. It was seated on a high rock, which was every-
 where steep and surrounded with a triple wall. He

our text is very clear ; he speaks not of thirty four, but of twenty
 five, statues, which were made not to represent all who fell in the
 battle, but those only who fell in the king's guards, who were all
 persons of distinction. To say the truth, this is wonderful enough ;
 for it is not easy to comprehend how, in the space of ten years,
 which includes the whole reign of *Alexander* after this battle, *Ly-*
sippus could make all these statues ; but that they were made and
 set up at *Dium* is certain, since we know that *Q Mettellus* sent
 them from thence to *Rome*. It seems somewhat strange, that *Plu-*
tarch, who at other times speaks so favourably of *Alexander's* con-
 duct, charges him upon this occasion with rage and madness in
 offering to pass a river in the sight and in defiance of a superior
 enemy. *Arrian's* account shews, that *Alexander* offered some rea-
 sons for what he did ; and though it may be alledged, that the
 harangues in *Greek* authors are usually composed by themselves,
 and therefore cannot be acknowledged as authentic evidence, we
 apprehend that two answers may be in the present case given to
 this objection. The first, that supposing the fact true, the harangue
 contains the sentiment of the author, which amounts to this, that
Alexander's conduct was defensible in the opinion of *Arrian* : the
 second, that as *Arrian* transcribed his history from the memoirs of
Aristobulus and *Ptolemy*, who were eye and ear-witnesses of what
 they wrote, it may be well presumed, that he had at least the
 substance of the speeches he inserted from those authors too, and
 if so, then they will be the strongest evidence. This notion is ren-
 dered the more probable from the structure of these orations, which
 are far from being rhetorical, but, on the contrary, as plain and
 natural as can be imagined.

therefore

therefore proposed to erect a temple on the top of that eminence, and therein to dedicate an altar to *Jupiter Olympius*; but while he was yet in suspense, which part of the castle was most commodious for that purpose, a dreadful tempest arose on a sudden, huge claps of thunder were heard, and a violent storm fell on that part where the royal palace of the *Lydian* kings had stood. Thus the god seemed to point out the place where the temple should be erected; and it was ordered to be built accordingly. The government of this castle he committed into the hands of *Pausanias*, one of his friends, but the collection of tributes and imposts to *Nicias*. *Asander* the son of *Philotas* was constituted prefect of *Lydia* and the rest of the provinces of *Spithridates*, and had such a number of horse and light-armed foot allowed him as were judged necessary. *Callas* and *Alexander* the son of *Æropus* were dispatched into the province commanded by *Memnon*, and with them a very considerable body of troops^k. In the mean time the mercenaries in garison at *Ephesus*, seizing two galleys of three banks of oars, retired; with them went *Amyntas*, who, as we have elsewhere observed, had deserted to *Darius*, as soon as *Alexander* ascended the throne. As soon as the king had information of this, he went to *Ephesus* in person, where he did every thing that was popular; he restored the democracy, and ordered the tribute which had been paid to the *Persian* to be applied to the rebuilding of the temple of *Diana*. It is said he would have been at the whole expence of that magnificent pile, if the *Ephesians* would have inscribed his name thereupon; but this they refused, chusing to keep the honour and the expence to themselves. His favours encouraged the commons of *Ephesus* to fall upon some persons of distinction, who had been formerly in the administration of affairs, and, notwithstanding they had taken sanctuary in the temple, to drag them to the market-place, where they stoned them; as these men had been guilty of very flagrant oppressions, *Alexander* would not interpose to save them, but immediately after their deaths, he issued out an edict, whereby he strictly forbad any farther inquiry into the conduct of the former magistrates, rightly conceiving, that if the people were suffered to treat the guilty thus, envy, malice, and avarice would soon lead them to treat the innocent in the same manner. This conduct of his gained him high reputation, all degrees of people owning him for their deliverer, while at the same time the nobles confessed that he

^k ARRIAN. lib. i. c. 18.

was their preserver ¹. By another edict, he ordered the popular government to be restored in all the *Greek* cities, and sent *Alcimalus* with a body of troops to see it executed ; then with the remainder of his army he marched to besiege *Miletus*, before which his fleet commanded by *Nicanor* had lain for some time, and the *Persian* fleet was also in the neighbourhood of that city. The *Milesians* themselves were disposed to submit to *Alexander*, but *Memnon*, who with a considerable body of troops had entered the place immediately after the battle at *Granicus* resolved to defend it. We have already observed, that he was a great officer, and his conduct here was equal to the reputation he had before acquired ; for notwithstanding the *Macedonian* fleet blocked up the haven, the citizens were disaffected, and *Alexander's* veteran foot stormed the place almost as soon as they came before it ; yet he made a vigorous resistance, and after the city was taken withdrew with his garison into an island where part of the mercenaries capitulated, and were received into *Alexander's* service, the rest with *Memnon* himself withdrew to *Halicanassus* ^m. When the king was fully master of *Miletus*, he treated the citizens with much humanity, but sold all the strangers he found for slaves. As soon as he was informed that the *Persian* fleet was withdrawn from *Mycale*, he dismissed his own (E) ; this was a very extraordinary step, and

¹ ARRIAN. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Alexand. ^m DIODOR SICUL. ubi supra. ARRIAN. ubi supra.

(E) After the battle at *Granicus*, *Alexander's* generals were a good deal perplexed as to the manner in which they should advise him to proceed ; for they saw plainly, that though their late victory had struck the *Persians* with great consternation, yet in effect it had very little lessened their power : Besides at sea they were still masters. What the sentiments of *Parmenio* were on this head and what those of *Alexander*, we learn from *Arrian* in the following words : The *Barbarian* fleet consisted of about four hundred ships. *Parmenio* advised *Alexander* to a naval engagement, assuring him, that the *Greeks* would be victors at sea, because a lucky omen had just happened, an eagle being seen upon the shore from one of the ships of his navy. He also added, that if they overcame their enemies, they would reap an immense advantage from such an engagement during the whole war ; and if they chanced to be overcome, he could not perceive that any vast danger could ensue, because the *Persians*, by virtue of their shipping, already held the sovereignty of the sea without fighting. As for his part, he would willingly enter himself on board, and share the danger of the fleet in his own person. However, *Alexander* returned him answer, that

and authors are pretty much at a loss how to account for it. *Diodorus Siculus* says, that *Alexander*, being well informed of *Darius's* design to march against him immediately with a mighty army, determined by this means to cut off from his own troops all hopes of safety but from their valour ; he grounds this conjecture on the conduct of *Alexander* in the last battle, wherein he made his forces fight with the river at their back, so that flight was rendered impracticable, there being the chance of war if they fought, but no chance at all if they attempted to run away ⁿ. *Arrian* hath assigned us some better reasons ; he says in the first place, that *Alexander* had no money to pay them ; and in the second, that he was afraid to trust his fortune in an engagement at sea. There was a third reason much stronger than the other two ; he was determined to possess himself of all the sea-ports by means of his land-army, and having done this, he very rightly conjectured, that the *Persians* would be deprived of all use of their fleet for want of their usual recruits, and from their being deprived of ports where they might refit ^o. He had moreover some notion, that his fleet would be more wanting on the other side of the *Hellespont*, so that for many reasons he was determined to this measure, how extraordinary soever it might appear ; for though it be true, that never any general possessed personal courage in a higher degree than the prince of whom we are speaking, yet it is as certain, that he

ⁿ ubi supra. ^o *ARRIAN. lib. i. c. 19.*

he was mistaken in his conjectures, and did not interpret the omen justly ; for it would be a point of small prudence in him with so few ships to hazard an engagement against a fleet so numerous ; and with soldiers so little trained up in naval discipline to pretend to attack the expert *Cyprians* and *Phœnicians* : Neither was he willing that the *Barbarians* should try the skill and valour of the *Macedonians* on so unstable an element : And besides, should they be beaten in a sea-fight, an inexpressible damage would accrue to them from the same their enemies would thereby gain. Add to this, that if the *Greeks* were animated by the news of an overthrow at sea, they would begin to study innovations. All which things maturely weighed, he deemed a sea-fight altogether unsafe at that juncture : And for his part he expounded the omen in a different manner. The eagle indeed he allowed promised success ; but as she was seen on the shore, it seemed rather to portend, that he should become master of the enemies fleet by beating their armies on the continent (11).

(11) *Arrian, lib. i. c. 19.*

was a great master in the art of war, and did many things which had the air of rashness from a superior skill in the military art, which enabled him to penetrate farther into the connection between causes and events, than many who were about him, and than most of the authors who have transmitted his history to posterity, as the reader will discern from the last note.

ALMOST all the cities between *Miletus* and *Halicarnassus* The siege of Halicarnassus. submitted as soon as the former was taken, and the rest surrendered as soon as the king marched towards them; but for *Halicarnassus* itself, *Alexander* was sensible that the reduction thereof would cost him both time and trouble: *Memnon*, whom *Darius* had declared high admiral and governor of the *Lower Asia*, commanded there in person with a very numerous garison^p. *Alexander* encamped therefore at the distance of five stadia from the city, skirmishing daily with the garison, till he had provided all things for the siege. While things were in this situation, some of the citizens of *Myndus* privately promised *Alexander* to put their town into his hands, provided, he would advance towards it in the night with a considerable body of forces; this proposition the king very readily accepted, and drew out a considerable body of horse, supported by a body of light-armed foot, in order to go on this expedition. At midnight therefore he approached the walls according to his promise; but perceiving no signs of a surrender from the citizens, and considering that he had neither engines nor scaling ladders at hand, as coming there not to besiege a city, but to have it delivered to him; he nevertheless ordered the *Macedonian* phalanx to advance, commanding them to undermine the wall, which they did, and presently overturned one of the towers thereupon, without making a breach in the wall itself. But the citizens making an obstinate defence, and being assisted by the *Halicarnassians* who sent them succours by sea, *Alexander* was disappointed in his expectation of taking it at the first assault; wherefore, without more ado, he drew off and returned to his siege of *Halicarnassus*; and first of all ordered the ditch, which the citizens had dug round their walls, of thirty cubits in breadth and fifteen in depth, to be filled up, that so the wooden towers, out of which they were to direct their missive weapons against the besieged, and their engines to shake the walls might advance

^p DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.

forwards. The ditch being accordingly filled up, the towers began to advance ; but the besieged issued forth by night with a design to burn both the towers and engines which were now nigh the walls ; and had certainly effected their designs, had they not been encountered by the *Macedonians* who were placed to guard the engines, and others who came hastily forth at the noise of the skirmish ; so that they were with small loss beat back into the city. There fell of the *Halicarnassians* in this conflict one hundred and seventy, among whom was *Neoptolemus* the brother of *Arrhabæus* and son of *Amyntas*, one of those who had formerly fled to *Darius*. Of the *Macedonians* sixteen were slain, and near three hundred wounded ; for that sally being made in the night, they were the less able to guard their bodies and avoid the darts and arrows of their enemies^q. We have in *Arrian* a very exact journal of this siege, wherein the greatest vigour was shewn on the part of the assailants, and the most obstinate resolution discovered by the defendants ; a most consummate experience in the affairs of war in both ; for as the king's troops frequently attempted to scale the walls, continued constantly to batter them with engines, and in some places proceeded by sap, so the garison sallied often, sometimes burnt the besiegers engines, at others levelled their works, yet were in all their attempts exposed to great danger, there happening a vast effusion of blood on both sides^r. At last *Orontobates* and *Memnon*, and the rest of the *Persian* commanders, considering that they could not now hold the town long, because part of their walls was already beat down, and part shaken and ready to fall, and many of the defendants either cut off in the several encounters which had happened, or wounded and rendered unserviceable, and, having weighed the matter deliberately about the second watch of the night, set fire to the wooden tower which they had built to guard them from the shocks of the enemies engines, and to the arsenal where their artillery was lodged, as also to some houses near the wall, which last blazed out with much fury, because the wind setting that way, many flakes of fire were driven from the tower and arsenal thither. Hereupon some of the townsmen betook themselves to a castle in an island, and others to another castle called *Salmais*. Which when *Alexander* was informed of by some deserters, and when he beheld the raging flames, though it was near midnight, he nevertheless detached a body of *Macedonians* thither, with orders to slay those who set fire

^q ARRIAN. lib. i. c. 21.^r DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra

to the city, but to spare whomsoever they found in their habitations. As soon as it was day-light, *Alexander*, viewing the castles which the *Persians* and their mercenary troops had seized, resolved not to lay siege to them, as well because the reducing them, considering their situation, would take up too much time, as because they would not be of any great importance after he had reduced the city; wherefore taking care to inter those who fell in the last conflict by night, he commanded his engineers to convey the artillery to *Tralles*, which city he laid level with the ground, and marching thence into *Phrygia*, left a body of three thousand foot and two hundred horse, under the command of *Ptolemy*, to keep the country of *Caria* in obedience^c.

AT the time *Alexander* entered this country, there was a *Ada* made lady whose name was *Ada*, who claimed the title of queen of *governess* *Caria* thus: She was the daughter of *Hecatomnus*, and the *of Caria* sister of *Hidrieus*, and, according to the *Carian* laws, his wife too; on his death she succeeded him in the kingdom, but was quickly dispossessed of it by *Pexodorus*, whose son-in-law *Orontobates* succeeded him by the favour of *Darius*. *Ada* all this time held the city of *Alinda*, which was the strongest in those parts; the keys of which, as soon as he entered the province, she delivered to *Alexander*, and, as a farther mark of her respect, adopted him her son. The king, charmed by her obliging behaviour, and struck with that greatness of mind she manifested on this sudden turn of affairs, received the honours she did him very kindly, and, after having demolished *Halicarnassus*, he made her *governess* general of all *Caria*^d. While his forces remained in *Caria*, *Ada* had often sent him presents of the best things the country afforded; and now, when he was about to depart, she sent him several cooks and confectioners to serve in his kitchen; but the king sent them back with this compliment, that his governor *Leonidas* long ago provided him better cooks than they, viz. *Long morning marches to give him a stomach to his dinner, and slender dinners, which were sure to leave appetite enough for supper*. This conduct of *Alexander* towards the queen of *Caria* was of great use to him; for it induced many of the princes of the *Lesser Asia* to revolt from the *Persians*, and put themselves under his protection. *Mithridates* king of *Pontus* was in the number of these; he was the ancestor of that famous king of the same name, who gave the *Romans* so much trouble, and was descended from the royal house of *Persia*; and, coming to *Alexander's* camp to pay his compliments to him, he ac-

^c ARRIAN. lib. i. c. 24.^d Id. lib. i.

quired such a love for him, that he accompanied him in his *Persian* expedition^u.

The slaughter of the Marmarians.

Diodorus Siculus affirms, that the last action of the campaign was against the *Marmarians*, an inconsiderable people inhabiting on the borders of *Lycia*; their city was seated among rocks, and thence held by them to be impregnable. These people, either for the sake of booty, or from their warm attachment to the *Persians*, fell upon the rear of *Alexander's* army, cut a great number of *Macedonians* to pieces, and took a great part of the baggage; this exceedingly provoked the king, who immediately caused the place to be invested, and, as it had no fortifications but those of nature, he stormed it two whole days together. The old men then among the besieged would have persuaded them to surrender, but they declaring resolutely, that they would never submit, their elders advised them to put all their superannuated men, women, and children to death, then to force a passage through the enemies camp. This advice the young men embraced, when every one going home made a great feast, and, after eating and drinking plentifully with his wife and children, shut the door of his house, and then set it on fire. As soon as the flames began to mount, they, to the number of six hundred, sallied out, forced the *Macedonian* guard, and made their escape to the mountains^w.

The new married men sent home.

WHEN the winter began to come in, *Alexander* made choice of *Ptolemy* the son of *Seleucus*, *Cænus* the son of *Polemocrates*, and *Meleager* the son of *Neoptolemus*, to lead home to *Macedon* all the new-married soldiers in his army, that they might spend the winter with their wives, an act very extraordinary in its nature, and for which there was no precedent among the *Greeks*; but, inasmuch as it is exactly conformable to the law of *Moses*, some learned men have been tempted to believe, that *Aristotle*, who was well versed in the *Hebrew* learning, advised him thereto; however it was, *Arrian* tells us expressly, that no action of his life endeared him more to the *Macedonians* than this. He likewise sent *Parmenio*, and some other general officers, to raise recruits, some into *Europe*, and some into *Asia** (F).

THINGS

* FLOR. lib. iii. c. 5. w DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. * ARRIAN. lib. i. c. 25. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. PLUT. in vita Alex.

(F) The words of the law of *Moses* relating to this matter are these: *When a man hath taken a new wife, he shall not go out to war,*

THINGS being in this situation, and the king busy in providing for the next campaign, a very extraordinary piece of treason was discovered. *Alexander* the son of *Æropus*, whom the king had made general of the *Thessalian* horse, held a correspondence with *Amyntas*, who was in the service of *Darius*. *Asifines* a *Persian* was pitched on by the latter to carry letters to this *Alexander*, promising him a thousand talents of silver, and the kingdom of *Macedonia*, if he would undertake to murder the king; this *Asifines* *Parmenio* apprehended upon some suspicion or other, and, being examined, he confessed the whole business; whereupon the king sent instructions to *Parmenio* to apprehend *Alexander*, before he should be able to debauch the troops under his command, and thereby cause a defection, which, on account of the man's great quality, might be very dangerous. This commission was very happily executed, and the king thereby deliver-

A conspiracy discovered.

war, neither shall he be charged with any business; he shall be free at home for one year, and shall cheer up his wife which he hath taken (12). To this passage it might be objected, that *Moses* forbids the enlisting of new-married men, whereas *Alexander* dismissed those who actually served in his army; yet the truth is, that *Alexander* exactly fulfilled the law; for, in another place, it is enjoined the principal officers of the *Hebrew* army, when in the field to enquire, amongst other things, *What man there is that hath betrothed a wife, and hath not taken her; let him go home and return to his house, lest he die in battle, and another man take her* (13). We are well assured, that *Aristotle* was acquainted with, and highly esteemed the law of the *Jews*; we know too, that what *Philip* expected from him was not to instruct his son in scanning of verses, or solving grammatical niceties; but that he might become a worthy successor of himself, and an able king of *Macedon*. To this end, that truly wise man put a correct edition of *Homer* into the hands of his pupil, and doubtless acquainted him with whatsoever else he had collected in relation to the science of government from books or in his travels (14). This supposition therefore, that the practice of *Alexander* was founded on the *Mosaic* law, is very probable. To say the truth, the best laws in *Greece* were but copies of the *Mosaic* law, as some learned men in the last century have very fully shewn, and of which any impartial person may be easily convinced, if he will compare those laws, in their original languages, and consider how nearly the *Greek* approaches to an elegant translation of the *Hebrew*, necessary allowances being made for the difference in manners.

(12) *Deut.* xxiv. 5.
contra Appian. lib. 1.

(13) *Deut.* xx. 7.

(14) *Joseph.*

ed from a conspiracy which had given him no small disquiet^z (G).

Alexander
proceeds in
the conquest
of the ad-
jacent pro-
vinces.

Year of
the Flood
2666.

Before
Christ

333.



As soon as the season permitted, *Alexander* quitted the province of *Phaselus* where he now was, and, having sent part of his army through the mountainous country to *Perga* by a short but difficult road, he led the rest by the sea-shore, taking his rout by a certain promontory, where the way is altogether impassable, except when the north winds blow. At the time of the king's march the south wind had held for a long time, but of a sudden it changed, and blew from the north so violently, that, as he and his followers declared, they, by divine assistance, obtained a safe and easy passage. This is *Arrian's* account, not only in substance, but in his own words, of a march held by many to be miraculous, and even compared to that of the children of *Israel* through the *Red-sea*, while, on the other hand, it is the opinion of many, there is nothing extraordinary in it at all^a (H). In this march

^z ARRIAN. lib. i. c. 26. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. ^a ARRIAN. PLUT. ubi supra.

(G) We are told by *Diodorus*, that it was by a letter from his mother *Olympias* the king was informed of the conspiracy of *Alexander* the son of *Æropus*; however, *Arrian*, besides the information of *Parmenio*, informs us of another odd circumstance, which concurred to make this matter more observable. While the king, who then lay before *Halicarnassus*, was fast asleep about noon, a swallow came chattering about him, hovering over his head, and resting sometimes on one, and sometimes on the other, side of the bed. He being exceedingly fatigued was not easily awaked; but when her incessant chattering roused him from sleep, he put her away gently with his hand; notwithstanding which she was so far from endeavouring to escape, that she perched upon his head, and ceased not her noise till the king was thoroughly awake. This prodigy being deemed of too great moment to be disregarded, he immediately consulted with *Aristander* the *Telmislian* soothsayer, who assured him, that a conspiracy was formed against his life by one of his domestics, but that it would be brought to light, because the swallow was a domestic bird, and most exceedingly loquacious (15).

(H) There seems to be no just reason for believing any thing supernatural in relation to *Alexander's* passage by the sea-side. In his letters he spoke of it himself in terms the most plain and simple, affirming nothing more than that he marched from *Phaselis* through the straits called the *Ladders* (16). There is, however, a passage in *Strabo*, which seems to set this matter in a clear light, and

(15) *Arrian*, lib. i. c. 26.
Alex.

(16) *Epist. Alex. ap. Plut. in vita*

march he was met by deputies from the *Aspendians*, who desired him to spare putting a garison into their city, because they were content to be his faithful subjects, to which he readily assented, upon condition they paid him fifty talents, and sent him the same number of horses which they were wont to furnish to *Darius*; terms to which they also readily agreed; but while the king was employed in reducing other places in the neighbourhood, the *Aspendians* fortified their city, and refused to comply with the treaty which their deputies had made. Upon which the king marched immediately that way with his army. The city of *Aspendus* is seated chiefly upon a high and steep rock, the foot of which is washed by the river *Eurymedon*; but round the rock upon the plain are abundance of houses surrounded with a slight wall. As soon as *Alexander* approached, the inhabitants of the lower town, distrusting their safety there, fled, and betook themselves to the higher town or castle; which when he perceived, he entered the lower town with his army, and encamped within the walls. The besieged seeing *Alexander's* force, and themselves hemmed in on every side contrary to their expectations, sent messengers to intreat him to accept of the former conditions. *Alexander*, considering the strength of the place, and how unprovided he was to undertake a long siege, was willing to agree with them, though not upon the former terms; but insisted now, that their principal citizens should be delivered up as hostages; that the number of horses which they had before promised should be punctually delivered, and the number of talents doubled; and, moreover, that they should be under the command of such a garison as he should place over them, and pay an annual tribute to the *Macedonians*; and, lastly, that the cause concerning the field, which they were said to have wrested unjustly out of

to prove very fully, that there was in this passage no miracle at all: “ Near the city of *Phaselis*, between *Lycia* and *Pamphylia* “ there is a passage, coasting along by the sea, through which “ *Alexander* marched his army. This passage is very narrow, and “ lies between the mountain *Chinax*, which overlooks the *Pam-* “ *phylian* sea, and the shore. It is dry at low water, so that tra- “ vellers pass through it with safety; but when the sea is high, it “ is all covered over. It was then in the winter season, and *A-* “ *lexander*, who depended much upon his good fortune, was re- “ solved to set out without staying till the floods were abated, so “ that his men were forced to march up to the middle in wa- “ ter (17). ”

(17) *Strab. Geogr. lib.*

their neighbours hands, should be referred to arbitration. This affair being finished, the king prosecuted his march to *Telmessus*, a very strong city, seated on the top of a high mountain, having another as high over-against it, and a narrow craggy road between these two. This pass the *Telmessians* had seized, and, if they had defended it as they ought, might in all probability have compelled the king to look for another road. But *Alexander*, rightly judging that the terror of an attack would oblige them to withdraw, encamped his forces at the very entrance of the passage, at the close of the evening, and in the morning, as he had rightly conjectured, it was perceived, that the *Telmessians* were retired into their city, the siege of which, on account of its strong situation, the king declined for the present, and continued his march through *Phrygia*, intending to reassemble all his troops at *Gordium*, whither he sent his orders to *Parmenio* to march, as he did also to *Ptolemy* and his colleagues, who, with the new-married men and recruits, were now returned from *Macedonia* ^b. On his march he met with deputies from *Athens*, who, in very submissive terms, besought him to dismiss such of their citizens, as he had taken fighting in the service of the *Persians*; but from this the king desired to be excused till the war was over, and then told them he would be content to hear what they could say in favour of their citizens ^c.

Darius
puts Chari-
demus to
death.

Darius was all this time fighting for *Alexander* at home; for upon the death of *Memnon* his admiral, who had begun with great success to reduce the *Greek* islands again under his obedience, and was on the very point of invading *Eubœa*, he was quite at a stand, not knowing whom to employ in his stead; and being also irresolute as to the choice of a general, who should command the land-forces he had raised. There happened to be at this time of his court and council one *Charidemus* an *Athenian*, an officer of great merit, and who had served long, and with much reputation, under *Philip* of *Macedon*; this man, being heartily zealous for the *Persian* interest, and seeing it no less in danger from their own feeble councils, than from the *Macedonian* arms, took upon him in few words to set the king and his ministers right. While you, Sir, said he to *Darius*, are safe, the empire can never be at stake; let me exhort you therefore never to expose your person, but to make choice of some able general to march against your enemy. One hundred thousand men will be more than suf-

^b ARRIAN. lib. I. c. 28.
lib. ii. c. 2.

^c ARRIAN. ubi supra. CURT.

ficient, provided a third of them be mercenaries, to compel him to abandon this enterprize; and if you will honour me with this command, I will be accountable for the success of what I advise. *Darius*, who was a wise and brave man, readily acceded to *Charidemus's* proposal; but the *Persian* lords who were present, through envy, inveighed bitterly against it; whereupon the *Athenian* was so far transported with passion, that he told them they were cowards, who would neither serve their master themselves, nor suffer him to be served by others. This moved them to charge him with treachery, and to alledge that he sought the command merely to put all things into the hands of the *Macedonians*; which made such an impression on *Darius*, that he ordered him to be instantly bound and delivered over to execution. Those who had pushed the king upon this barbarous and unjust act took care not to let the thing cool, but hurried the *Athenian* to instant death; to which as he went, he said aloud, *Darius will very soon repent his cruelty towards me, when by the loss of his kingdom he shall find with how much injustice he has taken away my life*^d. Indeed *Darius* repented in a few days, but as our author rightly observes, powerful as he was, he could not recal from death him whom a hasty word had sent from the land of the living. He was forced therefore to take the counsel of his own subjects, and pursuant to their advice determined to march against *Alexander* with an army, which, as one of his predecessors emphatically said, had in it many men and few soldiers.

WHEN *Alexander* arrived at *Gordium*, and found himself under a necessity of remaining there some time, till the several corps of his army could unite, he discovered an earnest desire of seeing *Gordius's* chariot, and the famous knot in the harness, of which such strange stories had been published to the world. This *Gordius*, as the tale went, was a man of slender fortune among the antient *Phrygians*, who had a small piece of land and two yoke of oxen, one of which he employed in the plough, and the other in the waggon; and that on a certain day, while he was ploughing, an eagle alighted on the yoke, and there rested till the evening. He, terrified at the sight, hastened to consult the *Telmiffian* augurs in that case (for the art of divination was common to all that people, even to the women and children, so that it was in a manner hereditary); and when he arrived at a certain village in that country, he met a virgin going to a fountain, who foretold what should happen to him, and ordered him, as she was of

^d DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra, CURT. lib. iii. c. v.

the *Telmissian* progeny, to return to his field, and then offer sacrifice to *Jupiter*. *Gordius*, on the other hand, intreated her to accompany him thither, to teach him after what manner sacrifice should be performed. He, thus instructed by the virgin, took her to wife, and she bore him a son named *Midas*, who when he arrived at manhood was both beautiful and valiant. The *Phrygians* were at that time harassed with a cruel sedition, and going to consult the oracle were told, that a chariot should bring them a king who should quell their sedition. Whilst they were yet busy in offering their conjectures about this answer, *Midas* arrived with his father and mother, and appeared suddenly in his chariot before the council. They hereupon interpreting the answer to relate to him, as the man whom the god had told them should come thither in a chariot, made him their king. Their seditions he appeased, and consecrated his father's chariot to *Jupiter* the king, by hanging it up in his palace as an offering of thanks for the eagle, the bird of *Jupiter*, sent to his father, by which he received the kingdom. This was also reported concerning the chariot, that whosoever could untie the knot whereby it hung, should obtain the sovereignty over all *Asia*. The cord in which this knot was tied was composed of the inner rind of the cornel tree, and no eye could perceive where it had been begun or ended. *Alexander*, when he could find no possible way of untying it, and yet was unwilling to leave it tied, lest it should cause some fears to arise in the hearts of his soldiers, is said by some to have cut the cords with his sword, and affirmed that the knot was untied. But *Aristobulus* assures us, that he wrested a wooden pin out of the beam of the waggon, which, being driven in across the beam, held it up, and so took the yoke from it^e. *Arrian*, from whom we have taken this relation, leaves his reader at liberty to receive which story he pleases. *Curtius*, on the contrary, declares positively, that the king cut the knot through with his sword, saying, as he struck, *It matters not how it is undone*. But what is the authority of *Curtius* compared to that of *Aristobulus*, who was an eye witness of the thing, and who declares as expressly that the king did not cut it? To which sentiment also *Plutarch* adheres. However it was, *Arrian* informs us, that a great tempest of thunder, lightning, and rain happening in the succeeding night, it was held declarative of the true solution of this knot, and that *Alexander* would become lord of *Asia*^f.

^e ARRIAN. lib. iii. c. 30.
in vit. Alex.

^f ARRIAN. ubi supra. PLUT.

ON *Alexander's* arrival at *Ancyra* a city of *Galatia*, the *His vigil-* province of *Paphlagonia* submitted to him, which he there-*ance in* upon added to the government of *Calas*, proceeding instantly *entering* to reduce *Cappadocia* as far as the river *Halys*, and then *Cilicia*. marched on to possess himself of *Cilicia*. This province was bounded on the west by *Pamphylia*, on the east by *Syria*, on the south by the bay of *Iffus*, and on the north by *Cappadocia*. In it were three famous streights or passes: The first at its entrance called *the gate*; the second called *the streights of Amanus*; the third near the bay of *Iffus*. It was the first of these which *Alexander* sought to surprize by a quick march, and which, when he came to the camp of *Cyrus*, a place so called, because *Cyrus* the younger had once taken post there with his army, he had the mortification to hear had been seized by the *Persian*, who had sent a considerable body of troops to defend it; this did not hinder the king from pursuing his design, and marching in the first watch of the night with his horse and light-armed foot to the very mouth of the pass, in order to attack it as soon as day broke. But the enemy spared him the trouble, for long before day, forgetting the importance of the place, they abandoned it, and sought their safety in flight; so that *Alexander* immediately took possession of it, and the next day marched all his army through into *Cilicia* without so much as a skirmish^a.

As soon as he entered the province, he received advice, that *His sharp* *Arfames*, whom *Darius* had made governor of *Tarsus*, was *sickness* about to abandon it, and that the inhabitants were very ap-*and won-* prehensive he would plunder it before he withdrew. To pre-*derful re-* vent this, the king marched incessantly, and arrived just time *covery* enough to preserve the place; but his saving it had well-nigh cost him his life; for either through the excessive fatigue of marching, as some say, or, as others relate, by his plunging when very hot into the river *Cydnus*, which as it runs through thick shades hath its waters exceedingly cold, he fell into such a distemper as threatened his immediate dissolution. His army in a moment lost its spirits; his generals, who were wont to advise him, knew not what to do themselves; nay, his physicians were so affrighted, that the terror of his death hindered them from taking proper methods for preserving his life^b. *Philip* the *Acarnanian* alone preserved temper enough to examine the nature of the king's disease, the strongest

^a ARRIAN. lib. ii. c. 4. CURT. lib. iii. c. 9.
lib. ii. c. 4. CURT. lib. iii. c. 10.

^b ARRIAN.

symptom of which was a continual waking, which he promised by the help of a draught to take off, and by composing his spirits to put him in a way of recovery. But while *Philip* was employed in preparing his medicine, the king received a letter from *Parmenio*, in which he was advised to be cautious of taking any thing from *Philip*, *Darius* having suborned him to take away his life. Having perused the letter, the king put it under his head; and when *Philip* brought him the potion, he took it out, and reached it to the physician, drinking the mixture with a steady and smiling look, while *Philip* read the letter. The composure of the man's countenance, and the answer he gave to the letter, by exhorting the king to quiet his thoughts, and to dispose himself to rest, assuring him that he would recover his health, if he pursued his directions, convinced *Alexander* of the falshood of the accusation. When, according to *Philip's* promise, the king began to recover his health, he not only testified an extraordinary gratitude towards the author of his cure, but also assured all who were about him that he had the justest sense imaginable of their loyalty and affection to his person, notwithstanding any suggestions he might have received to their prejudice.

He passes by Darius. IMMEDIATELY on his recovery, he dispatched *Parmenio* to seize the second streights, while he himself reduced such places in the neighbourhood as had not besought his protection. Being encamped at *Soli*, he received advice, that *Ptolemy* and *Asander* had beat the generals of *Darius*, and made great conquests on the *Hellepont*; this was very grateful intelligence, and *Alexander* caused very magnificent feasts and thews to be made in his camp on that account. A little after he was informed, that *Darius* was advanced through *Syria* within two days journey of the *streights*, upon which the king immediately marched towards him, and that with such expedition, that going through the defiles, he encamped near the city of *Myriandrus*. In the mean time *Darius*, led by his ill fate in the shape of his flatterers, had passed the streights of *Amanus*, and came down to *Iffus*, where he put most of the *Macedonians* he found to the sword¹.

Darius returns to meet him. *Alexander* was so much surprized, when he first received the news that *Darius* was behind him, that he could scarce believe it to be true; but when he was thoroughly satisfied of the fact, and that *Darius* had again passed the river *Pinarus*, he called a council of war, wherein, without asking any

¹ ARRIAN. lib. ii. c. 6 CURT. lib. iii. c. 16

body advice, he only told them, that he hoped they would remember their former actions, and that they, who were always conquerors, were about to fight people who were always beaten. He further observed, that *Darius* seemed to be infatuated, since he had with such expedition quitted an open and champain country, where his numbers might have acted with advantage, to fight in a place inclosed, where the *Macedonian* phalanx might well be drawn up, and where his multitudes could only incommode him. To these he added many other reflections on the antient glory of the *Greeks*, and as antient the infamy of the *Barbarians*. When he had finished his oration, those who were present shook hands, and, commending the king's magnanimity, promised that they would do their duty. *Alexander* then made the necessary dispositions for repassing the mountains, posted guards where he found them necessary, and then commanded his troops to refresh themselves, and to take their rest till morning ^k.

At break of day he began to repass the mountains, oblig- *Disposi-*
ing his forces to move in close order where the road was nar- *ons of both*
row, and to extend themselves as they had more room ; the *armies.*
right wing keeping always close to the mountain, and the
left to the sea-shore. On the right there was a battalion of
heavy-armed troops; besides the targeteers under the command
of *Nicanor* the son of *Parmenio*. Next these extending to the
phalanx were the corps of *Cœnus* and *Perdiccas*. And on
the left the respective bodies commanded by *Amyntas*, *Pto-*
lemy, and *Meleager*. The foot appointed to support them
was commanded by *Craterus* : But the whole left wing was
committed to *Parmenio*, with strict orders not to decline from
the sea-shore, lest the *Persians* should surround them. *Da-*
rius ordered twenty thousand foot and thirty thousand horse
to pass once again the river *Pinarus*, finding that he already
wanted room to draw up the rest. His first line consisted of
thirty thousand *Greek* mercenaries, having on their right
and left sixty-thousand heavy-armed troops, being the
utmost the ground would allow. On the left towards the
mountain he posted twenty thousand men, which from the
hollow situation of the place were brought quite behind *Alex-*
ander's right wing. The rest of his troops were formed into
close and useless lines behind the *Greek* mercenaries, to the
number in all of six hundred thousand men. When this
was done, he suddenly recalled the horse who had passed the
river, sending part of them to take post on his right against

^k ARRIAN. lib. ii. c. 6. CURT. lib. iii. c. 16.

the *Macedonians* commanded by *Parmenio*, and the rest he ordered to the left towards the mountain, but finding them unserviceable there he sent the greatest part of them to the right : And then took upon himself, according to the custom of the *Persian* kings, the command of the main body. As soon as *Alexander* perceived, that the weight of the *Persian* horse was disposed against his left wing, he dispatched with as much secrecy as he could the *Theffalian* cavalry thither, and supplied their places on the right by some brigades of horse from the van and light-armed troops. He also made such dispositions, that, notwithstanding the mighty advantage of the hollow mountain, the *Persians* could not surround him. But as these precautions had much weakened the centre of his army, he ordered those advanced posts on the enemy's left, of which he was most apprehensive, to be attacked at the very beginning of the fight ; and when they were easily driven from them, he recalled as many troops as were necessary to strengthen his centre ¹.

Battle of
Iffus.

Year of
the Flood.

2667.

Before
Christ,

332.



WHEN all things were in order, *Alexander* gave strict orders that his army should march very slowly. As for *Darius*, he kept his troops fixed in their posts, and in some places threw up ramparts, whence the *Macedonians* rightly observed, that he thought himself already a prisoner. *Alexander* at the head of the right wing engaged first, and without any difficulty broke and defeated the left wing of *Darius*. But endeavouring to pass the river after them, his troops in some measure losing their order, the *Greek* mercenaries fell upon them in flank, and made them fight not only for victory, but for their lives. *Ptolemy*, the son of *Seleucus*, and a hundred and twenty *Macedonians* of some rank were killed upon the spot. But the foot next to *Alexander's* right wing, coming in seasonably to its relief, fell upon the mercenaries in flank, amongst whom a miserable carnage was made ; they being in a manner surrounded by the horse and light-armed troops, which at first pursued the left wing, and the foot that had now passed the river. The *Persian* horse on the right still fought gallantly ; but when they were thoroughly informed of the rout of their left wing, the destruction of the *Greek* mercenaries, and that *Darius* himself was fled ; they began to break and betake themselves to flight too. The *Theffalian* cavalry pursued them close at the heels ; the narrow craggy roads incommoded them exceedingly ; so that vast numbers of them perished. As for *Darius*, he fled soon after the left wing was broken in a chariot with a few of his

¹ ARRIAN. lib. ii. c. 8, 9.

favourites ; as far as the country was plain and open he escaped well enough ; but when the roads became rocky and narrow, he quitted it, and mounting a horse rode all the night ; his chariot, in which was his shield, his cloak, and his bow, fell into the hands of *Alexander*, who carried them back to his camp. The loss of the *Persians* did not fall much short of a hundred thousand men, and *Ptolemy* in his relation reports, that when *Alexander's* troops were in full pursuit of *Darius*, they filled up the ditches as oft as they were obstructed by them with heaps of dead bodies, and so without farther difficulty passed on (I). The tent of *Darius* had been

(I) In respect to the battle of *Iffus*, *Diodorus* informs us, that *Alexander* looked every-where about for *Darius*, and, as soon as he discovered him, with his handful of guards attacked him and the flower of the *Persian* army which was about him ; being as desirous of obtaining this victory by his personal valour, as of subduing the *Persian* empire by the courage of his soldiers. But when *Oxathres* the brother of *Darius* saw *Alexander's* design, and how fiercely he sought to accomplish it, he threw himself with the horse who were about him between his brother's chariot and the enemy, where an obstinate fight was maintained, till the dead bodies rose like an intrenchment about the chariot of *Darius*. Many of the *Persian* nobility were slain, and *Alexander* himself was wounded in the thigh. At the last, the horses in the chariot of *Darius* started, and became so unruly, that the king himself was forced to take the reins, the enemy, however, pressing so hard upon him, that he was constrained to call for another chariot, and mounted it in great danger. This was the beginning of the rout, which soon after became general. According to this author the *Persians* lost an hundred and twenty thousand foot and ten thousand horse ; the *Macedonians* three hundred foot and a hundred and fifty horse. After the battle he tells us, that *Alexander* returned to *Darius's* tent, and there bathed, and was lodged with all the luxury and magnificence of a *Persian* prince. He gives us also the story of *Alexander's* visit to *Sisygambis* with this addition, that the king called to him the little son of *Darius* and kissed him. The boy coming readily and shewing no sort of terror, the king turning to *Hephestion* said, *This boy of six years old hath a noble countenance, a high spirit, and is more worthy of esteem than his father.* He then promised, that he would take the same care of the child as if he were his own ; and assured the young ladies, that he would be no less careful in providing matches for them, than *Darius* himself would have been (18). *Plutarch* assures us, on the authority of one *Chares*, that *Darius* himself wounded *Alexander* in the thigh ; yet *Plutarch* observes that *Alexander* in his letter to *Antipater*, though he mentions his wound in his thigh, says nothing of

(18; *Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvii.*

been very early taken, and in it his mother, his wife, two daughters and a little son; there fell at the same time into the hands of the *Macedonians* the wives of the most considerable *Persian* noblemen; as for those of inferior officers, they had been with the heavy baggage and treasure conveyed to *Damascus*, which precaution, however, did not preserve them; for a little after all fell into the power of *Parmenio*, sent by *Alexander* for that purpose. In the evening of the day of action, when the king returned to the camp and went to refresh himself in the tent of *Darius*, he was extremely surprized to hear the loud cries and groanings of many women so near him; whereupon demanding of some who were near him, who these women were and what the occasion of their sorrow, he was informed, that they were the mother, the wife,

his having received it from *Darius*. On his return to the camp after the pursuit, he entered *Darius's* tent, and immediately cried out, *Come, let us cleanse and refresh ourselves in Darius's bath.* No, cried one of his attendants, call it rather *Alexander's*; for the goods of the vanquished belong to the victor by the law of arms. After bathing, participating of a fine entertainment, and being conducted into the magnificent bed-chamber of the *Persian* king, *Alexander* could not help saying with an air of transport, *This is to be a prince indeed.* As to the respect shewn to the ladies, *Plutarch's* account is only a little warmer and more exalted than that of *Arrian* and *Diodorus* (19). *Justin* informs us, that the *Persian* army consisted of four hundred thousand foot, and a hundred thousand horse. He says, that the battle was hard fought, that both the kings were wounded, and that the *Persians* still fought gallantly when their king fled, but that they were afterwards speedily and totally routed; he is very particular as to their loss, which he says amounted to sixty-one thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and forty thousand taken prisoners. Of the *Macedonians*, he says, there fell no more than a hundred and thirty foot, and a hundred and fifty horse (20). *Curtius*, not mentioning the armies passing by each other, makes the whole of his relation very confused. Indeed it is so laboured, that it appears rather an exercise of rhetoric than a candid narration, and the close of it, which is what we have most to do with, exceeds all the rest. He agrees, that of the *Persians* there fell a hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse. Of *Alexander's* army five hundred and four he says were wounded, thirty-two foot killed, and a hundred and fifty horse. That we may not suspect any error in transcribers, his own observation nails down the fact: *Tantulo impendio ingens victoria stetit*, so small was the cost of so great a victory (21).

(19) *Plut. in vit. Alex.* (20) *Justin lib. xi. c. 9.* (21) *Curt. lib. iii. c. 20—29.*

the daughters of *Darius*, and the most considerable ladies of *Persia* who waited upon them; that the reason of their lamentation was the report of an eunuch, that he had seen in the hands of a soldier the cloak of *Darius*, whence he concluded that the king was slain. *Alexander* is said upon this occasion to have shed tears. However it was, he sent *Leonatus*, a person of the first rank amongst his officers, to free the women from their fears, by assuring them, that *Darius* made his escape; and at the same time to comfort them with promises of honourable treatment, a permission to wear royal apparel, and to be called and served as if they were still queens. The next day he went himself with *Hephestion* to their tent, that he might farther console the illustrious captives. Their garb being much alike, *Sisygambis* the mother of *Darius* fell down at the feet of *Hephestion*, being somewhat taller, supposing him to be the king. But when some of the attendants signified to her, by motions of their heads and hands, that she was mistaken, she immediately went and paid her devoirs to the king himself. He seeing her in some confusion, took her by the hand and raised her up, saying, *Do not be uneasy, mother, you were not in the wrong, for he too is Alexander* ¹. This passage is found in *Arrian*, who confesses, that he met with it in the works of most historians of those times; yet he seems diffident of the truth of it, and contents himself with saying what ought to be always said when it is mentioned; *That there is so much worth and beauty in the action as ought to incline us to wish it true at least, if not to believe it*. Other historians have not been so nice; they found the story good, inserted it therefore in their writings, and, taking occasion from thence to extol the virtue and clemency of *Alexander*, have never troubled their readers with any suspicions as to the certainty of the fact. But we in this, as in the foregoing relation of the battle, have stuck close to *Arrian*, from whom indeed there is no stirring without danger of falling, not only into incertainties, but into incredibilities; as the reader will perceive from a short specimen of inconsistencies, extracted from other writers and digested in the foregoing note.

Alexander made the best use of this signal victory, encouraging the provinces and petty princes in the neighbourhood to come and submit themselves voluntarily, treating all

The conduct of Alexander in reducing Coëlosyria.

¹ *ARRIAN. lib. iii. c. 10, 11, 12.*

that did so, not as new and conquered, but as old and hereditary subjects, neither burdening them with soldiers, nor oppressing them with tribute. *Menon*, an antient officer of his, he appointed governor of *Cælo-Syria*, and assigned him such a body of horse, as he judged necessary for the safety of the province. The *Persian* had all this time a great fleet at sea, to which most of the little princes on the maritime coasts had been forced to join all the ships they could furnish, rather out of fear, than any inclination they had to concern themselves in the present dispute about the dominion of *Asia*, which, however it ended, they knew would leave them where it found them, tributaries and dependents. *Strato*, the son of *Gerostratus*, king of *Arados* and the neighbouring isles, took this opportunity of making peace for his father's subjects, who were in the utmost danger; their king with all their naval force being failed to join the *Persian* fleet. *Strato* prevented *Alexander's* march towards the dominions he held on the continent, by going of his own accord to his head-quarters, where, presenting him with a crown of gold, he submitted himself and all his dominions to his pleasure; whereby *Alexander* reaped all that he sought, viz. *glory* and *power*, and *Strato* lost nothing, but on the contrary avoided the *Macedonian's* entering his territories in a hostile manner ^m (K).

AMONG

^m ARRIAN. lib. ii. c. 13.

(K) We have omitted in our text a very remarkable passage in *Alexander's* life, which is attested by many credible authors, amongst others by *Diodorus* and *Plutarch*, though it is not mentioned by *Arrian* at all. The reason, however, of our omitting it was, we knew not how or where certainly to place it. The story is best told by *Curtius*, and therefore from him we shall take it. He says, that *Strato* king of *Sidon*, being cordially attached to *Darius's* interest, *Alexander*, when he was in the neighbourhood of the city, gave his favourite *Hephestion* leave to bestow the kingdom upon whom he would. *Hephestion* having lodged with two brothers, and being extremely taken with their kindness towards him, offered them the kingdom; but they alledging, that by the laws of their country it was hereditary, refused it on account of their not being of the royal blood. *Hephestion*, charmed with so noble a disinterestedness, desired them to name him to whom it of right belonged. The brethren readily told him, that there was one *Abdalominus* of the blood-royal, who



AMONG other places belonging to *Gerostratus* was *Mara-* *Embassa-*
thus, a city on the continent, very considerable in respect of *dors sent*
its extent, its wealth, and beauty ; thither for the sake of *from Da-*
better accommodation, *Alexander* marched, and remained *rius, to*
there a considerable time, while he debated in his council on *intreat the*
the properest means for establishing the tranquility of his new- *discharge*
acquired dominions, and for carrying on the war against *Da-* *of his mo-*
rius. As for that prince, after he had a little recovered his *ther, wife,*
astonishment, he collected, as well as he could, the scattered *and chil-*
remains of his army, and retired with them as speedily as *dren.*

was so poor that he kept a little kitchen garden, and wrought in it for a subsistence, in the suburbs ; to him by the direction of *Hephestion* they carried the royal robes and crown ; they found him weeding, and having told him their errand, made him wash and clean himself, and array him as a king. He was then conducted to *Alexander*, about whom there were many who could not help inveighing against the raising so mean a man to a throne. *Alexander* looked on him a little, and then turning to those who were near him, said, *His person does not at all disgrace his birth : I would be glad to know how he bore his poverty. I would to God,* cried the new king, *I may bear my prosperity as well ; these hands have ministered to my necessities, and as I had nothing, so I wanted nothing.* *Alexander* was so well pleased with this answer, that he gave him the palace, furniture, and private estate of *Strato* ; nay, and added part of the adjacent country to his kingdom (22). *Diodorus*, instead of *Sidon*, lays the scene at *Tyre* after the reduction of that place ; but in this he must be mistaken, for the name of the first king of *Tyre* was not *Strato*, neither was he absent when the city was taken ; but on the contrary was himself taken in it, and, as we shall hereafter see, was also left king of *Tyre* by *Alexander*. *Diodorus* calls also the new king *Ballonimus*. He says too, that he was expressly recommended to the king by *Hephestion*, as a person of his own knowledge (23). *Plutarch* is wholly silent in his life of *Alexander* on this subject, but elsewhere he tells us the story. He transports us, however, to *Paphos*, where, he says, the former king being deprived for tyranny, *Alynomus*, a poor man, who had no possession but his garden, was by *Alexander* raised to the kingdom, because he was of the royal blood (24). But against this there is a material objection, which is, that *Alexander* never was at *Paphos*. As *Curtius* has told the story, it is well enough, especially as it is supported by *Justin* (25), yet not so well as to deserve a place in the body of the history, since it is impossible to set this story absolutely free from all objections.

(22) *Curt. lib. iv. c. 4.*
(24) *Orat. de Fort. Alex.*

(23) *Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvii.*
(25) *Justin. Hist. lib. xi. c. 10.*

possible beyond the river *Euphrates* : From thence he wrote to *Alexander* at *Marathus*, and sent also ambassadors to intreat him to set at liberty his mother, his wife, and children. In his letter he expostulated pretty warmly on the injustice of the war commenced against him ; he alledged, that neither he nor any of his predecessors had ever injured the *Macedonians* ; that *Philip* had invaded them without any declaration of war ; and that himself had prosecuted that invasion without signifying what grievances he had sustained, or what satisfaction he expected ; that as to the end of the war providence would determine ; but that in the interim, he who was still a king requested of *Alexander* as a king also, that he would restore to him his mother, wife, and children ; and also name plenipotentiaries to treat of peace. *Alexander* sent back the ambassadors, and with them *Thersippus*, charged with a letter to *Darius*, which ran in these words “ Your
“ ancestors, entering *Macedonia* and the rest of *Greece*, in-
“ jured us without having received the least provocation. I,
“ as the general of the *Greeks* have invaded *Asia*, to vin-
“ dicate them against their antient enemies the *Persians*,
“ provoked by their repeated outrages. You also afforded
“ aid to the *Perinthians*, who had grossly injured my fa-
“ ther, and *Ochus* sent likewise an army into *Thrace*, which
“ is part of our dominions. My father was slain by trai-
“ tors suborned by you, as you have openly published in
“ your letters ; so *Arses* being dispatched by *Bagoas* thro’
“ your contrivance, in open defiance of the *Persian* laws,
“ you have assumed the royal dignity. You have likewise
“ entered into negotiations in *Greece* with a view to my
“ prejudice, remitting money to the *Lacedæmonians* and o-
“ ther *Greeks*, received only by the former, and rejected
“ by all the rest, in order to corrupt my allies, and to
“ dissolve the grand alliance into which we have entered. I
“ therefore have made war upon thee, because by such a
“ variety of methods thou hast proved thyself my enemy.
“ Having also beaten thy lieutenants heretofore, and thyself
“ lately with all thy army, I hold through the goodness
“ of heaven this country. Such of your soldiers as have
“ fled to me remain with me, and serve under me, not
“ through constraint, but of their own free will. Come
“ therefore to me, as to the lord of *Asia*. If thou art afraid
“ that I should do any thing harsh towards thee, send some
“ of thy friends to me who may take my oath. When
“ thou art come, thy mother, thy wife, thy children, and
“ whatever else you please, ask, they shall be thine. As
“ to

‘ to the rest, when you write to me again, remember, that
 ‘ you write to the king of *Asia* ; treat me no more as
 ‘ your equal ; but as to the lord of all you have, signify
 ‘ what it is you want. If you do otherwise, I shall conceive
 ‘ myself injured : If you dispute my right, prepare to do
 ‘ it in another general engagement ; but do not fly, since
 ‘ it is to no purpose, for where-ever you go, I am deter-
 ‘ mined to follow youⁿ ’. It is certain this letter is in a
 very high strain, and one may almost pronounce that it is
 genuine by comparing the spirit it breathes, with that which
 at all times animated the words and actions of *Alexander*.

Parmenio, according to the instructions he had received, possessed himself entirely of the treasure, equipage, Alexander baggage, and whatever else *Darius* had left at *Damascus* der uses
 under the command of *Cophenes* ; all which, by the express the Greek
 direction of the king, he carried back to the same city, embassa-
 and there took an exact account of them. Amongst other dors to
 prisoners were the *Greek* ambassadors sent from *Sparta*, *Athens*, *Darius*
 and *Thebes*, to negotiate with the king the raising a com- with much
 motion, which might oblige *Alexander* to return home. These moderation
 by command of the king were sent to him as traitors ; as for
 the two *Theban* ambassadors, *Alexander* said, as he had left
 them no city in *Greece*, they had some reason for what they
 did, and therefore *Ismenes* being of a noble family, and *Dio-*
nyfodorus having been victor in the *Olympic* games, he, partly
 out of compassion to their country, and partly out of respect
 to themselves, freely set them at liberty *. When he knew,
 that the *Athenian* ambassador was *Iphicrates*, the son of *I-*
phicrates the famous general, he said his family were under too
 many obligations to his father for his son to suffer any thing
 from his hands, and therefore not only dismissed him, but
 treated him with great kindness. As for *Euthycles* the *Lace-*
dæmonian, he would hear nothing either in favour of him or
 his country, but ordered him to remain in custody ; but after-
 wards, when affairs were better settled, he let him too go at
 large. Thus *Alexander* wisely kept terms with all the *Greci-*
an states, though at the same time he prudently pretended pi-
 ty and personal respect, that it might not be at all suspected
 his moderation was tinged with fear ; though, as we shall
 hereafter hear from his own mouth, he had but a very indiffe-
 rent opinion of the affection of the *Greeks*, and therefore as

ⁿ *ARRIAN*. lib. ii. c. 14. *DIODOR*. lib. xvii. *CURT*. lib. iv. c. 2.

* The *Theban* ambassadors were, according to *Arrian*, *Theffalif-*
cus, the son of *Ismenias*, and *Dionysodorus*.

he trusted them little, so he was by no means forward to provoke them °.

The Tyrians refuse to admit Alexander.

Tyre was in the number of those places, which, within a short space after the battle of *Iffus*, sent deputies to submit themselves to the conqueror; the king whose name was *Azelmicus* was absent in the *Persian* fleet; but his son was of the number of the deputies, and *Alexander* received him as favourably as he had done those who came from *Byblus* on the same errand. It is possible, the king intended to honour *Tyre* farther, for he acquainted the citizens that he would come and sacrifice to the *Tyrian Hercules*, the patron of their city, to whom they had erected a most magnificent temple. But these people, like most other trading nations, were too suspicious to think of admitting so enterprizing a prince with his troops within their walls. They therefore sent their deputies to him again, to inform him, that they were ready to do whatever he should command them; but as to his coming and sacrificing in their city, they could not consent to that, but were positively determined not to admit so much as one *Macedonian* within their gates. *Alexander* immediately dismissed their deputies in great displeasure. He then assembled a council of war, wherein he insisted strongly on the disaffected state of *Greece*, the power of the *Persians* at sea, and the folly of carrying on the war in distant provinces, while *Tyre* was left unreduced behind them; he also remarked, that, if this city was once subdued, the sovereignty of the sea would be immediately transferred to them, because it would fix their possession of the coasts; and as the *Persian* fleet was composed chiefly of tributary squadrons, those tributaries would fight the battels, not of their late, but of their present, masters. These reasons having persuaded the council to concur with them, the siege was immediately resolved on. It may seem somewhat strange, that *Alexander*, now in the current of his victories, an absolute prince, and impetuous in his temper, should condescend to explain himself so much at large, as to the nature and importance of his designs. But we are to consider, that his army was composed of veteran troops, commanded by old and experienced officers; that their valour did not consist in a short extravagant fury, but in a cool and determined resolution; in order to engage which, there was a necessity that the king should shew them not only what he would have them do, but why he conceived it fit to be done. Nor did his authority suffer at all thereby; for as the *Macedonians* always held themselves subjects and not slaves, so when once

° ARRIAN. lib. ii. c. 15. CURT. lib. iv. c. 35.

they were acquainted with the nature and expedience of the service required from them, they were indefatigable, and never refused to share any danger, in the execution of an undertaking they had once resolved on ^P.

THIS city was built on an island surrounded with prodigious walls, the sea as yet was open, and the *Tyrians* themselves had a considerable fleet, whereas *Alexander* had none at all. The first thing he projected was an artificial isthmus, that might unite the city to the shore, to which end he caused the sea to be sounded, and found the greatest depth three fathoms; this encouraged him exceedingly, and he was still the farther emboldened when he perceived that the bottom was a stiff clay, which served instead of mortar, and bound whatever was sunk into it more effectually than could have been done by art. The ruins of old *Tyre* furnished materials for the mole, which under the inspection of *Alexander* was carried on with amazing vigour, till such time as it approached pretty near the city, for then the *Tyrians* not only vexed the workmen with all sorts of missive weapons, but also sent armed barks on each side of the mole to harraß them, so that *Alexander* was forced to build two large wooden towers covered with raw hides, whereby they were defended from fire, as the workmen were by them from the insults of the enemy. The *Tyrians* for the destruction of these towers contrived a fire-ship, and on the yards thereof, instead of sails, they placed rows of buckets filled with sulphureous matter, the inside of the hulk was at the bottom filled with dry twigs; over them were laid all sorts of combustible matter, the stern they filled with rubbish, that sinking in the water it might raise the head the higher. Things thus prepared, as soon as they had a favourable wind they towed the hulk to sea, and ran her upon the mole directly between the towers, and then set it on fire; at such time as the masts began to burn, the weight with which their yards were charged broke them, whereby all the buckets fell into the fire, and greatly encreased its fury, so that not only the towers, but all the materials that were on the mole, were totally consumed. *Alexander* was not at all discouraged; on the contrary, he laid the foundation of a new mole broader than the former, and consequently capable of holding more towers; ordered new engines to be made, and began to concert measures for procuring a fleet, without which he saw clearly that all his endeavours would be in vain ^r.

Which induces the siege of Tyre.

^P DIODOR. lib xvii. CURT. lib. iv. c 7 AERIAN. lib ii. c. 16.

^r AERIAN. lib. ii. c. 17.

The tribu-
tary princes
join Alex-
ander's
fleet with
their
squadrons.

IT happened very happily for *Alexander*, that the moderation of his former conduct fully provided him for his present and future designs; for *Gerosstratus* king of *Arados*, *Enylus* king of *Byblus*, most of the *Cyprian* princes, as also the *Sidonian* Squadron, in all an hundred and twenty sail arrived at *Sidon*, and offered him their service; the ill fate of the *Persians* at *Iffus* having discharged them their service, and *Alexander's* generous behaviour towards their subjects having attached them to his. To the same city came *Cleander* with a supply of four thousand fresh troops from *Greece*, and soon after a fleet from thence, so that after a short excursion into the neighbourhood of *Antilibanus*, he came again before *Tyre* with a new army and a fleet of upwards of two hundred sail. *Andromachus*, captain of the *Cyprian* navy, had the command on the left side, and *Alexander* himself commanded the blockade on the other. The citizens still made a desperate defence, and omitted nothing, which either art could devise, or valour execute, for the preserving of the place. At last seeing themselves reduced to such great straits, they resolved to attack the *Cyprian* Squadron posted at the mouth of the haven, which looks towards *Sidon*, and having before that time spread sails across the mouth of the haven, that their ships filled with soldiers, might not be discovered by the enemy; about noon (at which time the *Macedonian* soldiers were usually busied about their private affairs, and *Alexander* had retired from his fleet to his pavilion on the other side of the city) with five choice *Quinqueremes*, as many *Quadriremes*, and seven *Triremes*, filled with expert rowers and resolute soldiers, well armed for fight and inured to the sea, rowed out slowly and silently one by one against the enemy. But when they advanced within sight of the *Cyprians*, encouraging each other with a great shout and clashing of their oars, they attacked their fleet. But it happened that day, that *Alexander* having retired as usual to his pavilion, tarried there but a short time, and returned to his fleet. The *Tyrians* assaulted the enemy's ships all on a sudden, when some were entirely empty, and others by reason of the noise and violence of the attack were surprized, unprepared for resistance. *Pnytagoras's* *Quinquereme* was sunk at the first onset, with another commanded by *Androcles* the *Amathusian* and *Pasicrates* the *Thurian*: Others were forced on shore and beat to pieces. *Alexander*, hearing of this excursion of the *Tyrian Triremes*, immediately ordered as many ships as he could spare, and were well armed, to block up the mouth of the haven, and thereby hinder the rest of the *Tyrian* fleet from coming forth. He then with the *Quinqueremes*, which he had ready, and five *Triremes*

well

well prepared, sailing round the city, halted to attack the *Tyrians*. The besieged seeing this from the wall, and perceiving *Alexander* himself there, endeavoured by loud cries to recall their men who were on board ; and when their cries, by reason of the tumult, could not be heard, they made several signals for them to return, because the enemy was at hand. But finding too late that *Alexander* was upon them, they turned their sails and halted to the haven, yet few of them could save themselves by flight ; for *Alexander's* ships falling in suddenly among them, rendered some unfit for sailing, and one *Quinquereme* and a *Quadrirème* were taken at the very entrance of the port. The slaughter of the *Tyrians* was not great, because, as soon as they perceived it impossible to save their ships, they escaped into the harbour by swimming. The *Macedonians*, now knowing that the *Tyrian* fleet would be unserviceable, moved their engines up to the walls. Those which advanced on the side towards the rampart did no execution by reason of the firmness of the wall there ; others moved some hulks with engines to that quarter of the city which looks towards *Sidon*. But when they found their endeavours there fruitless, sailing along the whole south part of the wall towards *Egypt*, they tried to batter it every-where : And there indeed by the violence of their attacks, it was at first shaken, and afterwards beat down, and demolished. Whereupon they immediately mounted the breach by the help of their ladders, and began to storm the place : But the *Tyrians* without any great difficulty, repulsed them. Three days after this there happening a stark calm, *Alexander* resolved to make use of that opportunity to storm the city ; to this end he gave all the necessary directions. First he ordered a line of hulks, on board of which his battering engines were placed, to be towed as close as possible to the walls, and there brought to an anchor ; the engines were immediately brought to play upon the walls, and in a very short space made a tolerable breach. Then the first line of hulks weighed and stood to sea, or rather were towed off, and a second line having scaling ladders on board took their place ; a detachment of light-armed troops under the command of *Admetus* was assigned for the attack on one side, another corps of auxiliary foot conducted by *Cœnus* was to attack on the other side. *Alexander* himself at the head of a greater force was present, ready to sustain both. As the king took all this pains that the assault might be performed with vigour, so he was no less careful to provide that the enemy might not make as vigorous a defence ; with this view he gave orders for several false attacks, and also commanded that a squadron

of armed vessels should sail continually round the city, threatening now one part of it, then another, and actually attacking any part where they found it feasible, which so well answered his end, that the *Tyrians*, every-where distracted, divided their forces, and knew not where to make their utmost efforts. However, they fought very gallantly against *Admetus* and his *Macedonians*, who first mounted the walls; that valiant officer being killed, as soon almost as he had set foot on the wall, by a spear; but *Alexander*, with fresh forces coming to the support of those who had first taken post on the wall, quickly drove the *Tyrians* from thence, and pursued them to the royal palace. In the interim *Alexander's* fleet broke into the haven on one side, and began to burn and sink the ships that were there: On the other, the *Cyprians* forced the haven, which they had hitherto blocked up, and, flushed with success, attacked and entered the city on that side. The *Tyrians*, seeing it would be to no purpose longer to defend their walls, retired in a body to a strong part of the palace, which they hoped yet to hold out; but *Alexander* following them, fell upon them there with such fury, that they were unable to resist, so that, after great effusion of blood, they betook themselves to flight, and sought a shelter in different parts of the city. A great slaughter also happened at the haven, where *Cœnus* and his forces entered the city; for the *Macedonians* were vehemently enraged at the citizens, partly for holding out the place so long, and partly because they having seized some of their men sailing from *Sidon*, first hoisted them up aloft upon their walls in sight of their friends, and afterwards flabbed them and threw their bodies into the sea. About eight thousand *Tyrians* were slain. Of the *Macedonians*, besides *Admetus*, who first entered the breach and took possession of the wall, about twenty targeteers fell in that attack, and during the whole siege about four hundred. They who fled to the temple of *Hercules* (being some of the chief *Tyrian* nobility, besides king *Azelmicus*, and some *Carthaginian* priests, who according to antient custom were sent to their mother city to offer sacrifice to *Hercules*) had the benefit of a free pardon. The rest, to the number of thirty thousand, including strangers, were sold for slaves. *Alexander* after this offered sacrifice to *Hercules*, at which his whole army assisted; the navy also performed a part in the solemnity. He moreover appointed *Gymnic* sports in *Hercules's* temple, which was then finely illuminated. The engine wherewith the wall was demolished he placed there, as an eternal monument of his victory. And the *Tyrian* ship consecrated to *Hercules*,
which

which he had taken in a sea-fight, he caused to be hung up there^c (L).

THE

^c ARRIAN. lib. ii. c. 24. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xvii. PLUT. in vit. Alex. JUSTIN. lib. xi. c. 10. CURT. lib. iv.

(L) The taking of *Tyre* was foreshewn by a multitude of omens, if any credit is to be given to the historians who have recorded them; we have reserved them for a note, that they might not perplex the history; we shall mention only such as are most remarkable, that we may not tire the reader; and we shall leave him to make what judgment of them he pleases, without pretending to regulate his sentiments by our own. *Arrian* assures us, that the very night after *Alexander* had taken the resolution of besieging the place, he had a dream or vision, wherein he seemed to be scaling the walls of *Tyre*, in which he was assisted by *Hercules*, who gave him his hand to raise him up. *Aristander* explained this to be an infallible sign of the taking the city, but he declared, that it was a sign likewise the siege would prove an *Herculean* labour (26). *Plutarch* says, that there is a well in the neighbourhood of *Tyre*, which the inhabitants shewed, affirming, that *Alexander* slept near it when the place was first besieged; and that sleeping there he dreamed, that a satyr came and mocked him; that he ran after him a long time in vain; but that, at last and with much ado, he got hold of him. The diviners gave him an easy and elegant explanation of this vision; for dividing the *Greek* word *Satyros*, they shewed its signification to be, *Thine is Tyre* (27). In the city a man saw in a dream *Apollo* flying away; when he reported this before the people, they would have stoned him, supposing that he did it to intimidate them; on which the poor man was forced to fly to the temple of *Hercules*; but the magistrates having better considered it, fixed one end of a gold chain to the statue of *Apollo*, and the other to the altar of *Hercules*. A strange expedient this, and a pregnant instance of epidemic madness and superstition; however, when *Alexander* took the place, he set *Apollo* at liberty, and ordered him to be stiled *Philalexandrus*, that is, a lover of *Alexander* (28). *Diodorus* is very particular in the account he gives of all the methods practised by *Alexander's* engineers, and those of the town. It is too long to transcribe, but may be read by those who are skilled in such matters to very good purpose, as well as *Arrian's* accurate detail of the same siege; for it is certain, that the *Tyrrians* did as much to defend themselves, as the wit or courage of man at that time would allow; neither was it altogether in vain, since it cost *Alexander* several months, and put all the force he had to the utmost stretch before

(26) *Arrian. lib. ii.*
Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra

(27) *Plut. in vit. Alex.*

(28)

Alexan-
der reſet-
tles Tyre.

THE uſage the *Tyrians* received was certainly very ſevere, and ſeemed very little reconcileable either to the politeneſs of a *Grecian* prince, or to that grandeur of ſoul which *Alexander* affected upon other occaſions. However, as he was a prince of great parts and learning, he knew how to find out very plauſible excuſes for the worſt things he did ; and in regard to the fact before us, beſides the cruelties which they had done to the *Macedonians*, which were revenged by the execution of ſuch multitudes, he alledged, that the ſelling them for ſlaves was an act of natural juſtice, the anceſtors of theſe *Tyrians* being no other than ſlaves, who, entering among themſelves into a conſpiracy, ſlew all their maſters in one night, then took their wives and became lords of the city, excepting only one *Strato*, who was preſerved by the fidelity of his ſlave ; his family *Alexander* alſo preſerved, tho' *Azelmicus* king of *Tyre* was deſcended therefrom. To him therefore, as if his quarrel had been with the people, he left the ſovereignty without diminution, and took great pains by draughts from other places to reſtore the city, and reſettle its principality. Thus *Alexander* gratified his reſentment againſt the *Tyrians*, by deſtroying their city, and ſelling them for ſlaves ; and when he had ſo done, he raiſed a high reputation of clemency by his generoſity towards the king, and the care he took of rebuilding the city^c.

He rejects
the propoſi-
tions made
by Darius.

WHILE he was employed in this long ſiege, embaſſadors came again from *Darius* with theſe propoſals : That he would pay ten thouſand talents of ſilver for the ranſom of his mother, wife, and children ; that he would reſign to him all the countries between the *Helleſpont* and the river *Euphrates* ;

^c JUSTIN. lib. xviii. c. 3.

they were reduced. *Plutarch* tells us, that *Ariſtander*, having from the intrails of a ſacrifice offered at the beginning of the ſeventh month, predicted, that it would be taken therein, the ſoldiers, when the general ſtorm was protracted to the very laſt day of that month, began to deride him ; but *Alexander*, to ſave the prophet's credit, ordered it to be called the twenty-eighth day of the month, inſtead of the thirtieth, which, however, was needleſs, for the place was taken the ſame day (29). *Curtius*'s account of the ſiege ſwells with miraculous mounts, and wonderful triumphs over the ſea. He exhauſts whole provinces for timber, and makes free with mount *Libanus*, though *Alexander* never went near it (30). It is certain, that *Alexander* did great things here, but *Nebuchadnezzar* had done as much before when he took the ſame place (31).

(29) *Plut. ubi ſupra.* (30) *Curt. lib. iv.* (31) *Ezech. xxvi. 7.*
ſeq. that

that he would consent to the marriage of his daughter, and, forgetting all that was past, would acknowledge him for his friend and confederate. When these terms came to be explained to the *Macedonian* council, *Parmenio*, who always spoke very freely, delivered it as his sentiment, that when the ends of the war were gained, it was unreasonable to abide its hazard; adding, *If I was Alexander, I would accept these conditions.* To which the king replied, *So would I, if I was Parmenio.* However, in his own name, he answered the ambassadors, *That he did not want Darius's money: That he would not accept of a part of his empire instead of the whole: That he would take from him by force his country, his palaces, and treasure: That he would marry his daughter, if he pleased, without his consent; but that if Darius had a mind to try his humanity, he might come to him if he thought fit.* This answer, how much soever it might have of the hero, had certainly not much of the politician. Had he accepted these propositions, he would have become the peaceable possessor of an extensive, rich, and powerful empire, and might have retained his hereditary kingdom of *Macedonia* and his authority over the *Greeks*, and in that condition have transmitted it to his posterity. But his boundless ambition hurried him on to a wild pursuit of conquests without end, as if all the nations of the earth had been created to pay him obedience, or to be made examples of his vengeance. *Parmenio* spoke the language of *Philip*, who would certainly have taken his advice on the same occasion, or rather would not have needed it^u.

Tyre thus subdued, *Alexander*, notwithstanding the advanced season of the year, resolved to make an expedition into *Syria*, and in his way thither proposed to chastise the *Jews*, who had highly offended him during the siege of *Tyre*; for when he sent to demand of them provisions for the subsistence of his soldiers, they answered, that they were the subjects of *Darius*, bound by oath not to supply his enemies. When these people knew of the king's march towards them, they were under the greatest terror, and, as their last resource, had recourse to solemn acts of devotion, to prayers, processions, and particular fasts, till at length God was pleased to answer their petitions, by commanding *Jaddua* the High-Priest in a vision to array himself in his pontifical habit, to direct the priests to put on their proper garments, and, with the people cloathed in white, to advance in slow and solemn order to meet the *Grecian* prince. *Jaddua* and the rest did

^u ARRIAN. lib. ii. c. 25. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xvii. CURR. lib. iv.

as they were commanded, and issuing out of the gates of *Jerusalem*, advanced as far as *Sapha*, an eminence at a small distance from the city, from whence as soon as they discerned *Alexander's* approach, they went to meet him. The king, when the high-priest drew near, hastened towards him, bowed himself before him, and saluted him with religious veneration. This scene, which amazed the *Macedonians*, struck the *Phœnicians* and *Syrians*, not only with surprize, but with sorrow and discontent, for out of mere hatred to the *Jews* they had taken part in this expedition. *Parmenio* being near him took the liberty of asking the king, Why he adored the *Jewish* high-priest? To whom the king readily answered, He did not adore the priest, but God, whose minister he was. For when he was at *Dium* in *Macedonia*, and much troubled in his mind about the preparations necessary for his passing into *Asia*, he had a dream, wherein he saw this very person in his pontifical habit, who commanded him to lay aside his doubts and fears, and pass boldly into *Asia*, for that God would be his guide, and give him the empire of the *Persians*. On seeing therefore this person, he was convinced, that what he did was by the express assistance of the deity, who he also doubted not would protect him in all his future expeditions; wherefore, in gratitude for former victories and to testify his trust in the divine power, he had humbled himself before the priest. He afterwards accompanied *Jaddua* to *Jerusalem*, which he entered in a friendly manner, and offered sacrifices in the temple; the high-priest shewed him also the prophecies of *Daniel*, wherein the destruction of the *Persian* empire by himself is set forth, not in dark obscure terms, in equivocal or unintelligible verses, but graphically, as if the prophet had seen the whole transaction, and every circumstance attending it; whence it came to pass that the king went away extremely well satisfied; and at his departure asked, if there was nothing in which he might gratify himself or his people. *Jaddua* then told him, that, according to the *Mosaic* law, they neither sowed nor ploughed on the seventh year, therefore would esteem it a high favour, if the king would be pleased to remit their tribute in that year. To this request the king readily yielded, and having confirmed them in the enjoyment of all their privileges, particularly that of living under and according to their own laws, he then departed. In his march, the *Samaritans*, who, on the refusal of the *Jews*, had furnished him with provisions before *Tyre*, applied themselves to him, in hopes of receiving from him still greater matters than the

the *Jews* had done; but though *Alexander* received them civilly, and afforded a patient hearing of their request, yet he dismissed them with an unavailing answer, *viz.* That he had now many great affairs upon his hand, but that, when he should return from his *Egyptian* expedition, he would examine into, and, provided they were reasonable, comply with their demands. Having thus removed all difficulties so far, he advanced towards *Gaza*, the only place in this part of the world, which was still held for *Darius*^w.

Gaza was a very large and strong city, seated about five miles from the sea-shore on a high hill, surrounded with strong walls. One *Batis* or *Betis*, an eunuch, had the government thereof committed to him by *Darius*, who, foreseeing what would come to pass, took care to provide all things necessary for a long and obstinate defence, causing all the fortifications to be repaired, magazines to be well furnished, and fearing his garison might be too small, he hired certain *Arabian* troops to serve in the place. All this did he, knowing of what importance *Gaza* was to his master, standing as it did in the entrance to *Egypt*, and being at the same time a bridle to *Palestine*. When *Alexander* summoned him, *Betis* returned a resolute answer, that he would defend it as long as he was able. Many of the king's council looking on the place as impregnable, dissuaded him from meddling with it; but he was not easily diverted from any thing he had once resolved on; *Gaza* therefore was instantly invested, and where he thought the walls were weakest, he caused a mount to be thrown up, and from thence brought his engines to play upon the city. At the beginning of this siege a very extraordinary accident happened: The king being about to sacrifice, and having a crown of gold on his head, a bird of prey hovering some time over him, let fall at last a stone from between his claws upon his head, and soon after flying to the engines was there taken, his feet being entangled in the nets, which covered the ropes wherewith they were wrought. Upon this *Aristander* was immediately consulted, and his answer was, that the city would certainly be taken; but at the same time he cautioned the king not to be so adventurous as he was wont, because some great danger was threatened to himself. The king accepted this advice very kindly, and did not expose himself for some time; but one day, when the *Arabians* made a furious sally and set fire to his engines, and had well-nigh driven the troops from the

*Gaza be-
sieged, and
after two
months ta-
ken.*

^w JOSEPH. Antiq. Jud. lib. xi.

mount, he forgot the caution he had received, and advancing with a body of targeteers regained the post which had been lost, and drove the enemy into the place. But in the heat of the engagement he was wounded by an arrow, which, piercing his shield and breast-plate, lodged in his shoulder. Far from being concerned at this accident, he expressed no small satisfaction therein, for one part of the prediction being fulfilled, he questioned not but the other would come to pass. As soon as the great engines he had made use of at Tyre arrived by sea, he carried his works quite round the city, and battered the walls in several places at once. In the mean time, where the battering engines were not at work, he employed miners, who working secretly under the foundation of the walls, they suddenly fell down, to the great surprize of the citizens. When through these several methods a breach was practicable, three several attacks were made by the *Macedonians* with great resolution, in which notwithstanding they were repulsed with great effusion of blood. In the fourth the citizens had not such fortune, for the place was taken by storm, and they valiantly fighting were slain to a man*. *Arrian* says nothing of *Betis* the governor, neither doth *Diodorus*. *Plutarch* also is silent, and so is *Justin*†; but *Curtius* tells us a very strange story, and has had the good luck to be believed. He says that he was brought to the king half dead with wounds, to whom *Alexander* addressed himself in these words: *Thou shalt not, Betis, die as thou fanciest, in an honourable way, but shall feel in captivity all the torments that can be devised for thee.* To which the valiant eunuch gave no reply, but looked on the conqueror with a contemptuous smile. *What*, said *Alexander*, *dost thou neither speak, kneel, nor entreat? I will find a way to vanquish thy silence, and force thee at least to groan.* Having said this, he in a rage commanded his heels to be bored, and putting cords thro' them, bound him to his chariot, dragging him round the city till he died, boasting that in this he imitated *Achilles*, who dragged the body of *Hector* in the same manner‡. *Arrian* indeed tells us, that he sold the wives and children of the citizens for slaves; which is consistent enough with his practice upon other occasions; and one would think, that if *Betis* had been put to death in this manner, it could not have escaped the knowledge of *Aristobulus* and *Ptolemy*, from whose memoirs *Arrian* collected his history. These obstacles removed

* ARRIAN. lib. ii. cap. ult.
 PLUT. in vit Alex. JUSTIN. lib. xi.

† DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xvii.
 ‡ CURT. l. iv. c. 26.

and a garison left in *Gaza*, there was nothing now to hinder his so earnestly desired expedition into *Egypt* (M).

As soon as his soldiers had refreshed themselves, and he had received a body of recruits from *Greece*, *Alexander* marched from *Gaza*, and, in the space of seven days, reached *Pelusium*. Here he found no resistance; for *Mazaces* the *Persian* governor was able to make none^a. He was dispirited with the continual misfortunes which had befallen his master's arms; he had a very indifferent army, and, which was still worse, he had the hearts of the most numerous nation in the world against him. It will afford much help to the subsequent narration, and yet take up very little room, to set this matter in a proper light. Most of the provinces of the *Persian* empire shewed a great deal of loyalty to *Darius*; but *Egypt*, as it had never been faithful to any of his predecessors, so it was now very impatient of throwing off his yoke, without regarding what other yoke it put on. The chief reason

The state of Egypt at that time.

^a ARRIAN. l. iii. c. 1. PLUT. in vit. Alex. CURT. l. iv. c. 27.

(M) If *Darius* had always chosen such governors as this *Betis*, *Alexander*, with all the power of *Greece*, would not have triumphed so easily; for tho' this siege lasted but two months, yet it cost him such a number of men, that he sent *Amyntas* into *Macedonia* for recruits, and took pains to increase his army while it was in *Egypt*. *Curtius* has a very strange story in his account of this siege, and is singular in it; for there is not a word mentioned of any such thing elsewhere, if we except one legendary writer, whose credit is scarce on a par with his own. The story is this; An *Arabian* soldier, pretending to desert, came to *Alexander* and fell at his feet. The king put out his hand to raise him up, ordering that he should be kindly received; but as he arose, he, with a sword that was concealed under his shield, struck at the king's throat. *Alexander* avoided the blow by a gentle inclination of his body, and immediately after cut off the villain's head with his own sword (32). It was *Neoptolemus*, a near relation of *Alexander* by the mother's side, who first mounted the walls of *Gaza*. *Plutarch* does not tell us any thing of the number of the slain. *Curtius* says, there fell of the citizens ten thousand. Another author reduces this to six thousand (33). As to the *Macedonians*, we know nothing of their loss at all; and indeed, whenever we have any accounts of their losses, they are set so very low, that it is difficult to give credit to them; especially when, as in the present case, there are concurring circumstances, which amount to a proof, that their losses must have been very great.

of this was the great diversity between the religion of the *Persians* and that of the *Egyptians*. Not only *Cambyfes*, who was a tyrant, but *Ochus*, who was a voluptuous prince, had slain their consecrated *Apis*, and profaned the most sacred rites of their religion. The *Persian* governors and their under-officers ran all into the same humour; and thus the whole body of the people were exasperated in the highest degree against the government they should have defended, from principles, which, of all others, make men the most furious, *viz.* those of religion. The *Egyptians* had but a little before shewn the excess of their rancour, by joining with *Amyntas*, who, with four thousand mercenaries, fled hither from the battle of *Iffus*, and thought to have set up for himself; in which the *Egyptians* furthered him all they could ^b. *Mazaces* therefore, reflecting on all these things, and terrified perhaps with the examples of *Tyre* and *Gaza*, determined to admit *Alexander* peaceably. The king having entered so easily, sailed up the *Nile*, after leaving a garison in *Pelusium*, and when he was come to a convenient height, he landed, and leaving the river on his right hand, marched through the deserts to *Heliopolis*, then, crossing the river, he came to *Memphis*, where he offered pompous sacrifices, not only to the *Grecian* gods, but also to the *Egyptian Apis*. He likewise celebrated magnificent games, whereat assisted the most famous champions in *Greece*. From *Memphis* he sailed down the river to the sea; having passed round the city *Canopus*, he fixed on the place where the village of *Scandria* or *Alexandretta* now stands, as a convenient situation for a fine port and magnificent city. *Alexander* himself directed where every public structure should be erected. He also fixed the number of temples, the deities to whom they should be dedicated, and assigned particularly a large and eminent site for a temple to the *Egyptian Isis*. There was nothing now wanting but to trace, according to the custom of those times, the walls of the city; for doing this they had no materials at hand, this project of building a city being sudden; however, a workman advised the king to collect what meal there was among the soldiers, and to sift it in lines upon the ground, whereby the circuit of the walls would be well enough marked out. *Alexander* followed this advice, which answered very well; and *Aristander*, having considered it attentively, told the king, that it was an omen of the new city's abounding with all the necessaries of life ^c. Some say, that the bounds were no sooner marked out, than great numbers of birds came and pecked up the meal, and then flew

^b DIONOR. I. xvii. CURT. ubi supra. ^c ARRIAN. I. iii. c. 1, 2.

away ; which when the rest of the *soothsayers* held for an ill omen, *Aristander* alone held it to be a good one, affirming its meaning to be, that the city built in that place should become so populous as to send out colonies, as they had seen birds feed and rise from it^d. He was certainly an excellent servant to his master ; for he was never at a loss either for expedients or expositions, and perhaps digressed as little from the rules of his art as any of his contemporaries. Certain it is, that *Alexander* paid great deference to his decisions ; for that prince affected all things which tended to render him popular. At this time he was especially careful to gain the affections of the *Egyptians*, which he did to such a degree, that they were ready to adore him ; for till prosperity rendered his pride too powerful for his reason, never any prince acted so steadily on the maxims of philosophic policy as he. We never find him grasping treasure, in order to gratify either a covetous or extravagant disposition. The richest spoils he gave to his friends ; the most curious he sent home to his mother and the *Macedonian* ladies ; little he reserved to himself. In point of women he was irreproachable, and for those vices which so foully tarnish the virtue of the *Greeks*, they served only as a foil to him ; so signal was his abhorrence of them. As to government, he was truly a friend to liberty, restored it where-ever he came, and shewed it as a wonder to those who had no idea of it before. It is true, that with all this he required submission to himself ; but it was a submission no way inconsistent with liberty, but that civil respect which is always due to a great captain in war, and a just and temperate ruler in peace. The reader may expect some reason for inserting this character here ; and we shall give it in few words : *Alexander* had been hitherto what we represent him ; we are now going to shew him in quite another light, intoxicated with vanity, and foolishly seeking to cover the foibles which disgraced him as a man, by pretending to be more than man, as painters use flowing robes and magnificent drapery to conceal defects of shape. It is not to be supposed that, from this period, he did nothing that was virtuous or praise-worthy ; all that we mean is, that as hitherto he had acted with such prudence as to commit very few, and those trivial mistakes, so henceforward he lost that moderation and magnanimity, which had made him so much loved and revered, and by attempting to exchange respect for adoration, and to extort a blind submission instead of a cheerful and rational

^d CURT. l. iv. c. 2. Dionor ubi supra.

obedience.

obedience, he, in a great measure, extinguished the lustre of his former glory, and that authority derived therefrom, owing that affection and regard which the *Macedonians* still retained for him, to the memory of his former conduct, and to those intervals of humanity, in which he laid aside the ridiculous notion of his being allied to the divinity. But it is time to proceed to the source of these disorders (N).

Alexander
visits the
temple of
Jupiter
Hammon.

AT this time *Alexander* formed his extraordinary design of visiting the temple of *Jupiter Hammon*. As to the motives which induced him thereto, *Arrian* tells us, that they were chiefly founded in the imitation of *Perseus* and *Hercules*, the former of whom had consulted that oracle, when he was dispatched against the *Gorgons*; and the latter twice, viz. when he went into *Libya* against *Antæus*, and when he passed into *Egypt* against *Busiris*. Now, as these heroes, viz. *Perseus* and *Hercules*, gave themselves out to be the sons of the *Grecian Jupiter*, so the *Macedonian* prince had a

(N) We follow the authority of *Arrian* in placing *Alexander's* directing the building of the city honoured with his name before he went to visit the oracle of *Jupiter Hammon*; *Diodorus* and other authors placing it afterwards, alledging that it so happened. The last-mentioned historian says, that it was seated very commodiously by the haven of *Pbaros*; that the streets were wisely contrived, so as to admit the cooling breezes, which mightily refreshed the air. In point of strength, he ordered a broad and high wall to be drawn round it, so as to have the sea close on one side, and a great lake on the other, and a narrow pass at each end. Its form resembled that of a soldier's coat. One large beautiful street passed from gate to gate, being in breadth a hundred feet, in length forty furlongs, or five miles. It became in after-times so rich and famous, that our author tells us, in his time there were on its rolls three hundred thousand freemen. *Plutarch* affirms, that he was directed to the choice of this situation by *Horus* in a vision; and, according to his account of the matter, a more pleasant, or more convenient place, could not have been chosen (34). *Alexander* himself was a prince of great taste; he looked upon works of this kind as the noblest monuments, and therefore spared neither pains nor cost in completing them. The architect he employed here was the celebrated *Dinocrates*, who had raised himself an immortal reputation by rebuilding the temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus*; to him he consigned the care of this work, which did the highest honour in succeeding times to its founder and his architect (35)

(34) *Diodor. ubi supra.* (35) *Pen l. v. c. 10 Ammian Marcel. l. xii. c. 10 c. 15. l. xvii. p. 59.*

mind to take for his father *Jupiter Hammon*^c. *Maximus Tyrius* informs us, that he went to discover the fountains of the *Nile* ^d. *Diodorus* tells us in few words, that he went to consult the oracle ^e. *Plutarch* is as concise ^f. *Justin* assigns a very singular reason; he says there had been always great jealousies about *Alexander's* birth; that *Philip* was never thoroughly convinced of his being his son; that a little before his death, he had openly declared, that he was satisfied he was not; that *Olympias* herself had confessed as much, pretending, that she conceived him by a monstrous large dragon. To silence all these reports, to clear up his mother's character, and to get himself the reputation of being the son of a god, were his motives, if we may believe this author ^g. Whatever they were, certain it is, that he hazarded himself and his troops in the highest degree, there being two dangers in this march; which, with the example of *Cambyfes*, who lost the greatest part of his army in it, might have terrified any body but *Alexander*. The first was the want of water, which, in the sandy deserts surrounding the temple, is no-where found; the other, the uncertainty of the road from the fluctuation of the sands, which, changing their situation every moment, leave the traveller neither track to march in, nor mark to march by. From these impending mischiefs, all authors agree, that *Alexander* was miraculously delivered; for when the water brought on camels backs was spent, there fell a prodigious shower of rain, wherewith they filled all their vessels; and when their guides could no longer distinguish the road, they were directed by supernatural harbingers; tho' as to them authors do not agree. *Ptolemy* the son of *Lagus* affirmed they were two monstrous dragons, which went with a mighty noise before them, *Alexander* giving strict orders to his officers to follow these leaders. But *Aristobulus*, with whom the current of historians go, asserts, that they were led by crows, who, as often as they deviated from the way, by their croaking and fluttering before them, set them right. These are certainly strange stories, yet there is all imaginable authority for them, which made so strong an impression on *Arrian*, that he gives us his judgment of the matter in these words: *I am fully convinced, that Alexander was conducted by some divine power, from the testimony of all who speak of his journey, notwithstanding the diversity of senti-*

^c ARRIAN. l. iii. c. 3.
l. xvii.

^f In vit. Alex.

^g Serm. xxv.

^e DIODOR.

^d JUSTIN. l. xi. c. ii.

ments among these authors hath greatly obscured the truth of this story ^k.

Where he
consults
the oracle.

THIS arduous march once over, *Alexander* arrived at the temple of *Hammon*, seated in the midst of a barren thirsty waste, in a narrow spot of ground, the utmost extent of which exceeds not forty furlongs, curiously planted with olive-trees and palm-trees, and watered with dews, which fall no-where else in all that country. A fountain also has its rise here, different in its nature and properties from all the fountains upon earth ; for at mid-day it is cool to the taste, but to the touch intensely cold; towards evening it begins to be warm, which warmth increases by degrees from thence till midnight ; after midnight it waxes cool by little and little ; in the morning it is chilly, at noon excessive cold ; and it receives all those various alterations regularly every day. This country naturally produces a kind of fossile salt, which, being put into little boxes of palm-tree, some of the priests of *Hammon* carry into *Egypt*, and bestow on the king, or some great men, as a present. It is dug out of the earth in large oblong pieces, some above three fingers in length, transparent like chrystal. This kind of salt the *Egyptians* and other nations, who are curious in their worship, use in their sacrifices, it being much purer than that produced from seawater. *Arrian* tells us, that *Alexander* himself consulted the oracle, and was well satisfied with its answer ; but as to what he consulted it upon, or what the answer was that he received, that author is silent. *Strabo* concurs with him, asserting, that the king entered in his royal robes, consulted the oracle, and received its answer, none being let into the secret. *Diodorus* distinguishes three things which passed at this meeting ^l. First, the salutation of the priest, whereby *Alexander* was acknowledged for the son of *Jupiter Hammon*. The second, a promise to the king, that he should subdue the whole world. The third, an assurance that he had fully punished the murderers of *Philip* ^m. *Plutarch's* account corresponds pretty well with this, and he tells us besides, that *Alexander*, highly pleased with what had passed, made mighty presents to the priests. He likewise acquaints us, that some were of opinion *Alexander's* title to divinity was founded in a blunder of the high-priest, who being desirous to salute him in *Greek* with these words, *my son*, instead of *paidion*, pronounced *paidios*, which the *Greek* flat-

^k ARRIAN. l. iii. c. 3. DIODOR. l. xvii. CURT. l. iv. ^l ARRIAN. l. iii. c. 4. ^m DIODOR. l. xvii.

terers understood *pai dios*, i. e. *son of Jupiter*. The same author adds, that *Alexander*, in a letter to his mother *Olympias*, told her, he had received some secret answer from the god, which he would reveal to her at his return". But *Olympias*, who was a woman of spirit and sense; was so little pleased with the king's propagating these vain stories, that she sent to desire him to forbear embroiling her with *Juno*. As to *Alexander's* return there is also a good deal of uncertainty, *Aristobulus* affirming, he came back the same way he went; and *Ptolemy* asserting, that he returned a nearer, which brought him directly to *Memphis*.

Alexander, on his return to *Memphis*, received there embassadors with congratulations from most of the states of *Greece*, as also recruits both of horse and foot; all which was very acceptable to him, as he testified by his kind reception of every body, by his making great feasts, and exhibiting pompous shews. These solemnities over, he began to think of settling the province, and of returning to the prosecution of the war. As he intended the *Egyptians* should live under their own laws, he made choice of *Doloaspis* and *Petisis*, eminent *Egyptians*, to be joint presidents of the province; but *Petisis* desiring to be excused from such a burden, *Doloaspis* was made sole president. Into all the places of strength, however, he put garisons, and those garisons were under the command of such officers as he thought he could confide in. Thus *Memphis* was committed to the care of *Pantaleon*, *Pelusium* to *Polemon*, the troops were under *Lycidas*, that is, the foreign troops; for as to the rest, they were commanded by *Peucestas* and *Balacrus*. The fleet had for its admiral another *Polemon*. Thus he established several independent commanders in *Egypt*; a policy imitated by the *Romans*: For considering the nature of the people, the situation of the strong places, and the vast consequence of the province, it was thought too great a charge to be committed to a single person, or to be trusted in the hands of men of high quality, it being always held a mark of superior policy to prevent insurrections, rather than be obliged, with the hazard of war, to quell them. *Alexander*, as we have shewn, was not only aware of this, but in his conduct set an example to others. These regulations took up a good deal of time; so that the winter was spun out before all things were compleated; and then *Alexander* made the necessary dispositions for marching with his army in-

He settles the government of Egypt.

" In vit. Alex.

to *Phœnicia*, that he might open the campaign in good time °.

Samari-
tans pu-
nished.

Tyre was the place appointed for the general rendezvous of the forces, and thither *Alexander* with all convenient speed shaped his march. In the way he received an account of a very unhappy accident which gave him much concern. *Andromachus*, a great favourite of his and a deserving man, had been appointed superintendant of *Syria* and *Palestine*. This officer, going to *Samaria* to collect the tribute, was not only opposed in the execution of his office, but a mighty tumult suddenly arising, the people set fire to the house wherein he lodged, and burnt him and his retinue. To avenge so horrid a fact, the king ordered a strict inquisition to be made after the murderers, directing, that all who were any ways concerned should, without mercy, be put to death; but this was not all, he established a colony of *Macedonians* in their city, and gave part of its territories to the *Jews*. Such of the *Samaritans* as escaped this slaughter repaired to *Sechem*, which has been ever since, and still is, their capital. The ground of this quarrel in all probability was *Alexander's* slighting their request at the time he so highly favoured the *Jews*; a thing which sunk deep into their breasts, and, if possible, heightened that implacable aversion they had conceived against the *Jews*. From this fact of theirs *Alexander* took such a distaste to this people, that he dismissed eight thousand of them who had served in his troops ever since the siege of *Tyre*, sending them as far as the *Upper Egypt*, where he commanded they should have certain lands divided amongst them P.

Statira the
wife of
Darius
dies.

WHEN he arrived at *Tyre*, he there met with *Athenian* ambassadors, who came to renew the request formerly made him, to pardon such of their citizens as he had found serving the enemy. The king, being desirous to oblige so famous a state, yielded to their request, and sent also a fleet to the coast of *Greece*, to prevent the effects of some commotions which had lately happened in *Peloponnesus*. These, with some private affairs, once settled, he directed his march to *Thapsacus*, a city on the *Euphrates*. There he found a broken bridge, which *Darius* had made use of in his flight after the battle of *Iffus*; as also a great body of horse, under the command of *Mazæus*, who had orders to obstruct his passage; but so it was, that, either from a notion of policy, or through downright cowardice, *Mazæus*, having burnt the

• ARRIAN. l. iii. c. 5.

P JOSEPH. Antiq. Jud. l. xi.

country, slighted the post, and retired ; whereupon the king, having repaired the broken bridge, passed the *Euphrates*, marching on to seek *Darius*. A little before that the wife of the last-mentioned prince paid her last debt to nature in child-bed. *Alexander* caused her to be buried at a prodigious expence, though he had been so cautious of injuring either her reputation or his own, as not only to forbear seeing her, but also forbid the commending her beauty in his presence. *Tyræus*, an eunuch who attended on her person, escaped soon after, and carried *Darius* the tidings of his queen *Statira's* death. He was extremely moved at the news, and no less so at the recital of the honours paid her by *Alexander* when living, and the mighty respect shewn her at her death ; which, on account of the youth of *Alexander*, he attributed in his mind to some sinister cause ; but when the eunuch, with most solemn asseverations, had convinced him, that there was not the least colour for his suspicions, he, in a great transport of mind, prayed to God to restore the kingdom of *Persia* to its antient glory, that he might thereby be enabled to testify his gratitude to *Alexander* ; or if its fatal period was come, he prayed, that this generous victor might sit next on the throne of *Cyrus*⁴. After passing the *Euphrates*, the *Macedonians* marched through *Mesopotamia*, having the river on their left, and, by a round-about road, which they took to avoid defiles, and for the easier procuring of provision, arrived at length at *Babylon*. On the road *Alexander* was informed, that *Darius*, with all his army, lay encamped on the river *Tigris*, in order to dispute his passage. The current of this river is so rapid, that nothing can be imagined more difficult than attempting to pass it with an army, even without an enemy in view. If *Darius* therefore had really drawn his troops down to the banks of this river, we may be confident that *Alexander* never could have passed it ; but he had committed the care of defending it to *Mazæus*, who, it seems did not love fighting ; for he burnt the forage here too, and then withdrew ; however, *Alexander* passed it, though not without great difficulty, many of his soldiers being born off their feet, and carried down with the stream ; so that at last he commanded them to march in close order, so that they resisted the water like a wall ; notwithstanding which expedient a great deal of time was spent in getting them over, and they were so much fatigued with the passage, that he was forced to let them rest a whole day. If therefore, as we said before, *Darius*, or any general of his, with a competent body of

⁴ DIODOR. ubi supra. PLUT in vita Alex.

troops, had been possessed of the opposite shore, how is it possible they should have got over at all? But these precautions being wanting, and *Alexander* once on the other side, there remained nothing now but a battle to decide the issue of the war, and to determine who should be lord of *Asia*.

*An eclipse
of the moon
astonishes
the Macedonians.*

As the king continued his march directly towards the enemy, an accident happened that caused some confusion in the army. This was no more than an eclipse of the moon. If we were to believe *Curtius*, we must suppose, that the *Macedonians* were on the very point of breaking out into rebellion, taking this for an evident sign that heaven was against them; but it is so much that author's custom to exaggerate, and the account he gives us of this eclipse shews him to have written after such indifferent memoirs, that we may very well justify our preferring *Arrian's* account; which as it is more moderate, so it is also much more probable. He says, the king caused sacrifices to be offered to the sun, moon, and earth, as the authors of eclipses; and that *Aristander*, having inspected the intrails, had declared, that all things would be fortunate to the *Macedonians*; that a battle would happen within the month, and that they would carry the victory. *Curtius* says, that the king called for *Egyptian* astronomers, who concealing the causes of eclipses from the vulgar, of which causes, by the way, *Curtius* himself knew very little or nothing, told the soldiers, that the *Macedonians* were under the government of the *sun*, the *Persians* of the *moon*; and therefore, that a diminution of light in the latter shewed, that those who were under her dominion should shortly be destroyed. This is certainly improbable; for nothing is more notorious, than that the *Persians* were held to be under the dominion of the *sun*, and not of the *moon*; besides, there can be no reason shewn, why the king should have recourse to the *Egyptian* sages, and not to *Aristander*. On the whole therefore we may justly conclude, that having, by a proper compliance with their notions, resettled the minds of his soldiers, and filled them with the hopes of victory, *Alexander* made them continue their march, that they might fight while they remained full of this persuasion.

*The armies
meet.*

It is unnecessary to detain the reader here with a long account of the strength of the *Persian* army; we shall content ourselves with observing, that it is hardly possible to guess at its real strength. *Arrian* himself seems to have been misled, if his text is not corrupted in this passage, wherein he tells

^r *ARRIAN*. I. iii c. 7. *DIODOR*. ubi supra.
ubi supra. ^r *CURT*. I. iv.

^r *ARRIAN*.

us, that *Darius* had forty thousand horse, and a million of foot. *Diodorus* says, there were two hundred thousand horse, and eight hundred thousand foot. *Plutarch*, that the horse and foot made up together a million. *Justin* gives us exactly half of *Diodorus*'s number. With this vast army he remained encamped near the village *Gaugamela*. *Alexander* chose a strong camp within about fifteen miles of the same place, where he left his baggage, with his sick and wounded soldiers, and with the rest marched on till he was within sight of the enemy^a. Then a council of war was called, wherein it was debated, whether it would be more adviseable to fight that evening, or to encamp where they were that night. Most of the members of that council were for the first, *Parmenio* almost alone for the second; but when the king had heard his reasons, he gave orders that the troops should encamp. *Alexander* then, with a chosen party of horse went and viewed the field of battle, examining every part thereof with the greatest diligence; and, when he had done this, he returned to the camp, where, in a second council, he gave the necessary directions for the engagement, encouraged all who were present to do their duty, and, above all, exhorted them to be extremely careful in preserving order; after which he dismissed them to their rest. When all things were quiet, *Parmenio* came again to the king's pavilion, and earnestly entreated him to attack the enemy in the dark, assuring him, that it would be the best way to prevent his soldiers from being discouraged by the disparity between themselves and the *Persian* troops. To which *Alexander* calmly replied, *I will never steal a victory*; which has been by some cried down as a puerile expression; by others as unreasonably extolled as a mark of *Alexander*'s grandeur of mind; whereas it was in truth no more than the wise resolution of a consummate general, who suffered not himself to be dazzled by appearances, penetrating all things to the bottom, and chose, without hesitation, that measure which was best. The reader will easily discern this, if he will be pleased to consider on what the two kings relied. *Darius* plainly placed his hopes in numbers; for this reason he chose a plain country, every mole-hill of which, in comparison, he caused to be demolished. *Alexander* depended on the valour and military skill of his veteran troops. In the dark then numbers would still have been numbers, valour would have signified little, and military skill would have been lost; besides, a hundred accidents might have snatched a victory from *Alexander*, confi-

^a ARRIAN. I. iii. c. 8.

dering the disproportion between his army and that of *Darius*; whereas we can scarce figure to ourselves an accident which would have been favourable to him. More than all this, *Darius* was now of opinion, that his last defeat was wholly owing to the disadvantage of the ground; had he been beaten again in the night, he would have imputed that to the darkness, and still have entertained hopes; whereas *Alexander* sought to convince the *Persians*, that their fighting was to no purpose: He answered therefore wisely, and like a great captain, as he really was, *I will not steal a victory*; an expression which ought not to surprize us as sublime; but ought to convince us, that he who spoke it was a soldier, and knew well what he said and did*.

The battle
of Gaugamela.
Year of
the Flood,
2668.
Before
Christ,
331.

THE vast army of *Darius* continued all night under arms, which must have fatigued them very much, and have given great opportunity for their fear to work upon them. Their king, it seems, was apprehensive that *Alexander* would attack him in the night; which was the reason that he kept his troops upon so hard a duty. They were drawn up in very exact order, as appeared by many memoirs of their disposition, which, after the battle was over, were found in their camp, and which doubtless had been distributed to their principal officers, to prevent confusion and mistakes. *Darius* himself was in the main body, surrounded by his relations, some choice troops of horse, certain chariots and elephants, and round all these were posted the *Greek* mercenaries, on whose courage and skill he chiefly depended. When *Alexander* marched to the engagement, his right wing was composed of his royal brigade of horse, commanded by *Clytus*, of several other corps of cavalry, besides a large body of auxiliary horse, commanded by *Philotas* the son of *Parmenio*. The first line of the phalanx, which joined these, was commanded by *Nicanor* the son of *Parmenio*, the next by *Cleus* the son of *Polemocrates*. The third corps was under *Perdiccas*. The fourth was commanded by *Meleager*. The fifth by *Polyphercen*. The last was the battalion of *Amyntas*, commanded by his brother *Simmias*, *Amyntas* being gone into *Macedonia* to raise recruits. On the left were the troops commanded by *Craterus*, consisting of several battalions of foot; a body of auxiliary horse commanded by *Erigyas*; the *Thesalian* horse under the command of *Philip*. The whole wing was commanded by *Parmenio*. This was the disposition of the middle line of the army; for before both wings and the

* ARRIAN. ubi supra. DIODOR. PLUT. &c.

centre there were light-armed troops for forlorns, and behind each division of the army there was a corps of reserve. To the battalions of foot that composed these, *Alexander* gave orders, that they should bear their spears so as to face about immediately in case the enemy should surround any part of his army. He likewise ordered, that they should open whenever the armed chariots were driven upon them, so as to give them a clear passage ; which dispositions and directions proved of the highest consequence. The forces brought at present into the field are computed by *Arrian* at seven thousand horse and forty thousand foot. *Alexander's* right wing charged first upon the *Scythian* horse, who, as they were well armed and very robust men, behaved at the beginning very well, making a vigorous resistance ; and that this might answer the more effectually, the chariots placed upon the left wing bore down upon the *Macedonians*. Their appearance was very terrible, and threatened entire destruction ; but *Alexander's* light-armed troops, by their darts, arrows, and stones, killed many of the drivers, and more of the horses, so that few reached the *Macedonian* line ; which opening, as *Alexander* had directed, they only passed through, and were then either taken or disabled by his bodies of reserve. The horse continued still engaged, and before any thing decisive happened there, the *Persian* foot near their left wing began to move, in hopes of falling on the flank of the *Macedonian* right wing, or of penetrating so far as to divide it from its centre. *Alexander* perceiving this, sent *Aretas* with a corps of troops to charge them, and thereby compel them to keep their posts. In the mean time he remained where he was, and prosecuting his first design broke their left wing, and pursued it till it was fully routed. He then charged the *Persian* foot in flank, and they being intimidated made but a feeble resistance. *Darius*, perceiving this, gave up all for lost, and fled himself. Then the *Macedonians* following their victorious monarch, made a vigorous pursuit. The battalion commanded by *Simnias* only did not stir, that officer being informed, that not only the left wing was in great danger, but that a great body of *Persian* and *Indian* horse, taking the advantage of the king's absence, had penetrated through the centre, and were fallen in upon the *Macedonian* baggage. This misfortune was quickly followed by another ; the *Barbarian* prisoners mutinied thereupon, and fell on the *Macedonians* in their camp ; but the corps of reserve facing about, and being supported by *Simnias's* battalion, the *Persians*, after a smart engagement, were routed, and great numbers slain. *Parmenio*,

on the left wing, in the mean time was almost enveloped, the cavalry in the *Persian* right being both excellent and very numerous ; in all probability the *Macedonians*, notwithstanding their courage and military skill, would have been overborne at last and totally destroyed, if *Alexander*, on the first intelligence of this misfortune, had not immediately returned from the pursuit, and charged the enemy in flank and rear ; yet did they not then fly, but facing about continued to defend themselves against *Alexander*, and pressed hard upon *Parmenio* at the same time. *Hephestion*, *Cœnus*, and *Menidas* were wounded in this conflict, which was very long and bloody, but ended at last in the total defeat of the *Persians* ; whereupon *Alexander* continued the pursuit of *Darius* about ten miles, and then passing the river *Lycus*, encamped his troops that they might take some repose. *Parmenio* in the mean time and the troops under his command secured the enemy's tents, baggage, elephants and camels. Such was the end of this battle, which decided the fate of *Asia* °.

*The loss
sustained
in this
battle.*

ACCORDING to *Arrian*, the *Persians* lost here three hundred thousand men, and the field of battle, and much more than that number taken prisoners ^w ; but how this should be done by an army short of fifty thousand men, is not easy to be conceived, and therefore, not without reason, some corruption hath been suspected in the number. *Diodorus* is more moderate ; for he says there were only ninety thousand killed. Prisoners, to be sure, there were at least as many as *Alexander's* army knew what to do with. With respect to the loss of the *Macedonians*, *Arrian* puts it at one hundred horsemen and a thousand horses ; which is surely beyond all bounds of belief, if we consider how hardly this battle was fought, and that the *Persians* were once masters of the *Macedonian* camp. About midnight *Alexander* obliged his soldiers to continue the pursuit, in hopes of overtaking *Darius* ; but tho' he failed in this, yet at *Arbela* he took all the heavy baggage and all the rich equipage of that monarch. This great victory, as *Arrian* observes, was obtained within the space of time fixed by *Aristander*, which gave him great reputation * (O).

Alexander

^u *ARRIAN*. l. iii. c. 13, 14, 15. *DIODOR*. ubi supra. *CURT*. l. iv. c. 46, & seq. ^w *ARRIAN*. ubi supra. ^{*} *Idem* ibid.

(O) *Diodorus*, in his account of the battle of *Arbela*, (for so most historians call it, tho' it was fought near *Gaugamela*) differs in some circumstances from *Arrian* in the account he gives us of the order

Alexander receiving certain intelligence, that *Darius* was retired into *Media*, thought it at that time unnecessary, and indeed
Alexander enters Babylon.

order of battle; but if we consider, that *Arrian* wrote from the memoirs of eye-witnesses and persons of great quality, we cannot but suppose, that in these particulars he must have been well informed. In other respects it is fit that we should set down what *Diodorus* hath recorded. By him then we find that success which for a time attended the *Persian* troops, intirely ascribed to the conduct and valour of *Darius*. It unfortunately happened, that *Alexander*, attacking his guards, threw a dart at *Darius*, which, tho' it missed him, struck the charioteer who sat at his feet dead; and he tumbling forwards, some of the guards raised a loud cry, whence those behind them conjectured, that the king was slain, and thereupon fled without looking behind them, which created such a confusion, that *Darius* found himself obliged to follow their example. The dust raised by the flight of so vast a multitude, gave *Darius* room and leisure to retire to a place of safety; for he knowing well that the *Macedonians* could not perceive what rout he took, turned off immediately with the troops under his command, and, marching with convenient speed, took post in some villages that were directly behind the *Macedonian* army; from whence he safely departed, while *Alexander* by forced marches endeavoured to overtake him, on a vain presumption that he fled strait forwards. According to this author, the *Persians* lost ninety thousand, and the *Macedonians* five hundred, men; however, he owns, that a great number of the latter were wounded (36). *Plutarch*, *Diodorus*, and many other authors agree, that the evening before the battle, when *Alexander* had given the necessary directions, he went to bed, and slept so soundly, that *Parmenio* and the rest of the generals were forced to do many things in the morning, according to their own sentiments, because they did not care to awake him. At last *Parmenio* was constrained to go to his bed side, where he called him several times before he answered. At length he rose, and dressed himself with great serenity; while he was doing this, *Parmenio* could not help saying, *I wonder, Sir, considering you are to fight the most important of all your battles, that you could sleep as soundly as if you were already victorious. Why, so I am, my good friend,* returned the king, *since I shall no more be obliged to follow Darius hither and thither, through a country already destroyed by the length of the war.* (37). We have another instance in *Plutarch* of the wonderful coolness and penetration of this great prince. When *Parmenio* perceived that the *Macedonian* camp was in danger, he sent to recal the king from his pursuit. When *Alexander* heard the message, *Parmenio*, said he, *is certainly beside himself; if I am vic-*

(36) *Diodor. Sicul. l. xvii. Hist. l. xi. c. 13.*
 VOL. VIII

(37) *Plutarch. in Alex Justic.*
 R torious

deed impracticable, to follow him. He determined to march directly to *Babylon*, which accordingly he did. *Mazeus* commanded

torious over these enemies, we shall have their baggage and our own too ; whereas if I lose this advantage, we shall have nothing to fight for but our lives. But when *Parmenio* sent again to inform him, that himself and the troops under his command were in the utmost danger, the king came immediately to his relief ; but, says our author, suspicions began to arise, that either the vigour of *Parmenio* was diminished by his age, or that out of envy he sought to diminish his master's greatness (38). The truth seems to be, that *Parmenio* had too much concern for him. *Philip* of *Macedon* confessed him the only general he knew ; and we find nothing recorded of him in history, which doth not speak him a most consummate, tho' at the same time a very cautious, commander. If the wing under his command had been beaten, that corps of *Persians* would have been able to keep the field, and would have been quickly joined by most of those who fled before. Such a multitude, encouraged by a taste of success, would have quickly swallowed up the *Greeks*, and recovered all they had conquered. *Alexander*, who fancied himself the son of a god, had his head full of nothing but victory where ever he appeared ; but to *Parmenio*, who was a mere man, conduct seemed as necessary as courage, and the preservation of half the army essential to the whole. It is true, we are not, properly speaking, bound to enter into the characters of those whose history we write, yet sometimes it is necessary ; for what is history without truth ? Or to what end do we read, but to be acquainted with things as they were ? There were in the court of *Alexander* many who hated *Parmenio* and his family ; of these some wrote, and from the memoirs of these writers *Plutarch* had his informations : We do not therefore presume to blame him for transmitting what he read to posterity ; but we take the liberty of doing the same thing : And because *Arrian*, who copied *Aristobulus* and *Ptolemy*, says nothing of *Parmenio's* envy, we report the suggestion as doubtful, that a character which seems to have the fairest title to honour, may not, at this distance of time, be sullied by insinuations once thought too idle to deserve mention. *Aristander*, during the battle, rode by his master's side, covered with a white mantle, and with a crown of gold upon his head. He it was, who, in a great measure, contributed to fix the victory, by shewing the *Macedonians* an eagle hovering over the king's head. After the battle, the king sacrificed in a magnificent manner, and sent presents of the spoils to all the *Grecian* states (39). *Justin* says, that few battles had been so bloody as this ; that *Darius*, when he saw the battle was lost, endeavoured to throw himself into the thickest of the fight, that there he might be slain ; but, against his will, was

(38) *Plut. in Alex. ind.*

(39) *Iidem ibid.*

commanded there in chief, the same person who had been intrusted to defend the passages of the rivers *Euphrates* and *Tigris*. He acted here just as he had done there ; that is, at the sight of *Alexander's* army, he put the place into his hands ¹. The *Babylonians* were very glad of this revolution, and therefore, with great joy, came out to meet *Alexander*, with presents of great value. This joy of theirs proceeded from their excessive hatred of the *Persians*, as again that excessive hatred took birth from their principles of religion ; for the *Persians* being *deists* had pulled down all their temples, and in every other respect curbed that propensity to idolatry, which was so extravagantly warm in this nation. *Alexander*, on the other hand, answered all their expectations ; for he immediately commanded, that every one of their temples should be rebuilt, particularly the famous temple of *Belus*. He sent also for their priests, conversed with them, and left to their care the decree he had made in favour of their religion ². He offered sacrifices himself to *Belus*, left *Mazæus* in possession of the government ; but removed *Bagophanes*, who had put the citadel and the royal treasures into his hands, yet he entertained him in his court, and treated him with marks of confidence and esteem ³. As he was a prince of great learning, he enquired after the astronomical memoirs of the observations which were said to have been made in that city for a long tract of time, and caused the best account that could be got of them to be transmitted to his tutor *Aristotle* ; so desirous he was that the republic of letters should reap some advantage from his labours and victories ^b. On the whole, however, his stay at *Babylon* did him no good ; for he and

¹ ARRIAN. DIODOR. CURT. ubi supra.
² ARRIAN. l. iii. c. 16.
 Supplic. l. ii. de cælo.

³ DIODOR. ubi
^b PORPHYR. ap.

forced to fly by those who were about him. Being persuaded by these to break down the bridge on the river over which he passed, that it might prevent the enemy's passage, he answered, *I will never purchase safety to myself, at the expence of so many thousands of my subjects, as must by this means be lost ; or take from them that passage which has preserved me* (40). Indeed all authors agree, that *Darius* behaved very honourably in this action ; and we shall see hereafter, that he loved his subjects so well, as to be satisfied with dying by their hands, rather than to owe his safety to the fidelity of strangers.

(40) *Justin Hist. l. xi. c. 14.*

his officers began there first to taste of luxury, and to fall in love with that magnificence and delicacy which had enervated and destroyed the *Persians* ^c.

The conduct of
Antipater
in Greece.

IT is now time for us to turn our eyes a little towards *Greece*; for though the main hopes of the *Macedonians* followed their royal leader through the great continent of *Asia*, yet were they not asleep as to their interests in *Europe*, where several attempts were made to lessen their power. While *Memnon* lived, the *Persians* were not only lords of the sea in name, but in reality also. He retook many of the islands which had fallen under the power of *Alexander*; he sent ships of war to cruize on the coasts of *Macedonia*; and, if he had lived, he would have made a descent on *Eubæa*, where questionless he would have been joined by a great number of the *Greeks*. After his death, things were in a languishing condition till the battle of *Iffus*, when new efforts were made to stir up troubles in *Greece*. Those, however, were rendered abortive by *Antipater*, who kept such a fleet at sea and made such dispositions of his land-forces, as rendered it not safe for any of the *Greek* states to declare against his master ^d. However, when advice arrived of this last victory, these smothered dissensions broke out into an open flame. The *Greeks* in general began to be afraid that if they made no attempt before the *Persian* empire was absolutely destroyed, all they could do afterwards would be to no purpose. As soon therefore as they had news that *Memnon* governor of *Thrace* had rebelled, and that *Antipater* was making great preparations to march against him, they took arms, *Agis* king *Lacedæmon* being declared their general. *Antipater* being informed of this, immediately drew together an army, and, having composed matters in *Thrace*, marched into *Greece*. It was not long before the armies met; that of *Agis* consisted of twenty two thousand foot and two thousand horse; *Antipater* had about forty thousand men; for when he came with a well-disciplined army out of *Macedonia*, many of the *Greeks* joined him out of fear, who would otherwise have been neutrals, or have fought against him. The engagement that ensued was very obstinate and bloody; but at last *Agis* was killed, and the army he commanded routed, with the loss of five thousand three hundred men. *Antipater* himself lost three thousand five hundred; but it put an end to the war, for the *Greeks* seeing the fatal issue of this business, and that the *Athenians* sided with the

^c DIODOR. ubi supra.
PLUT. in vit. Demost.

^d ARRIAN. l. ii. DIODOR. ubi supra.

conqueror, they were constrained to forget their resentments, and to implore mercy^e. Such was the state of *Greece*.

AFTER thirty days stay at *Babylon*, *Alexander* continued his march to *Susa*, which had been already rendered into the hands of *Philoxenes*. Here the king received the treasures of *Darius*, amounting to fifty thousand talents, or upwards of nine millions sterling, as also curiosities and furniture of an immense value^f. It was delivered up to him by *Abulites*, to whose care *Darius* had committed it; yet it is said, that what the *Persian* did was by order of his master, who was in hopes, that while *Alexander* was employed in taking great cities and heaping up riches, he would not march so speedily as hitherto he had done, but afford him time to collect a fresh army^g. Among other things that were found in the treasury of *Susa*, were the brazen statues of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*, which *Xerxes* had carried away when he plundered *Athens*. These *Alexander* very carefully sent back, and having taken a view of the fair palace and other things of note at *Susa*, he began to think of quitting the province. *Abulites* he left in possession of his command as governor of *Susa*; but the care of the citadel he committed to *Mazæus*. The command of the forces he left for the defence of the province he gave to *Archelaus*. *Menetes* he constituted president of *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, and *Cilicia*, to whom, at his departure, he gave three thousand talents of silver, with orders to send over as much of it as should be necessary to *Antipater*, that he might the better preserve the peace of *Greece*, and carry on his designs there. About this time arrived the recruits under the command of *Amyntas*. They consisted of five hundred horse and six thousand foot, all *Macedonians*; six hundred *Thracian* horse, and three thousand five hundred *Trallian* foot; about a thousand horse and four thousand foot from *Peloponnesus*; in all about two thousand horse, and thirteen thousand five hundred foot. These he incorporated into his veteran army, without forming any new corps. He dealt also very kindly by them all, taking care to let them have pay in advance, procuring for them good quarters, and being present himself at the reviews, and as often as they were exercised^h (P).

AT

^e DIODOR. ubi supra.
ODOR. ubi supra.

^f ARRIAN. ubi supra.

^g DI-

^h CURT. l. v.

(P) Authors vary a little as to the money which *Alexander* seized at *Susa*. *Arrian* says it was fifty thousand talents (41), with him

(41) *Arrian*. l. iii. c. 16.

He reduces
the
Uxian

AT last he thought of prosecuting the war ; and so moving from *Susa* he passed the *Pasitigris*, and entered the country of the *Uxians*. Those who inhabited the plain country submitted without giving him any trouble ; but the mountaineers were foolish enough to send a deputation, to inform him they expected a sum of money by way of tribute for passing through their country, pretending, that the *Persian* monarchs

Curtius agrees (42). *Diodorus Siculus* says there were forty thousand talents in bullion, and nine thousand coined ; so that he comes within a thousand talents of the sum (43). *Plutarch* tells us there were but forty thousand talents ; yet his account rises higher than any other historian's, which seems not to have been well observed ; for these forty thousand talents, he says, were in coined gold, and distinguishes it from the rest of the treasure, of which he does not give us the particulars ; only he says, there was purple to the value of five thousand talents, which was fresh and lively, though it had been laid up a hundred and ninety years. He says too, on the authority of *Dion*, that vessels filled with water from the *Nile* and the *Danube*, were set in this treasury, as monuments of the mighty extent of the *Persian* empire (44). *Justin* says expressly there were but forty thousand talents ; which agrees well enough with *Diodorus*, whose steps he is observed to follow ; yet this author hath a very curious passage, which, for the sake of brevity probably, *Justin* omitted (45). *Alexander*, as he informs us, coming in person to take an account of these treasures, sat down on the royal throne, which, it seems, was so high, that his feet did not come near the foot-stool. One of his pages observing this, took up *Darius's* table, and placed it upon the foot-stool, for which *Alexander*, who now sat at ease, commended him ; but one of the eunuchs of the old court, fixing his eyes on the table, fell a weeping. Tell me friend, said, *Alexander*, what it is you see here that moves you to grieve so much ? O king, answered the eunuch, I was once *Darius's* servant, as I am now thine. As I loved and honoured my master while I served him ; so I cannot even now behold, without extreme disquiet, that table at which he sat, placed under thy feet. *Alexander*, moved at the blunt honesty of the man, commended him, and ordered it to be taken away. But *Philotas* interposed ; As this table, Sir, said he, was not placed here by your command, there is nothing of insolence in the use you have put it to. To me it appears to be a thing ordained by providence, to shew the mutability of empire. The king then ordered it to remain where it was (46). This *Philotas* was the son of *Parmenio* ; and we shall hear quickly of his being tortured and put to death, on a suspicion that he bore no good will to the glory of his master.

(42) *Curt. l. v. c. 2.*
Plut. in vit. Alex.
dor. Sicul. ubi supra.

(43) *Diodor. Sicul. l. xvii.*
(45) *Justin. l. xi. c. 15.*

(44) *Dio-*

had always paid it them. *Alexander* answered coldly, That they would do well to come to the passage to receive itⁱ. As soon as they were gone, he dispatched *Craterus* to seize the tops of the mountains, while he, in the mean time, with a body of horse and light-armed troops, entered the country by night, through private and troublesome roads; so that he was in the midst of the *Uxian* villages before the inhabitants knew any thing of the matter. These he plundered and burnt, and continuing his march seized the pass, whither numbers of people were crowded, in hopes of receiving the money. They pretended at first to make some defence; but before they could form themselves into any order, *Craterus* with his soldiers appeared over their heads, and began to push them in clusters over the precipices. They then fell into confusion, and fled into holes and caverns; however, *Sisygambis* interposing and sending to intreat *Alexander* to pardon them, he readily acquiesced on the following terms, viz. that they provided for the army a hundred horses of war, five hundred baggage horses, and thirty thousand head of cattle^k.

As we have mentioned the mother of *Darius*, we will Alexander take this opportunity of speaking of *Alexander's* conduct towards her, and of her behaviour towards him. From the time she was taken at the battle of *Iffus*, *Alexander* afforded her not only the title, but the obedience due to a mother, left the children of *Darius* under her care, and omitted nothing which might contribute to lessen, or even to obliterate, her misfortunes. In the late engagement it is said, that when the *Persian* horse broke into *Alexander's* camp, they came to the tent where she was, and would have persuaded her to make her escape; but she constantly refused, saying, That she would not quit *Alexander* with his fortune^l. The king, when he purposed to pursue the war, left her at *Susa*, having assigned her and her grand-children a tutor, that he might have the pleasure of conversing with them without an interpreter; and hence it was that she sent to intreat him to pity and spare the *Uxians*, who, through rashness and folly, had incurred his displeasure. And we have seen what deference *Alexander* paid to her mediation^m (Q).

AFTER

ⁱ ARRIAN I. iii. c. 17.

DIODOR. ubi supra.

^k AR.

RIAN. ubi supra.

^l DIODOR. ubi supra:^m ARRIAN.

ubi supra.

(Q) There is nothing in the life of *Alexander* which hath afforded the rhetoricians, who have made their actions his theme, so happy

*He forces a
passage to
Persepo-
lis, and
destroys it.*

AFTER chastising the *Uxians*, *Alexander* ordered *Parmenio* to march with the *Theſſalian* horſe, the royal brigade, the mercenary foot, with the carriages and baggage, through the ordinary open road againſt the enemy. In the mean time, he with the *Macedonian* foot, and the light-armed troops, and a body of horſe and archers, marched over the mountains to

happy an opportunity of exerting their genii, as his tendereſs to the family of *Darius*. *Plutarch* and *Curtius* are particularly fond of theſe paſſages, and have taken all poſſible care to ſet them out to the beſt advantage. The laſt mentioned author hath inſerted in his work a very extraordinary relation of an interview between *Alexander* and *Sifygambis* at *Suſa*. We were afraid of ſwelling the text too much, otherwiſe it had been inſerted there; yet conſidering the manner in which it is told, perhaps it will appear with greater propriety in a note, by way of appendix. *Alexander* having received from *Macedon* ſeveral pieces of purple and other rich veſtures, he ordered them to be ſent to *Sifygambis*, together with the perſons who had wrought them, with a compliment, as he intended it, that if the fabricature of theſe garments pleaſed her, ſhe might let her grand-children be taught how to make them for their diverſion; but working in wool being then held in *Perſia* a very mean and diſhonourable thing, *Sifygambis* ſhed tears when ſhe heard the meſſage. The perſon who carried it returned therefore in haſte to *Alexander*, and acquainted him, that *Sifygambis* was much diſpleaſed; whereupon the king went inſtantly unto her apartment, in order to conſole her, and to remove any miſconſtruction ſhe might have put on his meſſage. “ Dear mother, ſaid he, the robe, in which you ſee me
“ arrayed, was not only preſented me by my ſiſters, but is alſo the
“ work of their hands; be convinced, madam, from thence, that
“ I meant not to offend you, but as I was led into an error through
“ the cuſtom of my country, impute what is amiſs to my ignorance,
“ and not to any fault in my will. Hitherto I have made it my
“ ſtudy never to tranſgreſs any of your cuſtoms. As ſoon as I was
“ informed, that it was held diſreſpectful in *Perſia* for a ſon to ſit
“ beforee his mother, till licensed ſo to do by her, I made it a rule
“ with me never to ſit before you, till I received your commands.
“ As often as you have offered to proſtrate yourſelf before me,
“ I have taken care to prevent it; and as the laſt and higheſt token
“ of my eſteem, have always ſtiled you mother, a title, ſtrictly
“ ſpeaking, belonging only to *Olympias* (47) ”. *Curtius* concludes his chapter here without telling us more than that *Sifygambis* was ſatiſfied. In all probability, ſhe could not but be well pleaſed at an explanation which took from her all apprehenſions of *Alexander*’s prejudice towards her family; but that this is the very ſpeech which *Alexander* made to her, will perhaps not eaſily be credited on account of its rhetorical quaintneſs.

(46) *Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra.*(47) *Curt. lib. v. c. 9.*

the *Persian* streights. These he found effectually fortified with a strong wall, flanked with towers, and *Ariobarzanes*, with an army of forty thousand foot and seven thousand horse, posted behind to dispute his passage. The king trusting to his usual fortune, immediately stormed the wall; but after a long and bloody conflict, in which he lost abundance of men, he was forced to sound a retreat, having been able to effect nothing ^a. He then began to inquire for some other way, and having met with a man who had been formerly a prisoner, his father a *Lycian*, his mother a *Persian*, so that he spoke both tongues; this man told him, that having long kept sheep on these mountains, he could lead him to another pass, but that in truth it was difficult enough too. *Alexander* thereupon left *Craterus* in his camp, with orders, that as soon as he perceived that himself had passed the other streights, and was about to attack the *Persian* camp, he should scale the wall ^o. Then following his *Lycian* guide, he marched that night an hundred furlongs, and by an intricate road arrived at last at the streights; and though he met with a river in his way, yet he passed it, and advanced so speedily, that by day-break he surprized the first guards, whom he cut all to pieces, as he did most of those in the second post, whereby *Ariobarzanes* received no intelligence of his passage, till *Alexander* attacked him in his camp. *Craterus*, as soon as he heard the trumpet sound, attacked the wall; this so distracted the *Persians*, that they would have fled, but it was impossible. *Ptolemy* seized the wall with three thousand foot. *Alexander* charged them before, *Craterus* behind, when they fled to the wall, *Ptolemy* drove them back. Thus distressed, they knew not what to do, and the far greater part of them were put to the sword. *Ariobarzanes* himself with a few horse escaped into the mountains. *Alexander* then returning in haste to the river, strengthened the slight bridge he had thrown over it, and passed over all his army; then by long marches he sought to reach the capital of *Persia*; at *Pasargadae* he seized the treasures of *Cyrus*, and appointed *Phraortes* governor of *Persia*. *Diodorus* and other historians tell us, that when he was near *Persepolis*, he met eight hundred *Grecians*, all of whom had their bodies grievously mangled, and that they with one voice cried out on the barbarous treatment they had met with from the *Persians*, among whom they were prisoners. In compassion to which miserable tale, the king generously relieved them, promised to send them safe back to *Greece*,

^a *ARRIAN.* lib. iii. c. 18.^o *DIODOR.* ubi supra. *PLUT.* invit. *Alex.*

and vowed destruction against *Persepolis* ^p *Arrian* and *Plutarch* have not a word of this tale ; without doubt they had heard it, and their not inserting it seems to carry in it a strong indication of its being fabulous. In all probability, it was calculated, like another story we shall mention presently, to excuse a fact that never can be excused. However it was, the king came at last to *Persepolis*, and meeting with no opposition, he made war on the royal palace, and under colour of revenging what *Xerxes* had done at *Athens*, most barbarously destroyed the most magnificent pile, this, or perhaps any other, part of the world could boast. *Parmenio*, the friend of *Philip*, a man always of moderate counsels, interposed in vain. In vain he represented to *Alexander*, that the destruction of this most noble palace would make him appear a barbarian to the *Asiatics*, and put them in doubt whether he intended to keep *Asia*, or only to plunder it ; that besides it was no revenge upon the *Persians* to raze what was no longer theirs, but his ^q. The king was positive, as indeed he generally was ; the city of *Persepolis* was given up to the plunder of the soldiers, and then the palace set on fire and destroyed. *Diodorus* tells us, that *Alexander* having assembled his troops, made them a long speech, wherein he set forth the reasons, such as they were, of his proceeding in this cruel manner ; he charged this city with having caused innumerable mischiefs to *Greece*, with implacable hatred towards her, and with growing rich by her spoils, and to avenge all those injuries, he gave it up to them, to do with it, the inhabitants, and their estates whatever they thought fit. Upon this the *Macedonians* rushed into the place, and put to the sword, without mercy, all they could lay hands on, plundering and tearing away all the wealth, jewels, rich furniture, and gorgeous vestments, with which the houses were full ; and though they every-where loaded themselves with silver, gold, and purple, their thirst of spoil did but so much the more increase, every one thinking himself had too little, and others had too much, so that quarrels ensuing, many had their hands cut off, as they endeavoured to snatch and tear away prizes, and others were killed. Women of all ages and conditions they seized for the sake of their cloaths and ornaments ; such as their beauty made desirable, they ravished, stripping all alike they sold them for slaves ; so that in the same proportion, whereby *Persepolis* excelled all other cities before the *Macedonians* approached it, she was by them depressed in misery and calamity below

^p DIODOR. ubi supra. CURT. lib. v. c. 5.
iii. c. 18.

^q ARRIAN. lib.

the most wretched village on the earth^r. In the palace, *Alexander* seized to his own use a hundred and twenty thousand talents, which he immediately ordered to be transported on mules and camels, for he had such an extreme aversion to the inhabitants of *Persepolis*, that is, even to the miserable remains of them, that he would leave nothing valuable with them, nor trust any thing near them. Many authors tell us, that the palace of *Persepolis* was not destroyed through any design but from an accident; that *Alexander* having made a great entertainment therein, whereat himself, his friends, and their mistresses were present, one *Thais* an *Athenian* courtesan, who lived with *Ptolemy* the son of *Lagus*, when they were well heated with wine, said, It would be a glorious thing to sacrifice to the honour of *Greece* this proud palace, the habitation of its implacable enemies; this being approved by the company, they cried out, Come on, bring us fire-brands; and the king, taking upon him to lead them, they with songs, pipes, and flutes, marched to execute this glorious proposal; *Thais* acting as lieutenant-general, and throwing the next fire-brand to the king^f. The reflection of *Diodorus* on this story is very singular. It was, says he, very observable, and a thing deserving admiration, to see the sacrilege and impiety of *Xerxes* king of *Persia*, in his outrages committed in the citadel of *Athens*, so signally revenged so many years afterwards through the advice of a courtesan of the same city^r. As there is not a word of *Thais*, or this drunken entertainment, in *Arrian*, there are just grounds to suspect that the whole story is a forgery, the intent of which is explained to us by this remark: The destruction of *Persepolis* had in it a barbarity unbecoming a *Greek*, and most unworthy of *Alexander*. To resolve therefore that destruction into a judgment from the deity, and to make the execution thereof the sudden effect of some irresistible inspiration, is certainly a good way of taking off the load from *Alexander*; but where then is it to be laid? Why, upon heaven! a practice no sober historian will ever countenance, or presume to favour a prince at the expence of providence.

DURING the time that *Alexander* continued at *Persepolis*, *Alexander* he received advice, that *Darius* remained still at *Ecbatana* in *Media*. He determined to march after him, which he did *folloꝝ* *Darius*. in a most precipitate manner, for in twelve days he reached *Media*, moving near forty miles a day; in three days more

^r DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xvii. ^f PLUT. in vita Alex. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. CURT. lib. v. ^r DIODOR. ubi supra.

he reached *Ecbatana*, where he was thoroughly informed of *Darius's* condition, that he had not with him above three thousand horse and six thousand foot, and that with these he had retired five days before, with an intent to pass into the remotest provinces of his empire. This put some stop to his rapid progress, and, perceiving that there was no necessity for thus hurrying himself and his soldiers, he began to give such orders as were necessary in the present situation of his affairs^u. The *Thessalian* horse, who had deserved so well of him in all his battles, he dismissed according to his agreement, gave them their whole pay, and ordered two thousand talents over and above to be distributed among them. He then declared, that he would force no man, but if any of them were willing to serve him longer for pay, he desired that they would enter their names in a book, which a great many of them did; the rest sold their horses, and prepared for their departure. The king named *Epocillus* to conduct them to the sea, and assigned him a body of horse as an escort; he likewise sent *Menetes* with them to take care of their embarkement, and that they were safely landed in *Eubœa* without any expence to themselves. *Parmenio* he directed to see all the several sums of money, which had been collected throughout *Persia*, delivered to his treasurer *Harpalus* at the castle of *Ecbatana*, to whom he assigned a guard of six thousand *Macedonian* foot, and a considerable corps of horse. This *Harpalus* was one of *Alexander's* principal favourites, and as he was a monarch remarkably steady in his affections, so this man had experienced his clemency as well as his kindness; for having, after the battle of *Granicus*, been appointed treasurer, he had by degrees got large sums into his hands, and being terrified by some artful people with stories of the king's rigid temper, he fled, and carried away great sums with him. *Alexander*, inquiring thoroughly into the matter, entertained a favourable opinion of the man, notwithstanding all this, and therefore sent to invite him back again, assuring him, that he would forget all that was past, which he not only performed, but restored him to his favour and former post. The reason of all this was, that *Harpalus* had been his friend and confident in his father's time, and at that time too, when to be well with *Alexander* was no way to be well with *Philip*; he had even been banished on his account, and durst not return to the court of *Macedon*, till *Alexander* had assumed the

^u ARRIAN. lib. iii. c. 19. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. PLUT. in vita Alex. CURT. lib. v.

crown^w. Hence the gratitude of this prince appears, who, in the midst of victories, and after conquering so many provinces, could remember and reward those who sided with him, when he was but the second person in the little kingdom of *Macedon*.

ABOUT this time the king received advice from *Greece*, *The affairs of Greece, and of the royal family of Macedon.* that all troubles there were happily ended through the extraordinary care and conduct of *Antipater*, who had reduced the *Lacedæmonians* so low, that they were constrained to accept any terms of peace which he was pleased to afford them; and, on the other hand, *Antipater*, to do his master honour, would come to no agreement, but on condition that they sent deputies into *Asia* to beg pardon of *Alexander*, and to implore his favour^x. These services gave him a great interest in the heart of his prince, who as yet had not learned to distrust his servants, or to conceive jealousies of those, who, by their important services, had shewn the extensiveness of their capacities. He sent therefore instructions to that minister to keep always a guard about his person, made him such remittances as were sufficient to pay his army regularly, and to support the expence necessary for preserving the tranquillity of *Greece*; he likewise sent immense sums to his mother and relations, as also most magnificent presents to his old friends and acquaintance. This bountiful temper of his *Olympias* looked on as extravagance, and on this topic she wrote him long and frequent letters, telling him, that though it was fit he should give, and give like a king, yet that some bounds should be set even to royal munificence. That his rewards did not render men grateful, but rather made them independent: That his favourites were so rich, they were continually studying how to engage new dependants, so that while they were obliging all men to their service, he was like to have few servants left^y. The king read these letters, and, knowing the temper of his mother, laid them by carefully, without ever speaking of their contents; only one day it happened, that he opened an epistle from *Olympias*, when *Hephestion* sat behind him. *Alexander* perceived that he read over his shoulder, yet he forbade him not; but when himself had read the letter out, he took his signet off his finger, and clapped it on his favourite's mouth. But the great ground of expostulation between *Olympias* and her son was the king's steady refusal to permit her to have any hand in the regency. But he knew her too well, and was afraid to suffer

^w ARRIAN. ubi supra. PLUT. in vita Alex. & in vita Demosth.

^x DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. ^y PLUT. in vita Alex.

a woman of her intriguing spirit to intermeddle with the government. On the other hand, *Antipater* wrote often in the same stile, lamenting his condition, as being continually exposed to the artifices and malice of *Olympias*. When *Alexander* one day had read a very prolix letter of this nature, and which was written with more than ordinary spirit, he could not help saying; *I wonder Antipater does not know, that one tear of a mother can blot out a thousand of these letters*². Thus in the midst of all the favours of fortune, while he was seizing crowns in *Asia*, and had them sent after him from *Europe*, *Alexander* found his head little the easier, and himself as uneasy in his private family, as any man within the bounds of the numberless provinces he had subdued. It may be, these cares contributed to make him more ready to enter on new expeditions, in hopes of burying private disquiet in public disorder, and make the loud tumult of war drown those smaller and harsher noises which forbade him rest.

*The death
of Darius.*

ON new informations, as to the posture of *Darius's* affairs, the king with a body of horse and light-armed troops set out once more on the pursuit, marching as far as *Rhages*, a city one day's journey from the *Caspian* streights; there he understood that *Darius* had passed those streights some time before, which information leaving him again without hopes, he halted for five days. *Oxidates*, a *Persian* whom *Darius* had left prisoner at *Susa*, was appointed governor of *Media*, as the king departed on his *Parthian* expedition. The *Caspian* streights he passed immediately without opposition, and then gave directions for collecting provisions sufficient to serve his army on a long march through a wasted country. But before his officers could accomplish his commands, *Bagistanes* the *Babylonian*, and *Antibelus* the son of *Mazeus* came from *Darius* to acquaint him, that *Bessus* governor of *Bactria*, *Barzaentes*, president of *Arachosia*, and *Naharzanes* a general of horse, had conspired against and made that prince prisoner³. *Alexander*, as soon as he heard this, marched with his horse and a few chosen foot without intermission, except a few hours at noon, so that the next morning he entered the camp, from whence these noblemen came; there he was farther assured, that *Darius* was bound in his chariot, that *Bessus* had assumed the imperial title, and that all the army had submitted to him, except *Artabazus*, and his sons, and the *Greek* mercenaries, who, not being able to hinder what had past,

² Id. *ibid.*

³ *ARRIAN. lib. iii. c. 21. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Alex.*

left the great road and retired into the mountains. He also received advice, that those who had the king in custody had determined, if *Alexander* continued his pursuit, to deliver him up, and consult their own safety; but if he left it off, they would raise as great an army as they could, and share the empire among them. That *Bessus* was declared general of the army at present, as well because of the great necessity there was for him about *Darius's* person, as because he was taken prisoner in his province. *Alexander* hearing this resolved to continue his march with all possible speed; and though his men as well as their horses were harassed with incessant labour, he nevertheless proceeded, and travelling hard all that night and till noon the next day, arrived at a certain village, where they who led *Darius* about had pitched their tents the day before; and being there farther assured, that they designed to march by night, he inquired of the inhabitants, if they knew any higher road than that by which they fled, that he might the sooner overtake them? they told him they did; but that it led through a country desert, and destitute of water. He notwithstanding ordered them to be his guides, and when he understood that the foot could not possibly keep pace with the horse in so hasty a march, he commanded about five hundred horse-men to alight, and the captains of foot, and others of their best men, such as were heavy armed, to mount their horses. He also ordered *Nicanor* captain of the targeteers, and *Attalus* commander of the *Agrians*, to march with those who were light-armed along the great road, which *Bessus* and his companions had taken. The rest of the foot were left to follow in order. He set forwards at the close of the evening, and proceeded with the utmost vigour; and having marched four hundred furlongs that night, early the next morning came up with the *Barbarians*, who were flying all in disorder and unarmed. A few of them drew up in ranks, as if they had designed to defend themselves; but the greatest part at the first sight of *Alexander* turned their backs without striking one blow; and when a few of those who betook themselves to their arms were cut off and fled, *Bessus* and his companions still carried *Darius* about in a chariot; but perceiving *Alexander* at hand, *Satibarzanes* and *Barzaentes*, after having given him several grievous wounds, there left him, and with a party of six hundred horse halted away; soon after which *Darius*, before *Alexander* had yet seen him, died of his wounds ^b.

^b ARRIAN. ubi supra.

This is the account of *Arrian*. But *Plutarch* relates it somewhat differently; he informs us, that the king had not with him above threescore horse when he came up with the *Barbarians*; that they trampled over heaps of rich booty, and even large quantities of silver and gold, without offering to alight, that they might if possible come up with the foremost of the party who were about the chariot of *Darius*; which at last they did, one *Polystratus* being the first that perceived him; he making up to the chariot, saw the unfortunate king stretched at his full length, mortally wounded and gasping for breath. However, he earnestly desired some drink. The *Macedonian* presenting him with a cup of water, *Darius* tasted a little of it, and then said, *That to receive such a benefit, and not have it in his power to make any return, was the last and severest stroke of his ill fortune*; however, continued he, *Alexander, whose kindness to my mother, wife, and children may God recompense, will doubtless gratify thee for thy humanity towards me*: When therefore thou shalt give him an account of this event, tell him that I gave him my right hand in testimony of my sense of his kindness: Saying this he gave his hand to *Polystratus*, and breathed his last. *Alexander* when he saw the dead body, covered it with his own cloak, and ordered it to be sent to *Sisygambis*, that it might be interred in the royal sepulchre of the *Persian* kings.

Hyrkania
reduced by
Alexander.

As soon as *Alexander* had collected his forces together, and had settled the government of *Parthia*, he entered *Hyrkania*, and having, according to his wonted custom, committed the gross of his army with the baggage and carriages to the care of *Craterus*, he at the head of a choice corps of horse and foot passed through certain craggy roads, while the army took an open and easy passage, and before their arrival struck all the province with such terror, that all the principal places were put into his hands. *Nabarzanes*, who was one of the conspirators against *Darius*, surrendered himself here, so did *Phradaphernes*, governor of *Hyrkania* and *Parthia*. *Artabazus* and his sons arrived shortly after, and were all graciously received; *Alexander* testifying a high respect for them on account of their fidelity to *Darius*. Then the *Greek* mercenaries, who had fled into the mountains, sent deputies to desire that he would pardon what was past, and admit them to his service; but the king would not hear of any treaty, because, as he said, they were infamous persons, who had taken up arms against their coun-

c PLUT. in vit. Alex.

†

try,

try, and had obstinately persisted in their rebellion ; yet, in consideration of their behaviour towards their late master, he consented to receive them as prisoners at discretion ; to which terms they at last submitted, beseeching the king to send somebody to conduct them to his camp. The king thereupon sent *Andronicus* and *Artabazus* for that purpose, and on their arrival treated them with great lenity, receiving them not long after into his service ^d.

THAT burning desire which *Alexander* had to become *The Mardi* the lord and master of every nation, of whom he had the *reduced*. least intelligence, induced him to enter the country of the *Mardi*, merely because its rocks and barrenness had hindered any body hitherto from making a conquest of it, or even from attempting it ; however, he succeeded very happily by dint of a stratagem ; for giving the necessary directions for the march of his forces, he suddenly turned back with a body of light-armed troops and chosen horse, with which he acted so vigorously, that the *Mardi*, astonished at an expedition they so little expected, fled to inaccessible rocks and caverns, a few only pretending to take up arms, and they to very little purpose ; for where-ever they appeared in the plains, the king drove them with his horse ; and when-ever he discerned them encamped on the tops of mountains, he ordered all the passages to them to be so well guarded, that the *Barbarians*, finding it impossible to subsist, were constrained to surrender. While he was thus employed, it happened, that a party of the *Mardi* seized and carried off his favourite horse *Bucephalus*. No accident could possibly have disturbed the king more than this, for he had an extravagant love for this creature, on account of its singular properties and the long service it had done him. He therefore began to hew down all the trees in the neighbourhood of his camp, and to burn whatever huts and houses could be found, causing proclamation to be made in the language of the country, whereby he signified, that if his horse was not restored without injury, he would burn and destroy all things that were capable of feeling the effects of his indignation ; which so terrified the *Mardi*, that they sent back *Bucephalus* immediately, accompanied with a deputation laden with presents, and vested with full authority to submit the whole nation to the king's pleasure ^e. *Alexander* then appointed *Antiphradates*, president of the *Tapuri*, to be governor also of this country, and, well satisfied with this conquest, returned

^d ARRIAN. lib. iii. c. 23. ^e DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xvii. PLUT. in vit. Alex. CURT. lib. vi. c. 5.

to the main body of his army, where many things required his care, and where the soldiers impatiently expected his return, in hopes of having some bounds set to their labours, and the end of the war talked of at least with some degree of certainty ^f.

Satibarzanes submits, but afterwards revolts, and is defeated.

Alexander at his arrival found not only the *Grecian* mercenaries brought safe to his camp by *Andronicus*, but also four *Lacedæmonian* ambassadors, with *Diopithes* the *Athenian* ambassador, and many others, cloathed with the like character, who, till he was made a prisoner, had attended on *Darius*; the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians* he ordered to be kept in safe custody; as for the ministers of such states as had been subject to the *Persians*, these he dismissed, for he thought it but just that while any state owned a dependence to another, it should send ministers to recognize that dependence, and to receive instructions from the sovereign. As to the *Greek* mercenaries, he distinguished them thus; such as had been in the service of the *Persian* before the *Greeks* entered into the general alliance for carrying on the war, he set at liberty, and left them free to act as they thought fit; but for such as had entered into the *Persian* service afterwards, and had knowingly and avowedly fought against their country, these he ordered to be enlisted and enrolled among his own troops, allowing them, however, the same pay which they had heretofore received from *Darius*, appointing at the same time *Andronicus*, who had negotiated their surrender, to be commander in chief of that body which he had taken into his pay ^g. After this he marched to *Zeudracarta*, the capital of *Hyrcania*, where for fifteen days he celebrated solemn games, and sacrificed with great magnificence to the gods of *Greece*; afterwards he entered *Aria*, and coming to the chief city thereof, *Satibarzanes*, the governor thereof, came and submitted to him; upon which *Alexander* continued him in his government, and assigned him a guard of *Macedonian* archers on horseback commanded by *Anaxippus*. Here he received advice, that the traitor *Bessus* had caused himself to be proclaimed king of *Asia* by the name of *Artaxerxes*; this exceedingly provoked the king, who instantly prepared to march after him into *Bactria*, in order to call him to a severe account, for his former treachery and for this new act of insolence. He was scarce, however, out of the province of *Aria* before advice came to him, that *Satibarzanes*, immediately on his departure, had massacred *Anaxippus* and all the *Mace-*

^f ARRIAN. lib. iii. c. 24.

^g Idem ibid. CURT. lib.

donians, and having assembled a great body of forces in the neighbourhood of the chief city, which was called *Aritoana*, was about to declare either for himself or for *Bessus*, according as he should be encouraged by the success of his enterprise; but *Alexander* was not a prince of a temper capable of allowing time for the ripening of such designs; for, as soon as he was told this, he marched instantly with a body of horse and light-armed troops, and, travelling seventy miles in two days, arrived in the neighbourhood of *Aritoana* before *Satibarzanes* had the least intelligence of his march. Then it was this *Persian* discovered how unfit he himself was for the management of such an undertaking; for though he had with him a very considerable body of forces, yet, instead of attacking *Alexander* and his troops, fatigued with such an excessive march, or of intrenching himself in order to defend the army under his command, he instantly quitted the field with a body of horse, and fled with all the expedition he was able to *Bessus*, who willingly received him ^h. *Curtius* tells us, that thirteen thousand *Arians* retiring to a high rock, which was absolutely inaccessible, refused to treat with *Alexander*, in hopes that, seeing it impossible to come at them, he would, when he quitted the country, leave them as he found them. The king, however, took quite a contrary course; for, while he with his horse pursued *Satibarzanes*, *Craterus* with the foot surrounded the bottom of the rock, and held the *Arians* in a manner prisoners till *Alexander's* return. As soon as the king came into the camp, he ordered wood of all sorts to be cut, and having laid a foundation of large billets, reared up a vast pile, till it was even with the rock; the same thing being done on the opposite side, and at each corner, according as the wind served, they set these piles on fire, and the flames being driven violently upon the rock, the people were compelled to throw themselves from thence, some half burnt, others naked; some few who cried out for mercy were saved. Throughout the whole province, *Alexander* made it his business to search out the chiefs and the accomplices in the rebellion, all of whom he either put to death, or sold for slaves; then he appointed *Arfames* the son of *Artabanus* governor of *Aria*, thence marched with his army against the *Zarangæ*, who, under the command of *Barzaentes*, one of those who had conspired against *Darius*, were up in arms, and threatened to make an

^h ARRIAN lib iii c. 25. DIODOR. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Alex.

obstinate defence ; but their hearts failed them when *Alexander* drew near, insomuch that numbers daily falling off, *Barzaentes*, being afraid they would purchase their own safety at the expence of his, privately withdrew from his camp, and crossing the river *Indus*, sought shelter among the nations beyond it ; but they, either dreading the power of *Alexander*, or detesting the treachery of this *Persian* towards his former master, seized and delivered him up ; whereupon *Alexander* immediately ordered him to be put to death, as well for the sake of his own safety, as that he might seem to revenge that perfidy which had been used towards his unfortunate predecessor¹. But it is now time to quit for a short space the story of foreign wars, in order to turn our eyes on the dissensions, factions, and conspiracies, which began to deform that victorious army, wherewith in so short a time the greater part of *Asia* had been over-run.

*Dissensions
in the Ma-
cedonian
army, their
causes and
effects.*

THE first and indeed the grand source of those troubles which embittered *Alexander's* victories was, the immense treasure acquired by them, and the beneficent temper of *Alexander* himself. For, while with a lavish hand he bestowed all things on all who were near him, many made a wrong use of his bounty, and foolishly indulged those vices by the practice of which the former possessors of that wealth, which was now theirs, had lost it. Among other instances of *Alexander's* favourites, *Plutarch* informs us, that *Agnon* the *Teian* wore silver nails in his shoes ; that *Leonatus* employed several camels in transporting powder from *Egypt*, which he used when he wrestled. *Hephestion* wore very rich garments, and affected in every thing the *Persian* manner of living ; but above all *Philotas* is said to have been nice in his dress, his table, his equipage, and most munificent to his friends ; one of whom asking him to lend him a sum of money, he instantly ordered it to be given him by his steward ; but the steward affirming there was no money in his coffers, *Philotas* replied warmly, *Have you not then plate and cloaths of mine, turn them into money rather than let my friend want*^k. *Alexander* himself began to be very sensible of the mischiefs that would be produced by the introduction of luxury among his people ; he therefore sought to extinguish it by discouraging the most eminent of his courtiers, whom he saw giving into this way of living ; he told them, that he was surprized that they, who had experienced that solid satis-

¹ CURT. lib. vi. c. 25. ARRIAN. ubi supra.
Alex. & in Orat. de Fortuna Alex

^k PLUT. in vit.

faction which results from an industrious and laborious course of life, should sink into that supineness and indolence which had destroyed the *Persians*, and which without question would enervate and enfeeble themselves; he told them, that to possess wealth and use it was great and noble; but to make it the instrument of riot and luxury was base and effeminate; he expostulated with them on the impropriety of such a conduct in men who were still soldiers; he asked them, how it could be expected that a man should keep his arms bright, and exercise them with activity, who would not so much as employ his own hands in doing things necessary about his own body, but would rather call in the aid of a servant, as if by gaining riches he had lost the use of his limbs. By his own behaviour also, he to the utmost discouraged this sort of lazy and inactive pride; for when at any time he relaxed a little from the toils of war, he diverted himself with hunting, in which he could endure not only all the rigour of the season, but would also fast sometimes throughout the whole day. Once when he was engaged in this exercise, a lion of a prodigious size attacked him: the king defended himself with great courage, and at last, though with much ado, he slew the beast, upon which the *Lacedæmonian* ambassador made him a well-turned compliment: *You have, Sir, said he, vindicated your title to royalty, even against the lion.* Craterus was so much pleased with this adventure, that he caused the whole of it to be expressed in figures of brass by the hands of *Lysippus* and *Leochares*, which noble piece he dedicated in the temple of *Apollo* at *Delphi*. Yet neither *Alexander's* discourses nor his actions prevailed; the manners of his courtiers proceeded from bad to worse, in spite of all he could say or do to prevent it; and at last they proceeded so far, as to censure his conduct, and to express themselves with some bitterness on the subject of his long continuance of the war, and his leading them constantly from one labour to another. All this at first drew no harsher language from *Alexander* than this: *That to do well and to be ill spoken of, was becoming the royal dignity.* But by degrees, as things went farther, he was obliged to alter his behaviour: For when the whole army was split into factions, and the soldiers were ever only inveighing against his administration, *Alexander* was under a necessity of reproving them, talking to them severely, and of taking other methods to oblige them to keep their speech within the bounds of decency, and their actions within the limits of their duty¹. *Curtius* tells us, that to eradicate this spirit of

¹ DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. PLUT. in loc. citat.

mutiny,

mutiny, and to restore the antient *Macedonian* discipline, he was forced to cause fire to be set to the spoils collected by the soldiers, and reduce them all to ashes^m, which, however, is very incredible ; and therefore we prefer *Plutarch's* account of this matter. He says, that when he led his army out of *Hyrkania*, he perceived in them an unwillingness to follow him, that is, he first perceived in them that sullen disrespectful humour which generally precedes mutiny. Upon this occasion he had not recourse either to harsh words or severe usage ; but having summoned the soldiers to an assembly ; he in a long and eloquent harangue gave them to understand. “ That hitherto the *Barbarians* had seen
 “ them no otherwise than as it were in a dream ; and if they
 “ should think of returning when they had only alarmed *A-*
 “ *sia*, and not conquered it, those *Barbarians* would set up-
 “ on them and destroy them like so many women. Howe-
 “ ver, he would detain none of them against their will, but
 “ give such as desired it free liberty to return ; but withal
 “ protested against those who should be so mean-spirited, as
 “ to desert him and his friends, and those who were willing
 “ to fight under him still in an enterprize so great and glori-
 “ ous, as it would be to make the *Macedonians* lords of the
 “ habitable world”. What the result of this exhortation was, the same author informs us from a letter written by *Alexander* to *Antipater*, wherein it is thus expressed : “ That
 “ when he had spoken to them after this manner, they una-
 “ nimously cried out, they were ready to go with him whi-
 “ thersoever he should be pleased to lead themⁿ”. From this time forward, however, *Alexander* began to alter his conduct, and, by giving himself a little into the customs of the orientals, endeavoured to secure that obedience from his new subjects, which he found it so difficult to preserve among his old ones ; he likewise endeavoured to blend the customs of the *Asiatics* and the *Greeks* by various methods. The form of his civil government resembled that of the antient *Persian* kings : In military affairs, however, he preserved the *Macedonian* discipline ; but then he made choice of thirty thousand boys out of the provinces, whom he caused to be instructed in the *Greek* tongue, and directed to be brought up in such a manner, as that from time to time he might with them fill up the phalanx. The *Macedonians* saw with great concern these extraordinary measures, which suited very indifferently with their gross understandings ; for they thought after all this fighting to be absolute lords of *Asia*, and to

CURT. lib. vi. c. 6.

ⁿ PLUT. in vit. Alex.

possess not only the riches of its inhabitants, but to rule over the inhabitants themselves. Whereas they saw plainly, that *Alexander* meant no such thing ; but that, on the contrary, he conferred governments, offices at court, and all other marks both of confidence and favour indiscriminately on *Persians* and *Greeks*. *Plutarch* has taken great pains to inculcate a notion of *Alexander's* doing this from a principle of exalted virtue, and from an earnest desire of uniting, as it were in marriage, the people of the two great continents, *Europe* and *Asia*. Of this he speaks every-where in raptures, as of the most sublime and glorious kind of philosophy, invented and practised by *Aristotle's* royal pupil, that he might spread peace, plenty, and politeness over the face of the whole earth ; with this single proviso, however, that the earth own no master but him. But it may be, that *Plutarch* thought more of this matter than *Alexander*, since, without having recourse to any such sublime principles, we can account for his conduct in as satisfactory a manner. Wealth and pleasure were the ends for which the gross of his army had undergone such excessive fatigues ; and now when those were in their power, they did not greatly care to fight any longer. Dominion and fame were what *Alexander* had in view, and finding that these could scarce be secured by an army already full of dissension, he began to turn his eyes on those whom he had subdued, and to expect from them as much as had been performed hitherto by his *Macedonians*, as if all men were capable of all things under his auspice^o.

WITH all these mighty designs in his head, a conspiracy was formed in his camp in order to take him off, before any of them could be carried into execution ; this conspiracy, like most others, was by those who were concerned in it, involved in such obscurity, that few were able to know what to make of it even at the time it broke out ; and authors have related its circumstances so variously, that it is very difficult to give a tolerable and consistent account of it from the lights they afford us. Our old guide *Arrian* was as much in the dark as the rest, and as we shall see hereafter, met with different relations under the hand of the same author. In so perplexed a business, we shall draw out as clear and distinct a detail of facts as we can, and, having furnished the best materials in our powers, shall leave our readers to decide for themselves. One *Dymnus* a *Macedonian*, of no great rank in the army, having determined in his mind to kill *Alexander*,

^o ARRIAN. lib. iii. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. CURT. lib. v. vi. JUSTIN. lib. xi. PLUT. in orat. de fortun. & virt. Alexand. communi-

communicated his design to one *Nicomachus*, a young man for whom he had a great love, earnestly inviting him to bear a part in the action; the lad, terrified at the very mention of it, revealed it to *Cebalinus* his brother, whom *Plutarch* calls *Balinus*; and he, eager to save his brother and himself, was resolved to make a discovery; but inasmuch as *Dymnus* had told *Nicomachus*, that those who were concerned in this plot would execute it in three days, *Cebalinus* went to court out of an apprehension, that if his brother was seen there, it might alarm the conspirators, and engage them to execute their purpose before proper measures could be taken to prevent it. When *Cebalinus* came to the royal quarters, the first person of distinction he met with was *Philotas*, to whom he disclosed this matter, and begged him to bring him to the king. This was easy for him to have done, because he was twice a-day admitted to the royal presence; however, he omitted it, though he had a very long conference with the king that very day. The next day *Cebalinus* solicited him again, when *Philotas* told him, that he had no opportunity of speaking of it to the king, but promised him that he would do it speedily; yet he omitted it throughout this day also; whereupon *Cebalinus*, growing impatient, and doubting with himself if this should come to the king's ear any other way, his own and his brother's life would be in danger, applied himself to one of the king's pages, and having intimated to him what the discovery was which he was desirous to make, received directions from him to hide himself in the armoury, together with a promise, that the king should be acquainted with it when he was in the bath; which was accordingly done. When *Alexander* had heard all the page knew, and was farther acquainted, that *Cebalinus* himself was in the armoury, he sent for him, and heard from his own mouth, not only all that *Nicomachus's* brother had told him, but also how *Philotas* had trifled with him, and had for two days together concealed this matter from his knowledge. The king, extremely offended, ordered *Dymnus* to be seized, and *Philotas* to be sent for to him. The former, as soon as he was apprehended, stabbed himself so desperately, that he died just as he was brought into the king's presence, or, as others say, was killed in his own tent by him who went to apprehend him, because he stood on his defence: However it was, he died without being examined, or making any confession, which gave the king great disquiet, who fancied, that if the

^P DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Alex.

man had been brought to him alive, he might one way or other have drawn from him the whole secret. As it was, he sent for *Philotas*, and taxed him with perfidy, for not informing him of *Cebalinus*'s discovery: *Philotas* excused himself, by affirming that the story seemed to him altogether improbable, and that he was unwilling to fill his head with needless fears and suspicions; as he said this, he threw himself at the king's feet and embraced his knees; and it is said the king gave him his hand in token of forgiveness. Indeed it is very probable, that *Alexander* thought himself bound to pass by such a neglect, in a person who had served him faithfully, whose father had done such important services to his father and himself, and who had lost two brothers in fighting his quarrels⁹. At supper *Philotas* was invited, and the king talked to him as familiarly as he was wont to do; but it seems he retired early, and went to bed. When he was gone, some who were about the king, *Curtius* mentions expressly *Craterus* for one, began to infuse it into *Alexander*'s head, that *Dymnus* could never be the prime author of so extraordinary an attempt, but must have been influenced thereto by persons of superior rank. That it looked very suspicious in *Philotas* never to disclose any thing of this matter, nor to take any measures for seizing the conspirators. That in things of less importance pity and tenderness might interfere; but that where the king's life lay at stake, and in him the fortune of *Macedon*, compassion was no virtue, but rather a kind of treason, it being the duty of every loyal subject to sacrifice all private considerations to the peace and safety of his prince. By such discourses they extorted, as it were, from the king an order to seize *Philotas*, and put him to the question. Which when they went to execute, they found him fast asleep; however, they awaked him, and put him in irons, at which he is said to have burst out into this exclamation; *O! my prince, the malice of my enemies hath overcome thy inclination to mercy*. When he was first put to the rack, he denied every thing; but at last, unable to bear the pain, he impeached many, and amongst the rest his father. In all likelihood, he said any thing that he thought would deliver him from his torments^r.

Curtius gives us a fuller, and we should say a better account of this matter, if we could at all rely on the harangues inserted in his writings; but these have evidently so rhetorical a turn, that it is difficult to conceive how they should

Philotas first tortured, then put to death.

⁹ CURT. lib. vi. Arrian. lib. iii. c. 25. ARRIANUS DIODOR. PLUT. ubi supra.

have proceeded from the mouths of persons so strongly agitated by their passions. It is, however, probable and consistent with the best historians, that *Philotas* was brought to an open trial according to the laws and customs of the *Macedonians*, wherein he was charged by the king with having a hand in *Dymnus's* conspiracy. Against this charge he made a long and laboured defence; he said, that his father and himself, with his brothers, *Nicanor* and *Hector*, who were now no more, had often hazarded their lives in the king's service, and had some share in the victories purchased by the valour of the *Macedonians*: That the conspiracy of *Dymnus* no ways reached him, his name having never been mentioned by any of the accomplices impeached by *Nicomachus*; he observed, that it was highly improbable, if he had any concern in the plot, that he should suffer *Cebalinus* to remain two days at court at full liberty to apply himself to others; he acknowledged his offence in not acquainting the king sooner with the discovery, and then addressing himself, as it were, to *Alexander*, whom he conceived to be within hearing, though he affected not to be present, he put him in mind that he had immediately implored his clemency, that he had given him his hand as a pledge of his pardon, and had invited him to his table; his own innocence and the king's assuring him of mercy had so quieted his mind, that, as he remarked, those who came to seize him had much ado to awake him; he therefore conjured the king not to abandon him to his enemies, nor to suffer them to triumph at once over an innocent man, and the word of a merciful prince. *Alexander*, however, pretended to leave all things to the assembly, and they, managed by the capital enemies of *Philotas*, adjudged him to the torture, and afterwards, upon the confession extorted from him by the pains he then endured, to death^c, which he suffered, as *Arrian* informs us, by being struck through with darts by the soldiers^c. *Curtius* says, that according to the manner of the *Macedonians* they stoned him^u. *Diodorus* tells us, that he was punished as a traitor according to the custom of his country^w. All agree that he was put to death, and that his execution was attended with many conjectures and suspicions, that he fell rather through the effects of private malice, than by the stroke of public justice.

The certainty of this plot does not

THOSE who have sought to excuse *Alexander* from the imputations which the death of *Philotas* and its consequences

^c CURT. lib. vi. c. 19—33.

^c ubi supra.

^u ubi supra.

^w ubi supra.

drew upon him, have suggested in their accounts many things, which, if they were true, would certainly prove that *Philotas* was an indiscreet and ambitious man at least, if not a traitor. They alledge, that he affected a pomp in his manner of living, a splendor in his equipage, a nicety at his table, a complaisance for his friends, a large and swelling retinue, and in fine many other things inconsistent with the moderation which ought to be observed by a subject. They say, that many years before he had discovered a contempt of the king, and a very high idea of his father's merit and his own ; that after the battle of *Iffus*, growing passionately enamoured of one *Antigona* of *Pydna*, a very handsome woman, who, as a prisoner fell to his share ; he said to her in his cups, *What was Philip, but Parmenio ? What is Alexander, but Philotas ?* Which, being talked of by the woman, came at last to *Craterus's* ear, who introduced *Antigona* to *Alexander*, to whom she told this and many other things, and received a strict charge from the king to continue a spy on *Philotas's* words and actions. It is likewise alledged, that *Parmenio* himself was not a little displeased with his conduct, and would often give him this caution, *My son appear less* ^y. But these tales carry their refutations in themselves ; if *Philotas's* behaviour had been so generally offensive, he would not surely have held his command, and with it the confidence of the king, till this business of *Dymnus*. If *Antigona* could bring herself not only to impeach a man who loved her, but to remain with him in order to extract his secrets, she must have been of a disposition unworthy of belief. Besides, *Craterus* was the capital enemy of *Philotas*, and her being brought by him to the king renders the whole business very suspicious : If *Parmenio's* caution to his son reflects at all upon his conduct, it certainly justifies the father, and yet we shall see he escaped no better than his son. On the whole, *Arrian* tells us from *Ptolemy*, that *Philotas* was once tried and acquitted ; but that upon some new discoveries he was a second time impeached and convicted ^z. However it was, after putting him to death, the king thought it not fit to let *Parmenio* survive him long ; he therefore dispatched letters by *Polydamas*, one of his friends, to *Cleander*, *Sitalces*, and *Menidas*, who commanded under *Parmenio* in *Agedia*, with orders to take him off, which accordingly they did ; and, if we may believe *Gartias*, in a very extraordinary

* *Plut.* in *Orat. de virtut. Alex.*

^y *Id.* in *vit. Alex.*

^z *Arrian.* ubi *supra.*

manner. He says that *Polydamas*, who undertook the management of this matter, was *Parmenio's* dearest and most intimate friend ; he carried with him not only a letter from the king to that general, but also another written in a hand like that of *Philotas*, and sealed with his seal. When he arrived in *Media*, and had communicated the king's orders to *Cleander* and his associates, they concerted all things together, and the next day presented *Parmenio* with his letters as he was walking in his park, where while he was commending the king, and looking on the letter which he supposed came from his son, *Cleander* stabbed him in the side, then in the throat, his companions afterwards shamefully mangling the dead body ; at last *Cleander* cut off the head and sent it to *Alexander*, the miserable remains being mournfully interred by the soldiers ^a.

Consequences of these proceedings.

THESE executions made way for more discoveries, or pretended discoveries. *Amyntas* the son *Andromenes*, *Attalus*, and *Simmias*, all brethren, were seized on account of their intimacy with *Philotas*, and because their fourth brother *Polemon* had fled to the enemy ; they were brought to an open trial, and *Amyntas* defended himself so well, that they were all acquitted ; after which *Amyntas* desired *Alexander's* leave to go and search for his brother, which was granted him, and he accordingly brought him back, which was thought a convincing proof that they were all innocent ; this is *Arrian's* account, *Curtius* carries the matter still farther ; he gives us the defence of *Amyntas* at large, and informs us, that while he was in the midst of it, *Polemon* was brought in prisoner by those who were sent in pursuit of him. When he came to speak, he told the assembly very frankly, that his intimacy with *Philotas* was the reason that he fled ; that he was so terrified with the thoughts of the tortures that unfortunate person had suffered, that he left the camp ; and that having lost his companions on the road, while he deliberated with himself whether he had best proceed or return back, he was taken. *Demetrius*, one of the king's guards, fell also into suspicion, and orders were dispatched into *Macedonia*, directing, that *Alexander Lyncestes*, who had been some years a prisoner, should be put to death ; his friendship with *Antigonus* had hitherto preserved his life, but now he was given up to slaughter ^b. These things disturbed the army very much, especially the *Macedonians*, who though they adored the royal virtues of *Alexander*, did not think themselves obliged to be

^a CURT. lib. vi. ARRIAN. ubi supra. ubi supra.

^b ARRIAN. CURT.

in love with his vices ; they therefore did not content themselves with speaking very freely, but wrote home to their friends their thoughts of the present state of affairs, the king's suspicions of his friends, and his inclination to hunt out enemies at the very extremities of the world. *Alexander*, having intercepted these letters and taken the best informations he could, picked out these dissatisfied people, and having disposed them into one corps, gave it the title of the *turbulent battalion* c, and appointed *Leonidas* to command it ; hoping by this means to stop the contagion, and to prevent this spirit of disaffection from spreading through the whole army.

As a further precaution against any future conspiracy, *Alexander* thought fit to appoint two generals of the auxiliary horse, being apprehensive, that if this authority was lodged in the hands of a single person, it might prompt him to dangerous undertakings, and at the same time furnish him with the means of carrying them into execution. *Hephestion* and *Clytus* were therefore appointed joint commanders of these horse, nor can the king be justly blamed for this caution, if it be supposed, that *Alexander Lyncestes*, and *Philotas* were justly punished d. To keep his forces in action, he suddenly marched into the country of the *Euergetæ*, i. e. *benefactors*. This is an instance of that strange way of writing, into which, out of fondness for their own language, the *Greeks* constantly ran ; it is impossible that this nation should have been really called by this name ; the truth is, that it is no more than a translation of a *Persian* name bestowed upon them by *Cyrus*, and it would have been well, if any of the *Greek* historians or geographers had preserved this *Persian* name. *Arrian* tells us, that they were before called *Agriaspæ*, and *Diodorus* calls them by two different names ; such differences are common in *Greek* writers, nor is it easy to discover which is the true or the best reading. These people were celebrated for their wisdom, beneficence, and politeness. When *Cyrus* the founder of the *Persian* empire marched this way against the *Scythians*, his army was grievously distressed for want of provisions, inasmuch, that they were compelled to eat each other ; from this deplorable state they were relieved by the kindness of this nation, who brought thirty thousand loads of provision of all sorts into the camp. *Cyrus*, in consideration of this extraordinary act of generosity, honoured them with some *Persian* appellation equivalent to the *Greek* term *Euergetæ*. *Alexander* found their successors full of the same kind and hospitable disposition ; he therefore treated them with great respect,

c Ἀτάκτων τάγμα.

d *Arrian* lib. iii. c. 27.

and staying among them some small time in order to celebrate a festival to *Apollo*, he at his departure added to their dominions some lands, which lay contiguous, and which for that reason they had requested of him *. Turning then to the east, he entered *Arachosia*, the inhabitants of which submitted without giving him any trouble; whereupon he appointed *Memnon* to be governor of these provinces, as *Arrian* assures us, though *Diodorus* affirms that he appointed *Teridates*. While he passed his winter in these parts, the king received advice, that the *Arians*, whom he had so lately subdued, were again up in arms, *Satibarzanes* being returned into that country with two thousand horse assigned him by *Bessus*. *Alexander* instantly dispatched *Artabazus* the *Persian* with *Erigyus* and *Caranus*, two of his commanders, with a considerable body of horse and foot; he likewise ordered *Phrataphernes*, to whom he had given the government of *Parthia*, to accompany them. These, with all convenient speed, marched back into *Aria*, where *Satibarzanes* met them with a well-appointed army; a general engagement ensued, wherein the *Arians* behaved very well, as long as their commander *Satibarzanes* lived; but he engaging *Erigyus*, the *Macedonian* struck him first into the throat, and then, drawing forth his spear, again through the mouth, so that he immediately expired, and with him the courage of his soldiers, who instantly began to fly, so that *Alexander's* commanders made an easy conquest of the rest of the country, and settled it effectually under his obedience † (R)

THE

* ARRIAN. ubi supra. DIODOR. ubi supra. CURT. lib. vii. c. 9. JUSTIN. lib. xii. c. 5. † ARRIAN. lib. iii. c. 28. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. CURT. lib. vii. c. 17.

(R) There is nothing more warmly complained of by the critics, than the vast mistakes and insuperable difficulties, which occur in the descriptions of rivers, mountains, provinces, &c. in antient authors. Without question, these complaints are not altogether groundless, and yet, from a strict comparison of the antients with each other and with the relations of modern travellers, we are induced to believe, that there is not always sufficient authority for those vehement declamations, which some, in order to pass for great geographers, have made, not only against *Curtius*, but against *Arrian* and *Diodorus*, on account of their supposed errors in these matters. To touch on this subject, as often as we meet with these complaints in the commentaries of late writers on those who have lived ages before them, would lead us into a prolixity, alike troublesome to ourselves, and tedious to our readers; to say nothing on
this

THE king, notwithstanding the inclemency of the season, advanced into the country of *Paropamisus*, so called from the

Continues his marches in the most rigorous seasons, and through the most barren countries.

this head at all, might betray our own want of care, and leave them in great perplexity. We shall therefore once for all lay down the reason which have induced us to pay a greater regard than is usually done to the descriptions met with in antient authors, and the motives which have led us to pass this sentence on those who have treated the antients in another manner. *Arrian*, in his account of *Alexander's* march through *Paropamisus*, tells us, that it was performed with the utmost toil and difficulty, his soldiers passing through deep snows, and enduring all the extremities of want (48). *Diodorus* speaks more largely of these difficulties (49); but as we have inserted what he says in the text, there is no necessity of repeating it here. *Curtius* has followed *Diodorus* exactly (50): *Strabo* in his geography (51) agrees very well with what the rest say, and yet it has been surmised, that they are every one mistaken; and on account of this province lying between the thirty-fourth and thirty-seventh degrees of latitude, it has been asserted, that the cold could not be greater there than in *Italy* or *Greece*; yet *Tavernier* (52), and in general all the travellers that speak either of this province, or of places near it, agree, that in the winter it is excessive cold; that the snow renders it almost impassable, and that it is to this very time as barren of wood, as it is described to be by the before-mentioned authors. Perhaps it might be very possible to assign the natural causes of such severe winters in these parts, but there is no necessity of doing that; for if the matter of fact be, as the antients have described it, it fully justifies them, and us in following them. To say the truth, the moderns have been too assuming, and without proper grounds; it is but very lately that we knew either the true form or the exact situation of the *Caspian* sea, and yet the mistakes of the antients about it have been censured long ago, and with great quickness. The source of all this is too great a dependence on theoretic knowledge, and an absurd affectation of not believing what we cannot bring to square with our hypothetic notions. One would have thought, that an error of the antients might have taught us to have acted with greater caution and modesty in this way; we know, that the most learned men of all sects and ages were of opinion, that the torrid zone was absolutely uninhabitable, and very fair and plausible reasons they produced for their opinion; and yet experience has convinced us, that they were absolutely mistaken; and if they were, why may not we? In matters of fact, the evidence necessary to conviction is of a different nature than in matters of speculation; and therefore

(48) *Arrian. lib. iii.*

(49) *Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvii.*

(50) *Curt. lib. vii. c. 3.*

(51) *Strab. Geogr. lib. xiii. p. 723.*

(52) *Voyag. de Tavernier, Vol. I. Tit. Histoire de Candabar.*

the mountain *Paropamisus*, which the soldiers of *Alexander* called *Caucasus*. We are told by *Diodorus*, that he found the country for the most part open and plain, without trees, covered with snow, having large open boroughs scattered here and there. The houses in which the inhabitants dwelt were covered with tiles; the roof rising up like a spire, but open at the top, whereby they received light, and let out the smoke; the walls of these houses were so well built, and the mortar made use of for them so excellently tempered, that they had in them no flaws or cracks, but were perfectly secured from the inclemencies of the air. In them therefore the people dwelt all the winter, having store of all sorts of provisions laid up, and having previously secured their vines and other fruit-trees, by covering them with matts, from the effects of the frost. In their marches through this melancholy plain, the *Macedonians* were exposed to vast inconveniences, the reflection of the light from the snow and ice grievously affecting their eyes, and the excessive cold seizing such as, through weariness, either walked slow or sat down: many of them perished. *Alexander*, however, pleasing himself with the thoughts of having reached *Caucasus*, in sixteen days marching cross *Paropamisus*, came at length to an opening leading into *Media*, which finding of a sufficient breadth, he directed a city to be built there, which he called *Alexandria*, as also several other towns about a days journey distant from thence; and in these places he left seven thousand persons, part of them such as had hitherto followed his camp, and part of the mercenary soldiers, who, weary of continual fatigue, were content to dwell here. Having thus settled things in this province, sacrificed solemnly to the gods, and appointed *Proexes* the *Persian* president thereof, with a small body of troops under the command of *Niloxenus* to assist him, he resumed his former design of penetrating into *Bactria* ^s (S).

Bessus,

^s *ARRIAN*. lib. iii. c. 28, 29. *DIODOR*. ubi supra. *CURT*. lib. vii. c. 15.

it was, and will be everlastingly, wrong to exclude authentic relations, because they do not concur with our favourite theories.

(S) We have omitted in the text a very remarkable instance of the inequality of *Alexander's* temper, and of that savage cruelty which in spite of his many virtues still lurked in his breast. The reason of our omitting it was, because we find nothing of it in *Arrian*; the reason of our inserting it here is, its having been approved

Bessus, who with the imperial ornaments had assumed the title of *Artaxerxes*, when he was assured that *Alexander* was marching

Alexander reduces Bactria and Sogdia, Bessus being taken.

Year of the Flood

2670.

Before

Christ,

329.

proved by the best compilers of history, though it is found in *Curtius*. It must be owned, that there is a chasm in *Diodorus*, wherein for ought we know this story might have been inserted. However it be, the reader ought to find it somewhere, and therefore we have made it the subject of a note. “ While the king expected *Bessus* to be brought to him, he came to a little town inhabited by the *Branchidae*. These were a family of *Milesians*, removed thither by *Xerxes* on account of their putting into his hands the sacred treasures reposed in the temple of *Apollo Didymæus*. They had not quite forsaken the customs of their antient country, but their language was a sort of medley, made up of their own, and that of the country they now inhabited. They expressed a great deal of joy at the king’s arrival, and readily surrendered both themselves and their town to him. Hereupon *Alexander* called together the *Milesians* that served in his army. Now we must observe, that the *Milesians* bore an old grudge to the *Branchidae*. The king therefore referred it to them, whether they would consider their extraction, or revenge their former injury; and as they varied in their opinions, he told them he would advise with himself what was best to be done in the matter. The next day, when the deputies from the *Branchidae* came to meet him, he commanded them to attend him, and being come to the town, he entered the gates thereof with part of his army, and ordered the phalanx to surround the place, and, upon the signal given, to pillage the receptacle of traitors, and put them all to the sword. These poor wretches, being in a defenceless condition, were every-where butchered, and neither conformity of language, the humble posture of suppliant, nor the most fervent intreaty could put a stop to their authorized cruelty. The very foundations of the walls were dug up, that there might not be the least footsteps left of the town. Their fury did not stop here, for they not only cut down the consecrated woods, but also grubbed up the very roots thereof, that there might be nothing left but a barren waste solitude. Now, had their cruelty been practised on the first transgressors, it might have been thought a just punishment of their crime; but here posterity is punished for the sins of its forefathers, without ever having so much as seen *Miletum*, far from being able to betray it to *Xerxes* (53)”. There is a passage in *Strabo* which seems to confirm what is here related by *Curtius*; he is describing *Bactria*, and from thence takes occasion to speak of *Alexander*’s exploits there and in *Sogdia*; and amongst other things relates this:

(53) *Curt. lib. vii. c. 21.*

marching towards him, immediately began to waste all the country between *Paropamisus* and the river *Oxus*, which river he passed with his forces, and then burnt all the vessels he had made use of for transporting them, retiring to *Nautaca* a city of *Sogdia*, fully persuaded that, by the precautions he had taken, *Alexander* would be compelled to give over his pursuit. This conduct of his, however, disheartened his troops, and gave the lye to all his pretensions; for he had affected to censure *Darius's* conduct, and had charged him with cowardice, in not defending the rivers *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, whereas he now quitted the banks of the most defensible river perhaps in the whole world. As to his hopes, though it cannot be said they were ill founded, yet they proved absolutely vain; for *Alexander* continuing his march, notwithstanding all the hardships his soldiers sustained, reduced all *Bactria* under his obedience, particularly the capital *Bactra* and the strong castle *Aornus*; in the latter he placed a garison under the command of *Archelaus*, but the government of the province he committed to *Artabazus* ^b. He continued his march then to the river *Oxus*, on the banks of which when he arrived, he found it three quarters

^b ARRIAN. lib. iii. c. 30.

“ Finding hereabouts the city of the *Branchidæ*, he demolished
 “ it. These people had followed *Xerxes* out of their own country,
 “ after having betrayed to him the treasures of *Apollo Didymæus*;
 “ but *Alexander* to express his abomination of their sacrilege and
 “ treason, razed their city (54).” In several other places this author assures us, that the *Branchidæ* did betray these treasures into the hands of *Xerxes*, and followed him into *Asia*. Yet *Herodotus* seems to give another account of this matter, for he ascribes the plundering of this temple, and reducing it to ashes, to *Darius* the father of *Xerxes*; and tells us farther, that all the *Milesian* prisoners were conducted to *Susa*, from whence *Darius*, without any other ill usage, sent them to inhabit the city of *Ampe*, seated near the mouth of the river *Tigris* (55). Perhaps the *Branchidæ* were at this time left behind, and, after the temple was repaired, and the oracle restored, betrayed the treasures to *Xerxes* on his return from the *Grecian* war, when he seized all the wealth laid up in temples, to indemnify him for the loss he sustained in that unsuccessful expedition. However, if *Alexander* really massacred the people, as well as demolished their town, *Curtius* had reason to reflect, as he does, on the proceeding, which was flagrantly cruel and unjust.

(54) *Strab. Geogr. lib. xiv. p. 518.*

(55) *Herodot. lib. vi.*

of a mile over, its depth more than proportionable to such a breadth, its bottom sandy, and its stream so rapid, as to render it almost unnavigable ; neither boat nor tree in its neighbourhood, so that the ablest commanders in the *Macedonian* army were of opinion, that they should be obliged to march back. The king, however, having first sent away under a proper escort all his infirm and worn-out soldiers, that they might be conducted safe to the sea-ports and from thence to *Greece*, devised a method of passing this river without either boat or bridge. He ordered the skins of which the *Macedonians* made their tents, to be made into a kind of bags, and to be stuffed with certain light and buoyant matter ; then they were rolled and strongly stitched to prevent the water from breaking in ; by the help of these he passed over his whole army in five days, and marched directly towards the camp of *Bessus*, where when he arrived, he found it abandoned ; but received at the same time letters from *Spitamenes* and *Dataphernes*, who were the chief commanders under *Bessus*, signifying, that if he would send a small party to receive him, they would put *Bessus* into his hands. *Alexander* thereupon dispatched *Ptolemy* the son of *Lagus* with three squadrons of the auxiliary horse, a party of archers, the battalion of foot which had been commanded by *Philotas*, and a considerable corps of light-armed troops to receive the prisoner ; and *Ptolemy* having in four days passed over as much ground as might have taken up ten, arrived within an ordinary days march of *Spitamenes*. There he received advice, that *Spitamenes* and *Dataphernes* were not thoroughly resolved whether they themselves should put *Bessus* into his hands ; whence he, rightly judging that they would be glad to have that done by force, which by fraud they were afraid to do, put himself at the head of his horse, and by a quick march surrounded the village in which *Bessus* had been left with a few soldiers. As soon as he had done this, *Ptolemy* ordered proclamation to be made, that the inhabitants of the place had nothing to fear, if they delivered up *Bessus*. This had the wished-for effect, the people resolved not to suffer for the sake of so wicked a person ; they therefore opened their gates, and *Ptolemy* entering seized *Bessus*¹. *Curtius* has given quite another account of this matter ; and there are other accounts which differ from his ; but it seems to us impertinent to trouble the reader with any but this, because we are convinced that it

¹ *ARRIAN. lib. iii. c. 30.*

is the true one ^k. *Ptolemy* the son of *Lagus* took him : From the memoirs of this *Ptolemy* we have the account before given : To what end therefore should we have recourse to other memoirs, the materials of which must have been collected at second hand ? When *Ptolemy* had him in his power, he sent advice thereof to the king, and desired to know after what manner he should be brought to him. *Alexander* returned for answer, that he should be brought chained and naked, and that in this condition he should be placed on the right hand side of the road, by which he was to march with his army. This being accordingly performed, *Alexander*, as he passed by him, ordered his chariot to stop, and with a loud voice asked him, *What could induce you to seize upon Darius, your sovereign and friend, who had always deserved well at your hands ? and what, after you had seized and led him about prisoner, could tempt you to murder him in so base a manner ?* To whom *Bessus* answered, *That it was not his act, nor done by his advice alone ; but was performed by the joint consent of all who were present, from an opinion, that it would procure them the favour of Alexander.* The king ordered him to be whipt ; directed the question he had asked to be proclaimed aloud throughout the army, and then commanded that *Bessus* should be conducted prisoner into *Bactria* ^l. A supply of horses being now arrived, the *Macedonian* cavalry were remounted, *Alexander* continued his march to *Maracanda*, the capital of *Sogdia*, from whence he advanced to the river *Iaxartes*, called by *Arrian* and the rest of the historians who have written his life, *Tanais*, but doubtless without any foundation ; for besides a very large tract of land on this side, and a much larger on the other, the whole breadth of the *Caspian* sea is between that part of the river *Iaxartes*, to which he came, and the fall of the *Tanais* into the *Palus Mæotis*. It is true, that *Arrian* distinguishes between this *Tanais* and that, which shews he had more skill in geography than the rest ; but we still want a proof, that the *Iaxartes* was ever called *Tanais* by any but *Alexander's* soldiers, who were fond of imposing false names to flatter their own vanity, and amuse the rest of mankind. On the side of this river, as some of his troops were foraging, they were surprized by the *Barbarians*, and a considerable number of *Macedonian* horse slain. After which exploit between twenty and thirty thousand of these rude people be-

^k CURT. lib. vii. c. 22. DIONOR. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Alex. ^l ARRIAN. ubi supra.

took themselves to a high rock, the ascent of which was on all sides steep and rugged, in hopes that there they should be safe from *Alexander's* soldiers. But the king, as soon as he received advice of what had happened, marched thither with his horse and light-armed troops, and notwithstanding the danger and difficulty of the attack, led his troops in person to ascend the rock. The *Barbarians*, having so great an advantage from the situation of the place, and fighting also for their lives, repulsed the *Macedonians* more than once ; at last, however, notwithstanding the king himself was wounded in the leg, so as to have the smaller of his shin-bones broken, the *Macedonians* carried it, compelling numbers of those unhappy wretches to throw themselves over the rock, slaying without mercy those that fell into their hands, so that of the multitude retiring thither not above eight thousand escaped ^m.

WITHIN a few days after, the *Abii*, a famous *Scythian* *Subduer* people, sent ambassadors to *Alexander* to desire peace ; with *certain re-* them came ambassadors from the *European Scythians* ; to *bels*. these he gave fairwords, and sent some of his own people home with them, under colour of concluding the negotiations ; but in truth to bring him advice of the situation of the country, the nature of its inhabitants, their force, and after what manner they made war. The *Scythians* having some notion of what he designed, that is, the *Scythians* whom he had already subdued ; and being also informed, that he had projected the building of a city to keep them in awe, they at once took up arms, cut off his garisons, and joined with the discontented *Bactrians* and *Sogdians*. As soon as *Alexander* was informed of this, he directed his several battalions of infantry to furnish themselves with ladders, which as soon as they had done, he marched instantly towards *Gaza*, the nearest city of seven which the *Barbarians* had seized. At the same time he dispatched *Craterus* to *Cyropolis*, the greatest of those cities into which most of the *Barbarians* had retired, commanding him to encamp nigh the walls, to draw a ditch and rampart round the city, and plant his engines where-ever he thought convenient ; so that the citizens there, finding employment enough to defend themselves at home, might not be able to secure other places elsewhere. As soon as he approached *Gaza*, he ordered the wall, which was but of mud, and low built, to be assaulted, and his scaling-ladders every-where got ready. Then his slingers, and archers, and darters, mixed with the foot, beginning the attack, incommoded the besieged with missive weapons, and at the same

^m ARRIAN. lib. iii. c. ult. CURT. lib. vii. c. 26, 27.

time galled them with darts from their engines, insomuch that the walls were deserted by the *Barbarians*, and the ladders being immediately fixed, the *Macedonians* mounted, and entering killed all the men they met, for so *Alexander* had commanded; but the women, and children, and the riches of the place, were given as a spoil to the soldiers. Thence he moved to another of those cities, which was built and fortified like the former; which he assaulted and took the same day, and disposed of the captives in the same manner. Thence proceeding to the third city on the next day, he took it at the first attack. In the mean time, while he at the head of his troops of foot was busied in reducing those places, he dispatched his horse to two other cities not far off, with orders to take care that the citizens, when they heard of the storming of their neighbour towns, and his nigh approach, should not betake themselves to flight, and so render it a difficult task for him to overtake them. And as he judged, so it happened, that the dispatch of these troops thither was necessary; for the *Barbarians*, who held the other two cities not yet taken, seeing the smoke of that over-against them, which was then on fire, and besides some who had escaped out of that calamity bringing them the news, they fled out of both the cities as fast as they could; but, falling in among the horse posted for that purpose, were most of them slain. These five cities thus taken and destroyed in two days, he hastened to *Cyropolis*, the greatest and most populous of the whole country. It was surrounded with a wall much higher than any of the rest, and was built by *Cyrus*; and as many of the *Barbarians*, both stout and well armed, had fled for shelter thither, it was not to be supposed that the *Macedonians* should gain it at the first assault. Wherefore *Alexander*, having planted his engines in places convenient, determined to batter the wall, and where-ever he made a breach to storm the place. But finding the channel of the river, which usually ran through the town like a torrent, at that time dry, and the wall disjoined, so as to afford an entrance for his soldiers, he with his body-guards, his targeteers, his archers, and *Agrians*, while the *Barbarians* were employed in guarding themselves from the engines and the assailants, privately entered the city at first with a few men through that channel, and having burst open the gates nigh that part, gave an easy admittance to the rest. The *Barbarians* then, notwithstanding their perceiving their city taken, falling upon the *Macedonians*, a sharp battle ensued, wherein *Alexander* himself received a blow on the head and neck with a stone, and *Craterus*, and many more of his captains, were wounded with missile

missive weapons. However, the *Barbarians* were at last driven out of the *market-place*. In the mean time those, who battered the wall, seeing it void of defendants, took it, and, at their first entrance, slew about eight thousand of the enemy. The rest (for the whole number there gathered together was eighteen thousand) retired into the castle: But these, when *Alexander* had continued his siege but one day, being destitute of water, surrendered the place. Thence moving to the seventh city, he took it at the first assault. *Ptolemy* indeed says, it was delivered up without fighting; but *Aristobulus*, on the contrary, affirms, that it was taken by storm, and all who were found therein slain. *Ptolemy* tells us, that the captives were dispersed throughout the army, and kept chained till he should depart out of that country, lest any of those who had occasioned the revolt should be leftⁿ. The *Scythians* in *Asia*, laying hold of this opportunity, came down in great bodies to the river's side, to watch when they might attack *Alexander* advantageously; this interruption was followed by an account, that *Spitamenes* had besieged the garrison left in *Maracanda*, and that the *Macedonians* were in great danger. *Alexander*, however, would not abandon a design he had once formed; having therefore dispatched relief to the city before-mentioned, he proceeded to mark out the city he had formerly projected, to serve for a fortress against the *Scythians*. In twenty days he walled it round; the soldiers vying with each other in the performance of the tasks assigned them. This once done, he gave the city to such of the *Barbarians* as had served in his troops, to the mercenaries who were desirous of settling there, and to such of the *Macedonians* as, being unfit for service, were willing to have houses and lands allotted to them in this place^o.

THE king having accomplished all that he intended in these parts, and being no ways desirous of entering into a war with the *Scythians*, from whom he knew there was nothing to be got but blows, prepared to march away. The *Scythians*, having notice of this, came down in vast numbers to the river's side, upbraided him and his soldiers, called them cowards and bullies, who, proud of having subdued the effeminate *Persians*, were afraid of attacking men, and durst not engage the antient conquerors of *Asia*. *Alexander* was exceedingly nettled at these reproaches, and yet was at a loss how to pass the river in the sight of so daring an enemy; however, he ordered *Aristander* to offer sacrifices, which he

ⁿ ARRIAN. lib. iv. c. 2, 3. CURT. lib. vii. c. 26.
 RIAN. ubi supra.

^o AR-

did again and again, but constantly assured the king, that the omens were altogether inauspicious; this gave him great concern, but could not engage him absolutely to drop his design. On the contrary, when he reflected on the dishonour which *Darius* the father of *Xerxes* had sustained from his unfortunate war with this people, he began to fancy that his own fame would be no less injured; wherefore he at last determined at all events to pass the river, and to attack the enemy, having first put them into some disorder by the darts and stones thrown from his engines, which, doing great execution cross the river, were new to the *Scythians*, and amazed them very much. The *Macedonian* horse being few in comparison of the enemy, the *Scythians* repulsed them at the first attack, and disordered them pretty much; but *Alexander* taking care to support them with light-armed troops, they charged again, and made some impression on the enemy, which as soon as the king perceived, he brought up the heavy-armed troops, and the weight of their charge determined the matter; for the *Scythians*, being unable to sustain it, broke and fled, leaving a thousand men dead upon the spot, among whom was one *Satracus* an eminent general, and a hundred and fifty were made prisoners; much more execution would have been done in the pursuit, if the *Macedonians*, through excessive heat, and violent thirst, had not been hindered from continuing it. *Alexander*, who was always among the number of the most forward and vigorous soldiers, finding himself very faint, drank freely of some standing water, which threw him into such a flux, as endangered his life, which was held an accomplishment of *Aristander's* prediction^p. It may be truly said, that this was a hard-fought battle, and that the *Macedonians* bought their victory much dearer than they were wont to do, losing one hundred foot, and sixty horse, upon the spot, having a thousand wounded. The king ordered the prisoners to be released, and some days after, when ambassadors arrived from the *Scythian* king, excusing the business, and assuring him that the late proceedings were against his orders, *Alexander* took all in good part, received them into his protection, and being by no means willing to have any thing farther to do with them, granted them a peace on their own terms, and began to turn his head to the care of his other affairs, which were indeed in no little disorder; the war reviving when he least expected it, the troops under *Spitamenes* seeming to be beat at last both into discipline and courage^q.

^p ARRIAN. lib. iv. c. 4. CURT. lib. vii. c. 7.
lib. xii. c. 5.

^q JUSTIN.

WE have before mentioned the relief sent by *Alexander* to *The* Macedonians the garison in the castle of *Maracanda* ; it consisted of sixty donians auxiliary horse commanded by *Andromachus* and *Menedemus*, under eight hundred mercenaries under the command of *Caranus*, *Pharnaces* and fifteen hundred foot led by *Pharnaces* the interpreter, *defeated by* who, though a *Lycian* by birth, yet was perfectly skilled in *Spitamenes* the language of those countries, and could therefore upon occasion treat with the *Barbarians*, in case they sought to avoid farther mischiefs by submitting themselves. While these troops were upon their march, the *Macedonians* in the castle made a desperate sally on *Spitamenes*, and drove him and his forces from their works. The loss sustained on this occasion, and the news of *Pharnaces's* march engaged that general to raise the siege, and to retire towards *Sogdia*. *Pharnaces* pursued him, and in his march meeting with a body of the *Nomades*, he attacked them ; whereupon they retired, and joined *Spitamenes*, who elated with so sudden and unexpected a reinforcement, determined no longer to avoid, but rather to seek the *Macedonian* army. There are two relations of the subsequent engagement, both in *Arrian*, one taken from *Ptolemy*, the other from *Aristobulus* ; they agree in the main, that the defeat and slaughter of the *Macedonians* was owing to the ill conduct of their officers. *Pharnaces* was a man void of military skill, of which he was very sensible, and offered to resign the command of the troops ; but this the *Macedonian* generals would not yield to ; for they foresaw that this business would be attended with great loss, and therefore were not willing to make themselves accountable for an unfortunate battle, and for exceeding their commission at the same time. The issue of the matter was, that while they were full of doubts and confusion, the *Scythians* attacked them, supported by *Spitamenes* and his forces. The *Macedonians* behaved with great bravery, and in all probability would at least have made a good retreat, if they had either had a good general, or if the officers they had, had acted in concert. But *Caranus* with his squadron of horse, without consulting the rest, entered the river, upon which the greatest part of the foot followed, not his command, but his example, and with much ado gained a little island not far from the shore. This shadow of safety proved their utter destruction ; for the *Barbarians* cut off many as they entered the water, more when they were in it, and so for all those who got into the island, they shot them to death with their arrows ; so that of two thousand three hundred and sixty men, horse and foot, there did not escape above forty of the former, and three hundred of the latter ;

their officers being all slain, after having shewn much more courage than conduct ^r.

Alexander causes the siege of Maracanda to be raised. As soon as *Alexander* received the news of the defeat, which *Pharnaces* and the troops under his command had sustained, he determined to revenge it ; with this view he took half his auxiliary horse, all his light-armed foot, and a battalion of the *Macedonian* phalanx ; with these he marched (if there be no mistake in the numbers) fifteen hundred furlongs in three days ; on the fourth he drew near to *Maracanda*, which *Spitamenes* had again besieged ; but on the news of *Alexander's* approach, he raised the siege with great precipitation, and retired with all the celerity imaginable. *Alexander* pursued him, not only to the edge of, but even a good way within the desert ; when he found it was impossible to overtake him, he returned and buried all the soldiers who had fallen in the late engagement with honour. Then he caused all the country thereabouts to be burnt and wasted, putting to death the inhabitants of such villages as he had been informed had not only refused shelter to the flying *Macedonians*, but had also mal-treated, and even murdered them. After this the king marched to *Zariaspa*, where he put his army into winter quarters. Thither came *Phrataphernes*, governor of *Parthia*, and *Staasanor*, who had been dispatched into *Aria* to seize *Arfanes*, who had begun to raise some disturbances there ; him they brought bound, and with him *Barzaentes*, whom *Bessus* had made governor of *Parthia* ; a short time after arrived the *Macedonian* officers who had been sent to take care of the recruits, as also those who had conducted such as were discharged to their embarkation ^s. Thus the army was again restored to a formidable greatness, and at the same time the court of *Alexander* shone with extraordinary splendor from the resort of the nobility of the adjacent provinces, and the arrival of so many illustrious persons from *Greece*. The king therefore took this opportunity of calling a great council, into which he ordered *Bessus* to be brought ; where having reproached him with his infidelity and treachery, his cruelty and treason, towards his sovereign *Darius*, he ordered his nose and ears to be cut off, and then sent him under a guard to *Ecbatana* in *Media*, that he might abide his trial according to the laws of the *Medes* and *Persians*. *Arrian*, who is otherwise very sparing of his reflections, censures in warm terms this severity towards *Bessus* ; he says, it was a sign the king was departing from the maxims of his ancestors, and leaving the generous

^r ARRIAN. lib. iv. c. 5. CURT. lib. vii. c. 36.
lib. iv. c. 7. CURT. lib. vii. c. 38.

^s ARRIAN.

notions of the *Greeks*, to take up the proud, cruel, and execrable customs of those *Barbarians* whom he had lately conquered, and whose vices he now suffered to conquer him; as to the subsequent fate of *Bessus*, the relations of authors are so contradictory, that, to avoid confusion, we have digested what they say into a note (T).

IT

(T) *Diodorus* tells us, that *Bessus* at a great feast, to which he had invited his friends, growing warm with liquor, grievously insulted one of them whose name was *Bagabrat*, and even attempted to kill him; that this man, flying in the night to *Alexander*, the rest of the counsellors of *Bessus* were exceedingly alarmed, fearing on the one hand the cruelty of this usurper, and on the other, dreaming of great rewards, if they put him into the hands of *Alexander*; which at last they resolved to do, and to that end seized and bound him. They were not disappointed in their expectation; the king rewarded them bountifully; as for *Bessus*, he delivered him to the brother of *Darius* and the rest of his relations, who, after offering him all the indignities they could think of, and exercising on him variety of torments, cut his flesh into small pieces, and hurled it bit by bit out of their slings (56).—*Curtius* informs us of a quarrel *Bessus* had with a friend of his, but he calls him *Cobares*, a *Median*, and one of the *Magi*. This man, after *Bessus* had been vilifying *Darius*, and exalting himself, told him plainly, it was in vain to think of flying from such an enemy as *Alexander*; and that the only method he had to take was submitting himself, and trusting to the mercy of the victor; this put *Bessus* into such a passion, that *Cobares* was forced to retire out of the room for his immediate safety, and afterwards fled to *Alexander*. *Spitamenes* is characterised by this author as an envious and ungrateful traitor; that he told *Bessus*, two of his best friends had conspired against him, and that he, having discovered the conspiracy, had caused them to be apprehended; for which *Bessus* thanked him, and desired they might be brought into his presence. Upon this *Dataphernes* and *Catenes*, who concurred with *Spitamenes*, were brought in with their hands tied, surrounded by eight chosen men, as if they had been their guards. But no sooner did *Bessus* rise and approach them, than the pretended guards seized him, pinioned him, took his crown from his head, and tore his robes; whereupon he cried out, that they justly revenged *Darius*, but were too propitious to *Alexander*. *Spitamenes* afterwards led him with a halter about his neck into the presence of *Alexander*, who delivered him to *Oxathres*, *Darius's* brother, with directions to see him crucified, after having his nose and ears cut off, and then shot to death with arrows, which *Oxathres* accordingly undertook to do; *Catenes* being to fulfil the last part of his punishment, which was to guard his body, that no part of it might be interred in the bowels of

(56) *Diodor. Sicul. l. 6. c. 21.*

*Affects the
Persian
customs.*

IT is certain, that about this time *Alexander* began to throw off in a great measure the manners of a *Macedonian* prince, and to affect those of a *Persian* king. Authors vary not a little in the accounts they give us of this matter. *Arrian* says expressly, that he laid aside the *Macedonian* for the *Median* habit, adding, *That to him it appeared wonderful, the king did not blush when he changed the modest covering of his head, which he had worn in so many battles, for the Persian tiara.* Yet *Plutarch* as positively affirms, he did not follow the *Median* fashion, that he neither wore their breeches, long vest,

birds. He afterwards tells us that he was sent to *Ecbatana*, there to suffer death (57). — *Plutarch* relates, that, by the direction of *Alexander* himself, *Bessus* was fastened to a couple of tall strait trees, which were bound down so as to meet; and then being let loose with a great force returned to their own places, each of them carrying that part of the body along with it which was tied to it (58). — *Justin* acquaints us in few words, that *Alexander* delivered *Bessus* to the brother of *Darius*, that he might crucify him (59). It is impossible that he should die all these deaths, and, amongst this great variety of sentiments, it is as impossible to determine what death he died; that he lost his nose and ears by the command of *Alexander* may be esteemed certain; and that he afterwards suffered capital punishment is also certain; as to the manner in which he suffered it, nothing can be positively affirmed. In all probability, *Bessus* might have escaped all this severity, if he had taken the advice of *Cobares*, and submitted himself, and the provinces under his power, to *Alexander*; for there is good reason to believe, that his assuming the imperial title was at least as heinous in the sight of *Alexander*, as his murder of *Darius*; and therefore, if he had not joined this to his former crime, he might have escaped better. The answers given by *Bessus*, as they are recorded in *Arrian* and *Curtius*, hint plainly at this; for he told the king, *First*, That *Darius* was murdered to obtain his favour; and, *Secondly*, That he was not the sole author of the murder, but that all who were present concurred in it. Among these was *Satibarzanes*, who, on his submitting himself to *Alexander*, was not only well received, but had his government restored to him. As for the other conspirator *Barzaentes*, he indeed was put to death, in revenge, as it was said, of the treason he had committed against his master; but then he had always continued in arms against *Alexander*, and flying to the *Indians* for safety was delivered up by them (60). On the whole therefore we may safely conclude, that this extraordinary severity, this laboured scene of doing justice on *Bessus*, was altogether affected, and had nothing of that spirit and generosity which *Alexander* had shewn at the opening of the war

(57) *Curt. lib. vii. c. 20.*
(59) *Justin. lib. xii. c. 5.*

(58) *Plutarch. in vit. Alexand.*
(60) *Arrian. lib. iii. c. 29, 30.*

or tiara, but made choice of a garb inclining to the *Persian* habit, more pompous and magnificent than the *Macedonian* vesture, yet not so rich or gaudy as that worn by the *Persian* kings. But it may be, *Alexander* proceeded by degrees in the alteration of his habit, as we know he did in the use of it; for at first he only dressed himself in this manner, when he had business to transact with his new subjects; but when he conversed with the *Greeks* and commanded the *Macedonians*, he wore his own country cloaths: If therefore this conjecture of ours be right, *Plutarch* and *Arrian* may be reconciled; and indeed it is very probable, that in this great council, wherein he imitated the oriental severity, he appeared in habit as a *Persian* king; that is, as the lord of *Asia*, or, as the *Greeks* were wont emphatically to style him, as *the Great King* : (U).
This

* ARRIAN. lib. iv. c. 7. PLUT. in vit. Alex.

(U) *Curtius* gives us a very extraordinary story in relation to the revolt of the *Sogdians*, which, on account of its length and its having so strong a mixture of the wonderful, we thought more proper for a note, than for the text; where if it had been curtailed, it would not have been clear, and if inserted at full length, it would have interrupted the current of the narration. “ Among the captive *Sogdians*, he says, there were thirty of the chiefest nobility of the country, who were remarkable for their prodigious strength of body. These being brought before the king, and understanding by the interpreter, that his majesty had ordered them to be executed, they began to sing and dance, and by other wanton motions of their body endeavoured to express the chearfulness of their mind. *Alexander*, being amazed at their unusual alacrity on such an occasion, commanded them to be brought back, and asked them the cause of their excessive joy, when they beheld death before their eyes? To which they answered, that if any other than himself had sentenced them to die, they should have been concerned; but since they were to be restored to their ancestors by so great a king, who had conquered all the world, they looked upon their death to be so honourable, as even to deserve the envy of all brave men, which made them so transported when they understood his pleasure. The king then asked them, if they would be his friends hereafter, if he should give them their lives? They replied, that they had never been his enemies, but had only defended themselves when they were attacked in a hostile manner by him: And that if any body would make trial of them by good offices, instead of injuries, they would willingly contend in the generous strife, and use their utmost endeavour not to be overcome. He asking them afterwards, What pledge they would give him for their fidelity? They answered, their lives, which they received through

This mightily grieved his *Macedonians*, and this very grief shewed that they were still loyal and affectionate to him ; for men of traiterous or rebellious principles do not grieve for the errors of their prince, but magnify them into crimes ; and, as if they were conscious of the enormity of their own guilt, endeavour to transfer a part of it to their hated sovereign. When therefore *Alexander* perceived this disposition in his army, he ought certainly to have soothed them, and endeavoured either to convince them of the rectitude of his behaviour, or to have quieted them by yielding in some measure to their desires. But this was not in the nature of *Alexander*, or at least was no longer in his nature after he had visited the temple of *Ammon*. Besides, he had about him a multitude of sycophants, who, as *Arrian* well notes, are, and ever will be, the bane of princes ; he might have added, and the curse of nations. These, by complying with his humours and heating his passions, carried him daily into new extravagancies, and brought him to be a proper instance of the truth of another of *Arrian's* observations ; that an ability of conquering vast provinces, and of acquiring supreme dominion is of little consequence to a man's happiness, unless he preserves a philosophic constancy and moderation of mind ; however specious appearances may deceive a deluded world, and make them conceive gilded misery true felicity ; whereas no two things in nature are farther removed. But to return to the series of our history, for which these reflections are to make way.

*Murders
Clytus at
a banquet.*

THE *Greeks*, and especially the *Macedonians*, observed an anniversary festival to *Bacchus*. This year it seems the king, omitting *Bacchus*, transferred the honour of this festival to the *Dioscuri*, i. e. *Castor* and *Pollux* ; and, not satisfied therewith, strictly commanded, that for the future to them, and not to *Bacchus*, these solemn rites should constantly be dedicated. These sacrifices were followed by a magnificent banquet, to which all the principal commanders in the army were invited, and *Clytus* the son of *Dropidas*, who stood as

“ through his bounty, and which they would at all times be ready
 “ to restore to him whenever he required them. Nor were they
 “ worse than their words : For those of them who were sent home
 “ kept their country-people in due subjection to *Alexander*,
 “ and four of them being received into his body-guards, were
 “ inferior to none of the *Macedonians* in their sincere affection to
 “ the king (61).

high in the king's favour as any of them, among the rest. At supper the discourse turned on the heroes to whom they had sacrificed : and a question was started, With what propriety they were stiled the sons of *Jupiter*, when it was notorious that *Tyndarus* was their father ? It may be, this was introduced to give some ingenious flatterer an opportunity of reconciling things, which hitherto the *Macedonians* could never understand, how *Alexander* could be at once the son of *Ammon* and the son of *Philip*. Some who sat near the king laid hold of this fair opportunity to magnify his actions above those of *Castor* and *Pollux* ; and when their hands were in, they laid hold of the fame of *Hercules* too, and set that a step lower than the glory of *Alexander*. To give these things a colour, they insisted on the natural envy of men towards their cotemporaries, and how unwilling they were to worship those virtues in the living, which, with the utmost readiness and the most profound respect, they adored in the dead. *Clytus* took fire at these expressions ; he said, *he could not bear to hear such indignities offered to the gods, or the credit of antient heroes depreciated, to tickle the ears of a living prince.* As to *Alexander's* actions, he allowed that they were great and glorious, but he affirmed that they had nothing in them supernatural ; besides, they were not performed by him alone, but by his army ; and that therefore all the *Macedonians* had a right to share in the praise due to those deeds, in which they, as well as he, had exerted themselves. These reflections made *Alexander* very angry. To sooth this anger, some of his flatterers began a discourse about his father *Philip*, in which they sought to lessen his actions, and to represent him as a prince who had done nothing extraordinary ; which provoked *Clytus* so far, that he began to detract from the merit of *Alexander*, and to suggest, that nothing he had done deserved to be compared with what had been performed by his father. Upon this the king lost all patience, and when *Clytus* proceeded to upbraid him with the preservation of his life at the battle of *Granicus*, stretching out his arm, and saying, *This hand, O Alexander, saved thee* ; the king leaped upon him, and endeavoured to kill him, but was prevented by the interposition of his friends, who caught hold of him, and with much ado got between them : *Clytus* in the mean time continued his reproachful expressions ; whereupon the king called for some of his guards ; but none appearing, he began to bemoan himself exceedingly, saying, *That he was now in the same condition with Darius, when in the hands of Bellus : That he had the empty name of king, and nothing more.* His friends upon this retiring and leaving him to himself, he snatched a

lance,

lance, or, as some say, a long *Macedonian* pike, and therewith struck *Clytus* through, and killed him. In this account we have followed *Arrian* closely; for to have collected into one relation what different authors have delivered, could have only served to perplex the reader. What may be wanting to his farther information, and could be had from other authors, he will find below * (W). Here let us pursue

* *ARRIAN. lib. iv. c. 8.*

(W) The detail given us by *Plutarch* of what happened at the death of *Clytus* differs so much from what has been inserted in the text from *Arrian*, and is in itself so curious, that it well deserves the reader's perusal. He informs us, that “ the king having a present of *Grecian* fruit brought him from the sea coast, so well prepared, that it seemed to be but just gathered, sent for *Clytus* that he might see and partake of it. *Clytus* was then sacrificing, but he immediately left off, and went to wait on the king, followed by three of the sheep, on whom the drink offering had been already poured, in order for the sacrifice. *Alexander*, being informed of this accident, consulted his two diviners, *Aristander* and *Cleomantes* the *Spartan*, and asked them, What was portended by it? They assuring him that it was an ill omen, he commanded them in all haste to offer sacrifices for *Clytus*'s safety; forasmuch as three days before he himself had seen a strange vision in his sleep of *Clytus* all in mourning, sitting by *Parmenio*'s sons, who were all dead. *Clytus*, however, staid not to finish his devotions, but came strait to supper with the king, who the same day had sacrificed to *Castor* and *Pollux*. And when they had drank pretty hard, some of the company fell a singing the verses of one *Pranichus*, or as others say, of *Pierion*, which were made upon those captains who had been lately worsted by the *Barbarians*, on purpose to disgrace and turn them to ridicule; which so offended the grave antient men, that they reproved both the author and the singer of the verses, though *Alexander* and the blades about him were mightily pleased to hear them, and encouraged them to go on: Till at last *Clytus*, who had drank too much, and was besides of a froward and wilful temper, was so nettled, that he could hold no longer; saying, *It was not well done thus to expose the Macedonians before the Barbarians and their enemies, since though it was their unhappiness to be overcome, yet they were much better men than those who laughed at them.* To this *Alexander* replied, *That sure Clytus spoke so tenderly of cowardice, when he called it misfortune, only to excuse himself.* At which *Clytus* starting up, *This cowardice, as you are pleased to term it, said he to him, saved your life, though you pretend to be sprung from the gods, when you were running away from Spithridates's sword; and it is by the expense of Macedonian blood, and by the wound, that you are raised to such an height, as to despise*

“ and

pursue the history without entering into any debates upon the question which has risen upon the fact, *Whether Clytus's indiscretion*

“ *and disown your father Philip, and adopt yourself the son of Jupiter*
 “ *Ammon. Thou base fellow, said Alexander, who was now tho-*
 “ *roughly exasperated, dost thou think to utter these things every-*
 “ *where of me, and stir up the Macedonians to sedition, and not be*
 “ *punished for it? We are sufficiently punished already, answered Cly-*
 “ *tus, if this be the recompense of our toils; and esteem those hap-*
 “ *piest who have not lived to see their countrymen ignominiously scourged*
 “ *with Median rods, and forced to sue to the Persians to have access*
 “ *to their king. While Clytus talked thus at random, and the king*
 “ *in the bitterest manner retorted upon him, the old men that were*
 “ *in company endeavoured all they could to allay the flame,*
 “ *when Alexander, turning to Xenodolus the Cardian, and Artemius*
 “ *the Colophonian, asked them, If they were not of opinion that the*
 “ *rest of the Grecians behaved among the Macedonians, like so many*
 “ *demi-gods among savages? All this would not silence Clytus, who*
 “ *calling aloud to Alexander, bid him, if he had any thing to say,*
 “ *to speak out; or else, why did he invite men who were free-born,*
 “ *and used to speak their minds openly without restraint, to sup with*
 “ *him? He had better live and converse with Barbarians and con-*
 “ *quered slaves, who would not scruple to adore his Persian girdle and*
 “ *white tunic. Which words so provoked Alexander, that not a-*
 “ *ble to suppress his anger any longer, he took one of the apples*
 “ *that lay upon the table, and flung it at him, and then looked*
 “ *about for his sword. But Aristophanes, one of his life-guards,*
 “ *had hid that out of the way, and others came about him, and*
 “ *besought him to stay his fury, but in vain; for breaking from*
 “ *them, he called out aloud to his guards in the Macedonian lan-*
 “ *guage, which was a certain sign of some great disturbance in*
 “ *him, and commanded a trumpeter to sound, giving him a box*
 “ *on the ear for delaying, or rather refusing, to obey him, though*
 “ *afterwards the same man was commended for disobeying an or-*
 “ *der which would have put the whole army into tumult and*
 “ *confusion. Clytus continued still in the same quarrelsome humour,*
 “ *till his friend, with much ado, forced him out of the room;*
 “ *but he came in again immediately at another door very irre-*
 “ *verently, and insolently sung this passage out of Euripides's An-*
 “ *dromache. Ye gods, what an ill custom have you introduced into*
 “ *Greece! When an army has erected a trophy upon the defeat of the*
 “ *enemy, it is never considered that the victory is owing to the valour*
 “ *of the troops who fought, but the general puts in for all the ho-*
 “ *nour of it; though he had exposed himself to no more danger than*
 “ *many thousands besides, and had done no more than a common soldier,*
 “ *yet he only is celebrated in the songs of triumph, and robs the rest of*
 “ *their share of the glory. Then Alexander, snatching a spear from*
 “ *one of the soldiers, met Clytus as he was putting by the curtain*
 VOL. VIII. Z “ that

discretion could excuse Alexander's intemperance and cruelty. As soon as the king came to himself, his brains were perfectly cool, and he began to remember what had passed, he fell into a fit of excessive grief. He accused himself, as indeed well he might, of having slain his father's brave soldier, his own faithful friend, the constant companion of his toils, his foster brother, and him to whom he owed his life : It was then, that in the bitterness of his soul, he disclaimed all kindred to the gods, and with a laudable sorrow mourned like a man, for having done a base and cruel act unworthy of a man. It was then he cried out on *Clytus*, on his sister *Hellanice*, whose breasts he had sucked, and inveighed against himself as one forgetful of the bond of gratitude, the ties of friendship, and the laws of nature, depriving his friends of life, and executing those as evil-doers who could not patiently hear or see him do ill. For three days he refused meat, neglected his apparel, and, as some say, with the pike that

“ that hung before the door, and ran him through the body.
 “ He fell immediately, and, after a few piercing groans, expired.
 “ In the very instant the king's indignation cooled, and he came
 “ perfectly to himself ; but when he saw his friends about him all
 “ in a profound silence, as seized with horror at the fact, he pul-
 “ led the spear out of the dead body, and would have turned it a-
 “ gainst himself, if the guards had not held his hands, and by
 “ main force carried him away into his chamber (62)”. The re-
 lation of *Curtius* agrees pretty well with that of *Plutarch*, only he attributes more moderation to the king at the beginning (63). *Justin* tells us in few words, that at a debauch *Alexander* killed his friend *Clytus* for extolling the actions of his father *Philip* ; but this author insists very largely on his repentance, attributing his recovery from that state of dejection and grief, as *Curtius* does, to the advice of *Callisthenes* (64). If we had *Diodorus's* account of this business, in all probability we should find it correspond with *Curtius* and *Justin* ; but, as we have heretofore remarked, these authors, when they differ from *Arrian*, frequently agree with him ; the reason is, that among a multitude of writers, who undertook to transmit the actions of *Alexander* to posterity, the collectors of general history followed, at their pleasure, sometimes one, and sometimes another, and not seldom mixed several relations together. Authors of abridgments copied from these indiscriminately, as the later writers of particular histories did frequently too, adding such embellishments, inserting such descriptions, and framing such speeches for the amplifying and adorning their works, as they thought fit.

(62) *Plutarch. in vit. Alexand.*
 (64) *Justin. lib. xii. 6*

(63) *lib. viii. c. 2, 3, 4.*

killed *Clytus*, would have slain himself. The army in the mean while were disconsolate to the highest degree ; their regard to *Clytus* is said to have given way to their love and loyalty to *Alexander*, insomuch, that to sooth their afflicted prince, they condemned *Clytus*, and prohibited his interment, seeking thereby to colour the fact, or at least to comfort *Alexander* by seeming to think his resentment just. This was excusable in soldiers. The priests and philosophers went greater lengths. The former told the king, that what he did was not the error of his own will, but the effects of a fury inspired by *Bacchus* on account of his festival being transferred to the *Diojcuri*. Thus did these execrable dissemblers seek to transfer a crime unworthy of a man to him they worshipped as a god, and most impudently called that a divine fury, which at best was beastly drunkenness ; all flatterers are detestable, because they insult human nature ; but these spiritual flatterers are doubly so, because, as far as in them lies, they prostitute the gods to please the worst of men. *Anaxarchus* of *Abdera*, whom most historians stile a philosopher, but *Arrian* rightly a sophist, was the next who undertook to moderate the king's grief ; and finding him upon his bed sighing and dejected, thus he addressed him : “ Is this
 “ the *Alexander* whom the world looks upon with such ad-
 “ miration ? Behold him extended on the ground, and weep-
 “ ing like an abject slave for fear of the law and reproach of
 “ men, to whom he himself ought to be a law and the mea-
 “ sure of equity, since he conquered for no other end but
 “ to make himself lord of all, and not to be a slave to a
 “ vain idle opinion : Do you not know, that *Jupiter* is re-
 “ presented sitting on his throne, with law assisting on one
 “ side, and justice on the other, intimating thereby, that let a
 “ sovereign prince do what he will, all his actions are just
 “ and lawful ” ? These were admirable doctrines, tending
 not only to set the king's mind at rest, as to the murder he
 had committed, but to prevent any more qualms, in case
 rage, envy, or drunkenness, should plunge him again into
 the same circumstances. *Callisthenes*, the scholar and relation
 of *Aristotle*, sought to settle his mind by honest and moral
 discourses. *Arrian* says, that the suggestion of the priests, in
 relation to *Bacchus*, did not displease the king. Both *Philo-
 arch* and the last-mentioned author say, that *Anaxarchus* al-
 layed the king's grief at the same time that he corrupted his
 manners ; but *Curtius* ascribes the king's recovery to *Callist-
 thenes* ; we may well suppose that they had all a hand in it,

though the subsequent history will shew, that in all probability the last had the least w.

Alexander
aspires to
divine ho-
nours.

IF the tragical death of *Clytus* had brought *Alexander* to a right way of thinking, perhaps posterity, like the *Macedonian* soldiers, would have drawn a veil over this dark scene, and have chosen rather to commend the king's compassionate concern, than to have censured his drunken cruelty. But no sooner was his sorrow for the death of this worthy man alleviated, but he began again to give up himself to the management of those sycophants, whose poisonous speeches had wrought that mischief; and still they were dinning his ears, that in their opinion he was something more than man, and that it was injustice and disloyalty in other people not to think him so too. The result of all these discourses was, that a god he should be, or at least have divine honours paid him, as heretofore had been given to *Persian* kings; and *Anaxarchus* the sophist, *Agis* a miserable poet, *Chærilus*, *Agnon*; and other parasites, undertook to bring this great matter to bear, and to engage the *Greeks* as well as the *Asiatics*, to pay him adoration *. *Alexander* was mightily pleased with this, and a great banquet was appointed, at which this hopeful scheme was to be carried into execution. At this entertainment, *Anaxarchus* proposed the adoring *Alexander* in a set oration; he insisted, that *Bacchus* was a *Theban*, and though he admitted that *Hercules* was a *Greek*, and without reproach, yet he affirmed, that *Alexander's* being descended from him was at once the most certain, and the greatest honour which could be attributed to him; hence he inferred, that if *Bacchus* and *Hercules* were worthily worshipped, so without doubt would *Alexander* be, whose actions so far exceeded theirs, at some distance of time; but inasmuch as that worship would be of small consequence to him then, he alledged, it would be more rational, as well as more obliging, to offer it him now, while he was living, and could take pleasure in it. The *Macedonians*, who were not in the secret, were stunned at the speech, and knew not either what to think of its author, or what answer to afford themselves to what he had propounded; so a long and deep silence ensued. *Callisthenes* at last broke through it, and, as *Arrian* tells us, delivered himself in these words: “Indeed, *Anaxarchus*, I count not *Alexander* unworthy of any honour,

* *ARRIAN*. lib. iv. c. 9. *PLUT.* in vit. *Alex.* *CURT.* lib. viii. c. 7. & 8. *JUSTIN.* lib. xii. c. 6.

* *ARRIAN*. lib. iv. c. 11. *PLUT.* in vit. *Alex.* *CURT.* lib. viii. c. 18. *JUSTIN.* lib. xii. c. 7.

“ how

“ how great soever it be, that is fit to be ascribed to man ;
“ but there are prescribed differences amongst men between
“ divine and human honours ; amongst many others, in the
“ building of temples, and erecting of statues ; for to the
“ gods we consecrate oratories, offer sacrifices and drink-of-
“ ferings : To the gods are sung hymns ; men are praised,
“ but not adored : kisses in salutations are given to men,
“ but the gods are placed on high, and 'tis not lawful to
“ touch them, and therefore they are worshipped with ado-
“ ration. Solemn times of dancings are performed to the
“ gods, and pæans sung to them ; neither is it to be won-
“ dered at, inasmuch as the honours given to the gods are
“ various ; some sort of honours given to one, and others to
“ another, especially those honours of later times ; nay,
“ those honours given to some of the heroes differ from di-
“ vine honours. 'Tis not therefore fit to confound these
“ things, nor to advance men above themselves and all man-
“ kind besides, and to degrade the gods by worshipping
“ them with the same worship wherewith we adore men.
“ *Alexander* himself would not suffer any private man to
“ usurp the regal dignity and honours due to himself, though
“ he gained 'em by the unjust suffrages of the people ; much
“ more justly therefore may the gods be angry, if any mortal
“ man assume to himself divine honours, or accept of them
“ from others. However, let *Alexander* be esteemed, as in
“ truth he is, by many degrees the most valiant of them
“ that are valiant, the greatest king among all other kings,
“ and amongst generals the most worthy to command. But
“ as for thee, *Anaxarchus*, 'tis thy duty above any other
“ to instruct *Alexander* in those things that have been spoken,
“ and to deter him from the contrary ; for thy conver-
“ sation he daily makes use of in order to improve in
“ wisdom and in learning. Neither does it become thee
“ to be the beginner of this discourse, but rather to re-
“ member, that thou art not advising *Cambyfes* or *Xerxes*,
“ but the son of *Philip*, descended from *Hercules* and *Achil-*
“ *les*, whose ancestors came out of *Argos* into *Macedonia*,
“ and maintained their empire, not by arbitrary power, but
“ by ruling according to the laws and customs of the *Mace-*
“ *donians*. But divine honours were not conferred upon
“ *Hercules* himself by the *Grecians* while he was living ; nay,
“ nor when he was dead, before the oracle at *Delphos* com-
“ manded that he should be worshipped as a god. But if
“ there be but few that are in the country of the *Barbarians*,
“ we ought to entertain the same sentiments with them. And
“ I earnestly intreat thee, *Alexander*, to remember *Greece* ;
“ for

“ for whose sake this expedition was undertaken by thee, in
 “ order to add *Asia* to *Greece* ; and now consider, whether,
 “ when you return thither, you can be able to compel the
 “ free people of *Greece* to adore you as a god, or, excepting
 “ them of *Greece*, you can impose this dishonour and slavery
 “ upon the *Macedonians* only, or whether it be fit that quite
 “ different honours be there allowed you, seeing the *Gre-*
 “ *cians* confer only those that are human, according to the
 “ custom and manner of the *Greeks*, when, at the same
 “ time, only the *Barbarians* worship you as a god, after the
 “ manner of *Barbarians*. But if it be objected, that *Cyrus*
 “ son of *Cambyfes* was the first of all mortal men that was
 “ adored by men as a god, and that, since that time, this
 “ adoration has continued amongst the *Medes* and *Persians* ;
 “ yet you are to consider, how his pride was curbed by the
 “ *Scythians*, a poor and indigent people ; and how other
 “ *Scythians* again reduced *Darius* to more sober thoughts of
 “ himself ; and the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* *Xerxes* ;
 “ and *Clearchus* and *Xenophon* *Artaxerxes*, only with ten
 “ thousand men ; and *Darius* now overcome by *Alexander*,
 “ at a time when no divine honours were decreed him ^b. ”

Alexander was highly provoked at this speech, and the more
 for that the *Macedonians* could not forbear applauding it ;
 however, he ordered the business to go on, and settled the
 ceremonial of his adoration thus : When he drank to a per-
 son, it was expected, that the guest should immediately rise up,
 adore him, and, having received a kiss from the king, should
 depart. The eldest and most considerable of the *Persians*
 complied first ; in doing which they followed their old cus-
 tom, and were perhaps not displeased at the embarrassment of
 the *Greeks* (X). *Leonatus*, one of the king's friends, as *Ar-*
rian

^b ARRIAN. l. iv. c. 2.

(X) All who have treated this subject agree, that the *Persians*
 were as ready to comply with *Alexander's* motion for adoring him,
 as the *Greeks* were averse to it ; yet we are not to suppose from
 thence, that the former were as prone to idolatry as the latter ;
 if we should, it would be a very great error : And therefore, to pre-
 serve that consistency which is necessary between the several parts
 of this work, we have thought fit to add this note, in order to ex-
 plain the conduct of the *Persians*, and to acquit them of that gross
 adulation which has been charged upon them by some rash and in-
 considerate writers. Bowing down to, and even prostrating one's
 self before a prince, ever was, and still is, held in the east an act of
civil

rian has it ; or, as *Curtius* reports, *Polysperchon*, observing a *Persian* touch the floor with his chin, laughed at it, and bid him hit it a little harder ; for which *Alexander* caught hold of him, threw him from his couch, and, as he lay on

civil reverence, and no more. The *Persians* therefore, as *deists*, paid these profound marks of submission to their king, not as supposing him a deity, but from a persuasion that he derived a supreme authority from God. It may be, and indeed it is probable, the *Persians* did not explain this matter, either to *Alexander* or those about him ; but contented themselves with satisfying the king by their actions, and themselves by their thoughts (65). The *Greeks* proceeded upon notions directly opposite. They were *poly-theists*, and tho' they every day did a thousand ridiculous things in their public worship, yet, to pay divine honours to a man, was too gross for them ; and therefore, as is frequently the case, they acted right upon wrong principles ; for with respect to the ground of this submission, the king and they were agreed in their sentiments. He sought to be taken for something more than man, and they, with good reason, refused to acknowledge him such. As the *Persians* could not but have the highest contempt for their idolatry in all its shapes, so, without question, they were well pleased to see their zeal for idols embraze the *Macedonians* with their natural prince, which so strongly tended to put him into their hands. There is one objection which may possibly be made to this account, and ought therefore to be answered. It is this ; There are various instances in scripture, where bowing down to, or, as it is usually phrased, worshipping, a man, is prohibited as idolatrous (66 ; whence it might be inferred, that amongst the *Persians*, who were *deists* as well as the *Jews*, this practice was not, strictly speaking, lawful ; but, if we consider, that these prohibitions never extend to the case in question, but are always directed against worshipping private men, on a supposition of their being cloathed with some divine character, we shall easily perceive, that these marks of civil respect to supreme magistrates were always accounted innocent, and very conformable to the divine law. Thus *Daniel* complied with all the customs of the *Persian* court, bowed himself when he entered the royal presence, and saluted with the usual compliment. O king, live for ever (67) ! In a word, as the intent of the mind renders all actions either good or evil, so, in the present case, the *Persians* did that without idolatry, which was flat idolatry in those *Greeks* that did the same thing ; because the former honoured *Alexander* only as a man, the latter, whatever they conceived of him, paid him that respect which they thought only due to a god.

(65) *Univ. Hist. Eccl. l. vi. p. 502.* (66) *Acts xiv. 14. Rev.*
tail. 6. (67) *Dan. vi. 21.*

the floor, told him, *he made as ridiculous a figure as him whom he had despised.* When it came to the turn of *Callisthenes*, he pledged the king, and then came for his kiss. *Alexander* being deeply engaged in discourse with *Hephestion*, did not perceive he had missed any part of the ceremony ; but *Demetrius* one of his friends told him, that the philosopher had not adored him. The king thereupon put him back with his hand ; and *Callisthenes* going out was heard to say, *So then, I have only lost a kiss.* But the king afterwards revenged himself more severely, as we shall shew immediately, that we may not again interrupt the thread of our narration (Y).

WHILE

(ARRIAN. l. iv. c. 12. CURT. l. viii. c. 20. JUSTIN. ubi supra.

(Y) *Arrian* represents *Callisthenes* as a man exceeding proud of his knowledge, and, in point of vanity, very little behind *Alexander* himself. His temper was morose ; but he had a vehement and persuasive elocution (68). *Aristotle* made a right judgment of him and his abilities, when he said, *He was an excellent orator, but had no judgment.* The same great man foresaw what would one day be the fate of this philosopher ; for, hearing him treat *Alexander* with that unbecoming harshness which was too natural to him, he could not help repeating what *Thetis* in *Homer* says to *Achilles*,

Metbinks I see thee dying, see thee dead.

He is reported to have been a great declaimer, and that on this account he was chiefly admired by *Alexander*. Once at an entertainment the king commanded him to make an extempore oration in praise of the *Macedonians*, which he did with such facility, in terms so just and proportionate to their achievements, that all who were present, in token of their approbation, threw their garlands upon him, excepting *Alexander*, who contented himself with repeating these lines from *Euripides* ;

*Without surprize I bear thy language flow ;
For happy subjects pleasing words bestow.*

He then commanded *Callisthenes* to point out the errors and mistakes of the *Macedonians*, that they might the better know how to correct them. The orator, laying hold of this opportunity, immediately entered into a long and bitter invective against the *Macedo-*

(68) *Arrian. l. iv. c. 10.*

†

nians

WHILE the minds of men were yet warm, the murder of *A new Clytus* forgot, and the king's affectation of foreign manners *conspiracy* continually provoking his natural subjects, a new conspiracy *against him.* was discovered, which very narrowly missed taking effect.

The king had nearest his person fifty *Macedonian* youths of the first quality, who, according to the rules of waiting, continually attended him in the field, at his exercises, when at table, and when he retired to his rest. Among these there was one *Hermolaus* the son of *Sopolis*, who had contracted a violent antipathy to his master; the occasion this: One day, when he attended *Alexander* in the chace, a boar crossed him as he rode before the king; whereupon the young man, eager in his sport, struck the boar with a spear, and killed him on the spot. *Alexander*, provoked at losing an opportunity of shewing his dexterity, ordered the boy to be whipped in the sight of all his companions, and his horse taken from him. *Hermolaus*, almost distracted with the deep sense of the disgrace he had suffered, complained of it in the most moving terms to *Sostratus* the son of *Amyntas*, one of his companions, alledging, that he should never be at peace till he had revenged on *Alexander* the injury that had been done him. *Sostratus*, who loved him tenderly, came easily into his measures; and they two having formed the design, afterwards drew in *Antipater*, *Epimenes*, *Anticles*, and *Philotas*, all youths of quality like themselves and squires of the body to the king, to be concerned with them. The event of their consultations was, that when it came to be *Antipater's* watch,

nians in general, and against *Philip* of *Macedon* in particular, to whose greatness he applied these lines;

*When civil broils declining states surprize,
There the worst men to highest honours rise.*

This imprudent declamation lost him the hearts of his auditors; to which also the king's observation contributed not a little. *Callisthenes*, says he, *has not shewn so much of his eloquence, as of his ill will to the Macedonians, in this speech* (69) But, however, he might lose himself on this occasion, when he came to oppose the king's assuming divine honours, he was again cried up, and all the *Macedonian* youth followed him as the patron of liberty and the teacher of true philosophy; so much does a man's character depend on his going with, or going against, the people's humour.

(69) *Plut. in vit. Alex.*

they should kill *Alexander* in his sleep. It does not appear that any of the conspirators relented when the very day came ; nor is it probable that the king could possibly have escaped, if an unforeseen accident, or, as some would have it, a miracle, had not interposed and defeated all their purposes. *Aristobulus* in his memoirs relates it thus : There was a certain Syrian woman who attended the camp of *Alexander*, and who frequently acted and spake as if beside her senses. This woman pretended to foretel future events ; but she delivered her predictions in so odd a way, that, till their accomplishments compelled people to take notice of them, she was laughed at and ridiculed ; but when by degrees the falling out of things she had foretold had gained her some degree of credit, the king, who had always a leaning to these sort of things, directed that she should never be restrained from entering his presence. It happened, that the night the conspirators had fixed on for the execution of their design, *Alexander* drank pretty late with his friends. As he was retiring from the place where they were drinking to his own apartment, this woman threw herself in his way, and, in one of her frantic fits, bid him go back and drink all night, in which, 'tis said, he obeyed her. However it was, so it fell out, that he did drink all that night, which rendered the conspirators scheme abortive. The next day *Epimenes* the son of *Arfeas*, who was one of the number, discovered the whole to *Chariclus* his friend, and this *Chariclus* communicated it to *Eurylochus* the brother of *Epimenes* ; *Eurylochus* immediately addressed himself to *Ptolemy* the son of *Lagus*, who informed the king of it ; upon which directions were immediately given, that all who were named by *Eurylochus* should be immediately apprehended and examined apart. They did not make any difficulty of confessing the whole design ; and each of them named those who were in it. Some time after, *Hermolaus*, according to the *Macedonian* constitution, was brought before the army, and there charged with intending the murder of his sovereign. Instead of a defence, the young man, with great serenity of mind and cheerfulness of countenance, said, “ That a man
“ of spirit, who was born free, could never tamely support
“ the indignities which had been offered him by the king.
“ He alledged also, that not himself only, but his country,
“ had been grossly injured ; that *Philotas* had been murdered
“ without proof ; *Parmenio* assassinated without pretence ;
“ numbers put to death on slight suspicions ; *Clytus* butcher-
“ ed in drink ; the *Median* habit and customs preferred to
“ those of *Macedon* ; edicts issued to esteem a man a god,
“ while

“ while that man plunged himself in drunkenness, luxury,
 “ and other vices, scandalous to himself and detrimental to
 “ the state. From all which, by giving him death, he sought
 “ to set himself and the *Macedonians* free.” His speech
 ended, himself and his accomplices were stoned by the army^d.
 As all the *Macedonian* youth were auditors and admirers of
Callisthenes, and *Hermolaus* his particular friend, he was
 charged with this conspiracy and apprehended. *Arrian* seems
 to be in some doubt, whether the apprehension of *Callisthe-*
nes was founded on any proofs, which, however *Ptolemy*,
 in his memoirs affirmed, or was seized merely from the
 malice and spite of *Alexander*. We have a better authority
 on this head, than either *Arrian* or *Ptolemy*, which yet is not
 sufficient to determine it. This authority is a passage in a
 letter from *Alexander* to *Antipater*, as follows, “ The young
 “ men were stoned to death by the *Macedonians*; but for the
 “ *sophist*, i. e. *Callisthenes*, I will take care to punish him,
 “ and them too who sent him to me, who harbour those in
 “ their cities who conspire against my life.” *Plutarch* tells
 us, that *Aristotle* was threatened by these insinuations; how-
 ever, certainly the king grew very inexorable, and at the
 same time very suspicious. As to *Callisthenes*, what became
 of him it is impossible to determine. *Aristobulus*, who was an
 eye-witness of all he wrote, affirms, that he was carried a-
 bout in chains, till he died of a natural death. *Ptolemy*,
 who was also an eye-witness of all he recorded, asserts, that
 he was first rack’d, and then crucified. Besides these we
 have many other stories about him, which, as they are all
 uncertain, we think, we may safely omit, especially, as we
 shall have occasion to speak of him again in another
 place^e.

WHEN the season of action approached, ambassadors from
Scythia arrived; whose errand was to inform the king, that
 their monarch, to whom he had sent ambassadors, was dead,
 and that his brother had succeeded him, that this new prince
 was willing to receive his commands, would give him his
 daughter in marriage, if he thought fit, and, if he desired it,
 would come to wait upon him in person. *Alexander* answer-
 ed them in terms of friendship, but declined a *Scythian* al-
 liance. *Pharaimanes*, king of the *Chorasmeni*, came about
 the same time to *Alexander*’s camp, with a body of fifteen
 hundred horse. He informed him, that his territories bor-

*He forms
 new de-
 signs.*

^d ARRIAN. l. iv. c. 13. 14. PLUT. in vit. Alex. CURT. l.
 viii. c. 23. ^e ARRIAN. l. iv. c. 15.

dered on the *Euxine* sea, and offered his service, both for providing his army with necessaries, and furnishing himself whatever quota the king should think fit, in case he intended to turn his arms on that side. With this *Alexander* was perfectly well pleased, commended the king, entered into an alliance with him, and recommended him to *Artabazus*, president of the provinces bordering on his dominions; however, as to the expedition proposed, he declared, that his intentions were first to reduce the *Indians*, and then to return into *Greece*; after which he proposed to make use of this prince's offer, and with his whole forces to invade the countries bordering on the *Euxine* sea. With this answer he dismissed *Pharaimanes*, and immediately prepared for the carrying his own projects into execution †, though they were far from being pleasing either to his council or to his army (Z).

He re-
enters Sog-
dia.

HE first directed his march to the banks of the river *Oxus*, and then determined to enter the country of the *Sogdians*, on account of their refusing to yield obedience to the governor he had appointed over them. *Polyspherchon*, with some other generals and a considerable body of forces, he left in *Bactria*, The rest of his army he divided into five columns; the first under the command of *Hephestion*; the second under *Ptolemy*

† ARRIAN. l. iv. CURT. l. viii.

(Z) Whoever peruses the critical notes in the best editions of *Arrian* and *Plutarch*, will perceive, that some mistakes are imputed to the former, and many to the latter, in the accounts they give us of these marches, and other transactions of *Alexander*, yet whoever reads *Strabo's* geography, wherein these matters are treated more largely, though, generally speaking, with conformity enough to the descriptions of the writers above-mentioned, and compares them with authentic relations of the state of the *Usbeck-Tartars*, and of the north-east provinces of the present *Persian* empire, will find, that these censures are, for the most part, very indifferently founded; and that these antient writers are very far from being in the wrong. This deserves particular regard in respect of the transactions we are now coming to; for it is certain, that the countries are well described, and that what is said of fortifying rocks, and making granaries under ground, are not either dreams or fictions. On the contrary, if an *European* army were again to make war in these countries, the history of their actions would not only transcend any thing recorded by *Arrian*, but, in all probability, appear more romantic to us than any of the stories of *Curtius* himself, who, on a careful and impartial perusal, will appear not to have erred so much in facts, as in his manner of relating them, attending more to the method and elegance, than to the certainty and accuracy of his history.

Lagus;

Lagus; the third was commanded by *Perdiccas*; the fourth by *Cænus* and *Artabazus*; the last he led *himself*. The rest of the corps spread themselves over the country, reducing all the castles and other fortresses they met with, and which were held by the enemy. The body commanded by *Alexander* marched on to *Maracanda*, where shortly after the rest of the columns arrived; the whole province being reduced under his subjection. *Spitamenes*, however, who was at the head of the revolted *Sogdians*, retired towards *Scythia*, and having procured a supply of six hundred horse, he suddenly entered *Bactria*, surprized a castle, where he put the governor and garison to the sword, and then advanced to the very suburbs of *Zariaspa*; but, not having a force sufficient, he could not besiege the town. However, some *Macedonian* horsemen, who had been left there sick, finding themselves now a little better, immediately mounted, and followed him. The *Scythians* were so terrified at their approach, that they abandoned all their booty; but while the *Macedonians* were employed in collecting it together, *Spitamenes* prevailed on his *Scythians* to take post in a wood behind them, from whence perceiving the victors to return carelessly, and without order, they suddenly issued, and cut them off to a man. As soon as the news of this defeat came to *Craterus*, he immediately marched against the *Massagetae*, who, when they heard of his approach, fled towards the desert; but were hotly pursued by him; and they, and others of the same nation, to the number of about a thousand horse, were overtaken just at the edge thereof, and a sharp conflict happening thereupon, the *Macedonians* were victors. Of the *Barbarians* about one hundred and fifty were slain; the rest escaped into the desert, *Craterus* and his soldiers not being able to pursue them farther. In the mean while *Artabazus*, begging to be discharged from his government of *Bactria*, by reason of his advanced age, his petition was granted; and *Alexander* substituted *Amyntas* the son of *Nicolaus* to succeed him, and having left *Cænus* there, with his own and *Meleager's* troops, besides four hundred of the auxiliary horse, all the pikemen on horseback, and the *Bactrians* and *Sogdians* under *Amyntas*, the chief command over all those was given to *Cænus*, who ordered them to winter in *Sogdia*, partly for garisons to defend the country, and partly to encounter *Spitamenes*, if he should attempt to make any inroad there during the winter. But *Spitamenes*, understanding that all places were filled with *Macedonian* garisons, and that it would be a difficult matter for him to make a retreat, if he had occasion, resolved at once to turn his whole power against *Cæ-*

nus and his forces, imagining he would penetrate the most easily into the country that way; and when he approached *Gabæ*, a fortified place belonging to the *Sogdians*, seated on the borders between them and the *Massagetæ-Scythians*, he drew in four thousand *Scythian* horse to join his forces, that they might make an irruption into *Sogdia*. These *Scythians* being extreme poor, as having neither cities, nor fixed and certain habitations, nor possessing any thing which they were afraid to lose, were easily induced to join their forces with any nation. *Cænus*, having intelligence of *Spitamenes*'s approach, marched forth with his army to meet him; and a sharp battle thereupon ensued, in which the victory fell to the *Macedonians*. The *Barbarians* lost above eight hundred horse, and *Cænus* about twenty five horse and twelve foot in this conflict. The *Sogdians* who survived this day's action, as also many of the *Bactrians*, leaving *Spitamenes* in his flight, came to *Cænus*, and, having surrendered themselves into his power, swore fidelity to him. But the *Massagetæ*, and other *Scythians*, after the loss of the battle, having seized upon the baggage of the *Bactrians* and *Sogdians* their allies, accompanied *Spitamenes* in his flight into the desert; but when they came to understand, that *Alexander* was preparing to scour these places, they slew *Spitamenes*, and, having cut off his head, sent it as a present to *Alexander*, hoping by this action to make him cease his pursuit after them. This is *Arrian*'s account; as for that of *Curtius*, it is so little consistent therewith, that we are under a necessity of giving it by itself, and leaving it to the reader, whether he will credit the foregoing very probable, or that very surprizing story⁸ (A).

AT

⁸ ARRIAN. lib. iv. c. 18.

(A) *Spitamenes* had a wife on whom he doated, and as the dangers and fatigues she was exposed to in accompanying him wherever his misfortunes drove him, were become troublesome to her, she employed all her charms to prevail with him to desist from flying any farther; and as he had already experienced *Alexander*'s clemency, to try to appease the anger of an enemy he could hope no otherwise to escape. She had three sons by him, who were pretty well grown up. These she brought to his embraces, and begged he would at least take pity of them; and, to enforce her prayers, she told him *Alexander* was not far off. But he thinking he was betrayed, and not advised, and that it was the confidence she had in her beauty, which made her not care how soon she came into *Alexander*'s power, drew his sword, and would have killed her, if her brothers had not happily interposed. However, he commanded her to be gone out of his sight, threatening her with death

it

AT the opening of the spring, the king marched into *Sogdia*, in order to besiege a fortress built on a rock, to which *Oxyartes* the *Bactrian* had conveyed his wife and family, *The Sog-
dian rock
besieged
and taken.*

if she offered to come into his presence ; and that he might not be sensible of her absence, he passed the night with his concubines ; yet as his passion for her was great, it was the more inflamed by the distaste he took to their company. He therefore gave himself intirely again to her, conjuring her never to speak to him more on that account, but willingly undergo with him whatever fortune did allot them ; since, for his own part, he had rather die than surrender himself. Hereupon she excused herself, telling him, that she had advised him only to what she thought was most for his interest, and, admitting she had talked like a woman, yet it was with a faithful intention ; however, for the future she would conform to his pleasure. *Spitamenes*, won by this counterfeit complaisance, gave a great entertainment on account of their reconciliation, where, having loaded himself with wine and good cheer, he was brought half asleep into his apartment. As soon as his wife perceived he was in a sound sleep, she drew a sword she had under her garment for the purpose, and cut off his head, and, all besmeared with the blood, gave it to a servant who was privy to her crime ; and, being attended by him, came in this bloody condition to the *Macedonian* camp, where she sent word to *Alexander*, *she had something of importance to communicate to him, and which he must hear from her own mouth.* The king immediately ordered her to be introduced, and observing her to be stained with blood, imagined she came to complain of some affront offered her ; he therefore asked her what she had to say ? Hereupon she called for the servant that waited in the entry, who, having *Spitamenes's* head under his garment, gave the guards a suspicion, and, upon their searching him, he pulled out the head, and shewed it ; but the bloodless paleness had so disfigured its features, that it was a hard matter to distinguish whose it was. *Alexander* being informed, that it was a man's head that he brought, went out of his tent, and inquired into the matter ; which he accordingly told him. The king's mind was now perplexed with variety of thoughts ; for, on the one hand, he looked upon it as a considerable piece of service, that he who was first a refugee, and had afterwards proved a traitor, and was like to have delayed the execution of his great designs, was killed ; but then again he detested the barbarous action of her having thus treacherously murdered her husband, who had deserved well of her, and by whom she had several children. At last the foulness of the fact got the better of the service it did him, so that he sent her word to be gone from the camp, lest the *Greeks* more humane minds and gentler manners should be corrupted by the example of so barbarous an action (70).

(70) *Curt. l. viii. c. 12.*

as to a place impregnable. It was indeed the last resource of the rebels, and *Alexander* rightly judged, that unless he could reduce it by force, it would afford them a constant retreat, and so spin out the war to an excessive length. When he arrived at the place, he found it strong beyond his apprehension ; for the rock was not only rugged and steep, but so slippery also, that it was almost impossible to ascend it ; besides it was covered with snow, which melted afforded the besieged plenty of water, their granaries being filled with corn ; so that there was as little probability of starving them by a blockade, as reducing them by a siege ; yet *Alexander* resolved to attempt it by the method last-mentioned. To this he was the more strongly urged by the answer sent him, when he summoned the place ; for the commandant then told him, That when he had a corps of soldiers with wings, he might expect to take the place. In order to push matters as far as they would go without loss of time, of which the *Macedonians* were always frugal, he caused a proclamation to be made, offering the soldier who should first gain the rock twelve talents, and prizes of an inferior, but still great, value to those who should mount after him : The last being to have three hundred darics, which amounted to about three hundred pounds. On the publication of this reward, no less than three hundred of the *Macedonians* offered themselves for this service. These men taking with them their tent pins and strong ropes, went to make their attempt on that side of the rock which was least accessible, on a supposition, that there they should find the least opposition. In this conjecture tho' they were not deceived, yet in the very getting up they lost thirty of their number, whose bodies were never found, being, by the height of their fall, deeply interred in the snow ; for the manner in which they ascended the rock was thus : They struck their iron-pins into such places as would afford them fastening, and having fixed ropes to these pins, they ascended by those ropes ; whenever therefore either the pins or the ropes gave way, the *Macedonians* fell, and, as we observed before, were lost in the snow. Those who got up safely making the appointed signal from the top of the rock, *Alexander* summoned the place a second time, giving the besieged to understand, that he had now a corps of winged soldiers. The *Macedonians* above, in compliance with the signal from below, making a loud shout and clattering their weapons, the garrison were so much affrighted, that, without making any inquiry as to the number of those who were got up, they surrendered the place at discretion.

Oxyartes

Oxyartes was absent when this fortress fell thus into the hands of the king, who entertained his wife and family with that civility and honour for which he was so justly famous. The daughter of *Oxyartes*, whose name was *Roxana*, was esteemed the most beautiful woman in *Asia*, after the death of the wife of *Darius*; and she had the good fortune to subdue the heart of *Alexander*, who hitherto had not given any signs of an amorous disposition. Some writers say, that he saw this lady at a feast, and that he was so taken with her beauty, that he immediately ordered bread to be divided between them, according to the *Macedonian* method of espousing; but *Arrian* says nothing of this. He only tells us, that *Alexander*, falling violently in love with his captive, was yet a man of so much honour and temperance, that he would not make use of the privilege of war, but openly and generously espoused the lady; of which *Oxyartes* having advice, he instantly came and rendered himself, and was received with all the testimonies of kindness and respect ^b.

AFTER the reduction of *Sogdia*, *Alexander* determined to *As also* march into the country of the *Paratacæ*, where there was *another* another fortress on a rock held to be absolutely irreducible. *fortress* This was called the rock of *Chorienæ*, because one of the *held im-* principal noblemen of the country of that name had retired *pregnable.* thither for shelter, and had with him a very numerous garrison, well stored with all sorts of provisions. The sloping height of this rock was near five miles, its circuit near fifteen; but it was every-where so steep and craggy, that, except by a narrow way wrought by art, it was absolutely inaccessible. The whole was surrounded by a deep and broad ditch. These difficulties served only more strongly to determine *Alexander* to overcome them; he therefore provided instantly for the siege, by cutting down a vast number of trees, of which ladders were made for descending the ditch, it being dry. One half of his army was employed all day in this labour; the other half, by three divisions, wrought all night in the ditch itself, where they began to drive huge piles, and to cover them with hurdles, and other proper materials for establishing a solid bridge, over which the army might march to the assault. At first those in the fort derided their attempt; but when they saw them proceed briskly in it, and found, that themselves, with all their advantage of situation, were not able to injure them with their missile weapons, by reason of their contrivances to cover themselves in the ditch, they be-

^b ARRIAN. l. iv. c. 20,—24. CURT. l. viii. PLUT. in vit. Alex.

gan to be dismayed ; so that at length *Chorienes* sent to desire that *Oxyartes* would come and confer with him ; which was accordingly granted. *Oxyartes* having assured him, that nothing was inaccessible to the spirit and industry of the *Macedonians* ; and that, on the other hand, there could not be a more generous or merciful enemy than *Alexander*, he so wrought on *Chorienes*, that, with some of the principal persons who were with him, he descended the rock, and went to wait on *Alexander* in his camp. The king received him so obligingly, that he presently sent back some who accompanied him, to direct the garison to yield up the place ; which was performed without delay. *Alexander* then ascended with five hundred armed foot, to take a view of the place, which afforded him great satisfaction, on account as well of its capaciousness and conveniency, as of its extraordinary strength. However, in respect of *Chorienes*, he left no garison there ; but having enrolled him in the number of his friends, committed it again to his charge. This nobleman, to give some testimony of the sense he had of such honourable treatment, finding *Alexander's* army was much distressed for want of provisions, distributed corn, wine, and salt-meat, for two months to all his soldiers, and at the same time declared, that he had not exhausted the tenth part of his own stores. This made the favour appear still greater in the king's eyes, since it demonstrated the surrender of *Chorienes* to have proceeded solely from the sense of *Alexander's* generosity, and not of any necessity he was under ¹ (B).

Catenes

¹ ARRIAN l. iv. c. 24, 25.

(B) The accounts given us by *Curtius* of the *Sogdian* rocks are really irreconcilable to probability, or to themselves. The commander of the first rock he calls *Arimazes*. He describes the rock itself as if it were hollow within ; and as he is fond of any opportunity of digressing, describing, and exercising his talent in rhetoric, so on this occasion he introduces *Alexander* making a speech to those who were to mount the rock, obliges us with their answer, and afterwards enters into a long and pompous detail of the difficulties surmounted by them in scaling of this rock. Last of all he tells us, that when *Arimazes* came down and submitted himself to the king, with thirty of the principal persons who had taken shelter with him, he ordered them to be first whipped, and then crucified, notwithstanding that he was in great doubt of their throwing his handful of men down who had scaled the top of the rock ; a proceeding directly opposite to common sense and reason (71). In the province of *Naura* he tells us, that *Alex-*

(71) *Curt. l. vii. c. 11.*

ander

Catenes and *Austanes* were now the only rebels remaining in this country. Against these *Craterus* was dispatched, with a considerable body of horse and foot; and a battle ensuing, the barbarians were entirely routed, *Catenes* slain, and *Austanes* taken alive, and put in chains. All things being now in a state of quiet, *Alexander* advanced over mount *Caucasus*, as his soldiers called it, and in ten days time reached the city of *Alexandria*, which he had founded. There he displaced the governor, because he had been wanting in his duty; and leaving here such of his *Macedonian* foot as were unfit for further service, he, after pompous sacrifices to *Minerva*, advanced to the river *Cophenes*. Thence he dispatched a herald to *Taxiles* and the other princes on this side the river *Indus*, directing them to come forth and meet him, as he advanced towards their territories; which they accordingly performed, bringing with them the most valuable presents which their dominions would afford; *Taxiles*, in the name of the rest, making him a promise, that they would present him with twenty-five elephants*. *Curtius* tells us, that this In-

The war transferred towards the Indus.

* *Idem* *ibid.*

ander besieged another prodigious rock, of which *Sifimithres* was governor. This man, he says, had two sons by his own mother; which, he informs us, was a thing customary in that country; and that this wife and mother of his with-held him, by her arguments, from surrendering the place, when his friend *Oxyartes* had taken pains to come and treat with him. At last, however, *Sifimithres* yielded himself, his family, the people under his command, and the rock, to *Alexander*, who treated him with great humanity (72). A little after *Curtius* tells us of the king's entering into a province governed by one *Cohortanus*, who treated the king with great magnificence: and that his daughter *Roxana* coming in at this feast, the king fell passionately in love with her, and being immediately betrothed to her afterwards married her (73). Here are a multitude of mistakes, if we credit the best *Greek* authors; for *Roxana* was not the daughter of *Cohortanus*, but of *Oxyartes*; nay, this *Cohortanus* is met with no-where else. In all probability he was the same with the *Choricenes* of *Arrian*. As for *Sifimithres*, he is mentioned by *Plutarch*, who tells us, that *Alexander* asked *Oxyartes*, if this man was a man of courage? To which he answered, No. Then, said the king, the rock is our own, if it were indeed impregnable in its nature (74). These passages are evidently discordant, and therefore we have not inserted them in the text, that they might not perplex or impede the reader in his prospect of *Alexander's* conquests.

(72) *Idem* l. viii. c. 2.

(73) *Idem* *ibid.* l. viii.

c. 4. (74) *Plut.* in vit. *Alex.*

dian king, or his son, whom he calls *Omphis*, presented *Alexander* with fifty-six elephants, and three thousand bulls, a crown of gold, and a considerable sum of coined silver ; which presents, as they bespoke the respect and kindness of the giver, had such an effect on the mind of the conqueror, that he not only restored the king his own presents, but added a thousand talents to them ¹. *Plutarch* has the same story with respect to these thousand talents ; but, in all probability, they were extracted from some of the memoirs of *Alexander*, written rather to surprize and amaze mankind with fictitious adventures, than really to inform them of what he did ^m. *Hephestion*, with part of the army, was sent, with king *Taxiles* and the rest of the *Indian* Princes, absolutely to reduce the country as far as the river *Indus* ; and on their coming thither, they were directed to make the necessary preparations for the king's passing over with all his forces. *Hephestion* executed this commission with little trouble, only one of the petty princes in the country presuming to make any resistance ; and he being slain, and the city, where he had fortified himself, taken by storm, it struck such a terror as kept all the adjacent country in great quiet. *Alexander*, in the mean time, bent his march, with the rest of his forces, towards the river *Choe*, by some called *Choaspes*, on the banks of which he found a rough and barbarous people, whose cities he prepared to reduce. The first he attacked was surrounded by a double wall ; and yet the people therein were so hardy, that they issued out into the field and offered him battle. *Alexander*, with his horse and light-armed troops, immediately engaged them, and, after a short and smart conflict, compelled them to take shelter in the place ; he was, however, slightly wounded in the shoulder. *Ptolemy* son of *Lagus*, and *Leonatus*, two of his principal captains, shared the same fate. He then caused the place to be invested, and the next day attacked the first wall where he thought it weakest. The inhabitants made a vigorous defence ; but finding it absolutely ineffectual, they at last retired within the inner wall, and while the *Macedonians* were preparing to attack that also, they opened their gates on the other side towards the mountain, whereby many of them made their escape, tho' numbers were slain by *Alexander's* soldiers, who were so enraged at his being wounded, that they gave no quarter. The king then ordered the city to be razed, and afterwards proceeded to *Andaca*, a most considerable city in those parts. This was rendered to him upon terms, and he left *Craterus* there with the heavy-armed forces, to reduce

¹ CURT. l. viii c. 12. ^m PLUT. in vit. Alex.

all the rest of the country and to settle it. Himself, with the horse and light-armed troops, continued their march to the river *Euaspla*, where the chief strength of the *Aspii*, the principal nation in those parts, was assembled. After two days hard march they drew near the city, which the enemy immediately fired and withdrew towards the mountains, whither, however, the *Macedonians* pursued them, and cut off great numbers in their rear. Here it was, that *Ptolemy* the son of *Lagus* gave a shining proof of his bravery; for he attacked the general of the *Aspii*, who was posted on a little hill, and in a single combat slew him. The barbarians, on the other hand, fought desperately to preserve his body, till that *Alexander*, at the head of some dismounted horse, ascended the hill, and charging them in flank, obliged them to retire without carrying off their dead general. He passed next over one of these mountains, and advanced to the city *Ariganus*, which he found burnt and deserted; but *Craterus* having now rejoined the army, he left him there with orders to repair it, and people it with such of the inhabitants of the country as were willing to dwell therein, and such invalids as were glad to have a place to dwell in. The king still advanced, till encamping at the foot of a mountain, *Ptolemy* the son of *Lagus* informed him, that he discerned a great camp of the barbarians, and a multitude of fires therein. *Alexander* thereupon divided his army into three bodies; the first under the command of *Leonatus*; the second under *Ptolemy*; and the third commanded by himself. All three advanced towards the enemy; which when the barbarians perceived, trusting to their numbers, they rushed into the plain; but their violence putting them into confusion, tho' they behaved bravely, and fought stoutly, yet the *Macedonians* had the victory in the centre, where *Alexander* commanded, after putting vast numbers to the sword. *Ptolemy* was constrained to attack a considerable body of the enemy posted upon a hill. He, marching up that side of it which was most accessible, without attempting to surround it at the bottom, constrained the enemy to fly, and, by leaving them an open passage, tempted them to fly the sooner. *Leonatus* on his side also prevailed; but the victory was bloody every-where. According to *Ptolemy's* memoirs, the enemy lost forty thousand men, and two hundred and thirty thousand head of cattle; which *Alexander* perceiving to excel those of *Greece*, both in size and beauty, he caused the largest and fairest to be chosen out and sent them into *Macedon*, where they might serve to mend the breed, and to perpetuate the memory of his conquests. After this battle he continued some time encamped, that *Craterus* might have time to

to join him ; which when he had done with the heavy-armed foot, *Alexander* began immediately to project a new expedition for reducing the *Affaceni*, who were said to have twenty thousand horse, thirty thousand foot, and thirty elephants, ready to take the field ⁿ.

The city of
Mazaga
with much
difficulty
taken.

IN order to reach these *Affaceni*, *Alexander* was forced to pass through the territory of the *Guræi*, which he did with his horse and light armed troops, and crossed a very rapid river in that country, not without much difficulty, on account of the swift current of the water, and round slippery stones at the bottom, whereon neither man nor horse could tread with safety. The *Affaceni*, when they were well assured of this, retired into the city, and abandoned all thoughts of defence of the plain and open country. This capital of theirs is by *Curtius* called *Mazaga*, by *Strabo* *Magosa*, by *Diodorus* *Massaca*, by *Arrian* *Massaga*. It was certainly a well fortified city, from the pains that it cost *Alexander* to reduce it ; and if *Curtius* took the description he gives us from any author who had really seen it, we might reasonably esteem the siege thereof one of the boldest enterprizes that *Alexander* ever undertook. The government of this country, at the time *Alexander* invaded it, was in the hands of a woman, as *Plutarch*, *Curtius*, and *Justin* agree ; the latter calls her *Cleophes*. She was according to them the wife of *Affacenus*, but *Arrian* says nothing of her, though he seems to acknowledge that the fact was so ^o. This lady had very providently entertained a body of seven thousand mercenary *Indians*, who, from the upper *India*, came to put themselves into the place, and, as *Plutarch* tells us, they also hired themselves out for the defence of other cities. These *Indians*, perceiving that the army of *Alexander* was far from being numerous, persuaded the garrison to issue out, and try their fate in the field, that so, if it were possible, a siege might be avoided. This was accordingly done, and *Alexander* rightly conceiving, that if the battle was fought immediately under the walls of the city, the enemy would reap great advantages therefrom, drew up his phalanx a mile behind his horse and archers, causing these to advance before the enemy, and then, as if amazed or dismayed, to retire towards those. His stratagem had its desired effect, the *Indians*, conceiving highly of their own valour, followed the *Macedonians*, as if they had already defeated them ; but when they drew near the hill where *Alexander* had

ⁿ ARRIAN. ubi supra. ^o ARRIAN. lib. iv. c. 26. CURT. lib. viii c. 10 JUSTIN. lib. xii. c. 7. PLUT. in vit. Alex.

posted his phalanx, the horse and archers attacked them in both wings, and the king with his foot charged in the centre. Thus the *Indians* were broke at the first shock, and exposed to great slaughter in their retreat to the city, though they behaved with great bravery, and taught *Alexander* to conceive better of them, than of any of the nations he had yet met with. Immediately after this victory, *Alexander* caused the city to be invested, and going to take a view of the works which he had ordered to be erected before it, he had the misfortune to be wounded in the leg. *Curtius* enlarges mightily upon this accident; he informs us, that the king, notwithstanding this wound, continued his observations on horseback, without suffering it to be bound up; that afterwards, feeling himself exceedingly pained, he was forced to have it dressed, but continued, however, giving the necessary directions, till all things were done that he desired; being, however, so sensible of pain, that he could not help saying, *Though I am called the son of Jupiter, I feel like other men the smart of wounds, and the pain of diseases*^r. *Arrian* tells us, that he was wounded indeed, but that the very next day he ordered his engines to be brought to batter the place. A bridge being made, the king gave directions that it should be immediately assaulted, which was accordingly performed with that vigour and vivacity shewn by the *Macedonians* upon all occasions. The *Indians*, however, repulsed him with considerable loss. The next day the city was stormed again with the like ill success. On the third day *Alexander* caused a large wooden tower to be drawn before the breach, and a draw-bridge to be let fall from thence, that his men might pass over the more easily. This was a good contrivance, and answered the end; but, the soldiers rushing forwards in too great numbers, the bridge broke, and they fell all into the ditch, where the defendants from the wall plied them with stones, arrows, and darts, so that *Alexander* was forced to send *Alcetas* with a fresh body of troops to bring them off. The fourth day a new bridge was made, and the soldiers again attempted the place, but to no purpose. The mercenary *Indians*, as long as their general survived, behaved themselves so gallantly, that *Alexander* was not likely at all to gain the city; but he being killed by a dart from one of the engines, and many of the soldiers disabled by their wounds, the rest were desirous of treating with *Alexander*, which they did by a herald; and for the sake of avoiding unnecessary effusion of blood, the king granted them these terms, as *Arrian* affirms, that they should

^r JUSTIN. lib. xii c. 7. CURT lib. viii c. 10.

safely march out of the city, and serve under him upon the same terms they did there. On these conditions they accordingly marched out, and, armed as they were, encamped on a hill at some distance from *Alexander's* camp. In the evening *Alexander* received advice, that these *Indians* were determined to march off in the night, that they might not be obliged to serve amongst the *Macedonians* against their brethren. Upon this he surrounded their camp with his own soldiers, and cut them all to pieces^a. *Diodorus Siculus* gives us a very distinct account of this business, and treats it as the blackest act of perfidy that ever was committed; he does not indeed say, that the *Indians* were to be taken into the service of *Alexander*, but that they had leave to march out of the place, and that when they were marched out, the king followed them, and fell upon them. This engaging them to cry aloud, that he had violated his oath, and to call upon the gods to revenge it; he equivocally answered, that he had given his oath that they should come safely out of the city, but not that they should remain friends to the *Macedonians*; in consequence of which impious distinction, he killed them and their wives too, who bravely fought to defend their husbands^r. *Plutarch* allows, that this barbarous action left an indelible stain upon his memory^s. The city of *Massaga* was soon after taken, and therein, according to *Arrian*, the mother and daughter of *Assacenus*; according to all other authors, his widow. *Curtius* says, that she went out at the head of a procession of noble ladies, carrying golden goblets of wine in their hands; and that she procured to herself not only pardon, but the continuance of her dignity, rather from her excellent beauty, than from her eloquence, or from any inclination of pity in the king. He adds, that she had some time after a son, who, whatever father he had, was called *Alexander*^t. *Justin* is still more plain, he says that she procured this indulgence by prostituting herself to *Alexander*, and that the *Indians* ever after were pleased to stile her the *royal whore*^u; so far, it seems, *Alexander* travelled to find a more steady and settled virtue, than was known in the schools of Greece.

Ora taken, THE next undertaking of *Alexander* was the siege of *Ora*,
and Bazi- in order to which he detached *Attalus*, *Alcetas*, and *Deme-*
ra. trius, to invest it, while in the mean time *Cænus* marched to

^a ARRIAN. lib. iv. c. 27.^r DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xvii.^s In vit Alex.^t CURT. lib. viii. c. 10.^u JUSTIN. ubi

supra.

besiege

†



besiege *Bazira*, another strong city. Neither of these places surrendered on the arrival of the king's forces, as it had been supposed they would ; but on the contrary, made all the necessary preparations for a vigorous defence ; so that *Cœnus* was forced to turn his siege into a blockade, and the king himself was constrained to go in person to the siege of *Ora*. This city was surrounded with a strong wall, and had in it a considerable garison of mercenary *Indians* ; yet *Alexander* quickly reduced it, seizing all the elephants therein for the use of his army. The inhabitants of *Bazira*, when they were informed of this, took the advantage of a dark night to pass by the troops left by *Cœnus* to block up the city, and escaped to the mountains behind them. From these hills the inhabitants of *Bazira*, associating themselves with such as were willing to defend their liberty to the last, withdrew to a certain rock, which, if not impregnable by its situation, they thought might be rendered so by their own skill and courage^w.

THE rock of *Aornus* was in circuit two hundred furlongs, or not much less than twenty five of our miles. Its height even in its lowest parts eleven furlongs, the way leading to it artificial, and very narrow : On the top of it there was a fine plain, part of which was covered with a thick wood ; the rest arable land with a fountain, furnishing abundance of excellent water. There was a report among the inhabitants of the adjacent country, that *Hercules* himself had besieged this place in vain. *Arrian* delivers it as his opinion, that this report was without foundation ; but it is more than probable, that the report itself was raised after *Alexander* had taken it, in order to magnify his exploit. However it was, after making the necessary dispositions for preserving the country in peace behind him, he marched to *Embolina*, the nearest city, from whence he afterwards advanced to the rock itself. While he was preparing all things for the siege, an old man and his two sons, who had long lived in a cavern near the summit of the rock, came to offer their services to *Alexander*, to shew him a private way of ascending it ; which proposition was readily embraced, and *Ptolemy* with a considerable body of light-armed troops, were sent with him ; with orders, in case they succeeded, to intrench themselves strongly upon the rock, with the wood which the old man was to direct them to, before they attempted to attack the *Indians*. *Ptolemy* exactly executed all that had been given him in charge, and when he had so done, caused a lighted torch to be erected in

^w ARRIAN. lib. iv. c. 27—28. DIODOR. ubi supra COR. lib. viii. c. 11. JUSTIN. lib. xii. c. 7

his camp upon a pole, as a signal to *Alexander* that they were safely got up.

*The rock of
Aornus re-
duced.*

THE king gave immediate orders for a body of troops to attempt the passage, whereby the rock was ordinarily ascended, from which, however, they were repulsed by the *Indians* with great slaughter. Then the king sent an *Indian*, whom he could trust, with letters to *Ptolemy*, directing him at such time as he attacked the rock next, to issue from his camp, and fall upon the enemy behind. But in the intermediate space, those who defended the rock attacked *Ptolemy* with great vigour, and were, though with much ado, at last repulsed. This, however, did not hinder that general from obeying the orders that were sent him ; for when *Alexander* renewed the attack the next day, he on his side came out of his camp with a part of his soldiers, and attacked the enemy in the rear : the *Indians* repelled the *Macedonians* on both sides, and though *Alexander* did himself ascend as far as *Ptolemy's* post with a detachment of chosen men, yet still all they could do was ineffectual, so that the king was forced to turn his thoughts another way ; he saw clearly, that the great advantage of the *Indians* was the straightness and declivity of the way by which they were attacked ; in order therefore that his forces might fight upon more equal terms, he caused a vast quantity of trees to be cut down, and with them filled up the cavities between the plain where the enemy was encamped, and the highest of his advanced posts. When the *Indians* understood his design, they despised it as a thing impracticable ; but when they saw with what ardor this work was carried on, and felt the effects of it from the missive weapons which were now thrown among them by the engines, they began to change their sentiments, insomuch, that they sent deputies to propose terms of surrender, which when *Alexander* had heard, he presently suspected their true design was to amuse him till they made their escape ; upon which he withdrew his guards from the avenues, and as soon as he knew that the *Indians* were descended, he with seven hundred light-armed foot from *Ptolemy's* post, took possession of the deserted rock, and then made a signal for his forces to fall upon the flying *Indians*. They, setting up a loud shout, so terrified the fugitives, that numbers of them fell from the rocks and precipices, and were beat to pieces ; of the remainder, the greater part were cut off in the roads. Thus, as *Alexander's* soldiers boasted, that rock was taken, before which *Hercules* himself had been foiled. Certain it is, that the king sacrificed there with great pomp, and left a garrison under the command of *Siphacus*, who had formerly served *Bessus* ; but had now

for some time been in *Alexander's* army, and behaved with much fidelity *. From hence he marched again into the territories of the *Assaceni*, where the brother of the deceased king had taken up arms; however, when he came he found the cities deserted, and the country totally abandoned. Finding therefore that little could be done there, he made it his business to find out and seize such elephants, as the *Indians* had been forced to leave in the plain country; and after a march of sixteen days he arrived at the river *Indus*, where *Hephestion* and *Perdiccas* had already provided a bridge of boats for the passage of the army † (C).

Arrian is very nice in his account of *Alexander's* passing this river; but neither the importance of the thing, since he passed it without opposition, or the nature of this work, which would be rendered tedious thereby, allow us to dwell here upon matters which must be retouched, when we come to the history of *India*. The king refreshed his army for thirty days in the countries on the other side of the river, which were those of his friend and ally *Taxiles*, who at this time performed all that he had promised to the king giving him thirty elephants, and joining his army now with seven hundred *Indian* horse, to which, when they were to enter upon action, he afterwards added five thousand foot; the true reason of this seems to have been his enmity to *Porus*, a famous *Indian* prince, whose territories lay on the other side of the river *Hydaspes*. During this recess, the king sacrificed with great solemnity,

Alexander passes the rivers Indus and Hydaspes.
Year of the Flood, 2672.
Before Christ, 327.

* *ARRIAN*. lib. iv. c. 28. *DIODOR. SICUL.* lib. xvii. *CURT.* lib. viii. c. 11. *JUSTIN.* lib. xii. c. 7. † *ARRIAN*. lib. iv. cap. ult. *DIODOR.* ubi supra. *CURT.* ubi supra.

(C) *Diodorus Siculus* informs us, that, after the taking the rock of *Aornus*, the king was advised that one *Aphrices*, an *Indian*, lay not far distant with an army of twenty thousand men and fifteen elephants, in order to oppose his passage. But before the king had time to think of reducing him, the *Indians* themselves, whether out of hatred to their general, or in hopes of *Alexander's* favour, our author pretends not to determine, put their commander to death, and brought his head and armour as a present to the king (74). *Curtius* calls him *Eryces*; but he varies little in the rest of the story; it should seem that he was the general of some mercenary *Indians*, (75). How *Arrian* came to omit this event, we cannot pretend to say, unless we suppose that he doubted the truth of it, because it was omitted in the memoirs of *Aristobulus* and *Ptolemy*.

(74) *Diodor. Sicul. l. xvii.*

(75) *Curt. l. viii. c. 12.*

receiving also embassadors from *Ambisurus*, a very potent prince, and from *Doxareas*, who was also a king in those parts, with tenders of their duty and considerable presents (D).

(D) There is not the least notice taken in *Arrian* of the *Taxiles* here spoken of, being another *Taxiles* than him mentioned before. *Diodorus Siculus* and *Curtius*, however, are positive that it was the son of him heretofore mentioned, and that the name of this man was *Mophis* or *Omphis* (76); and that he refused to take upon him the name of *Taxiles*, which was common to all the kings of the country, till *Alexander* commanded him so to do, and put the crown upon his head, which he did with great willingness, being extremely pleased with this extraordinary mark of submission (77). *Strabo* tells us, that the city of *Taxila*, which was the capital of this kingdom, was seated between the rivers *Indus* and *Hydaspes*; that it was extremely well built, governed by good laws, the country round about being extremely fruitful and well planted; the same author tells us, that this kingdom was as large as *Egypt* (78), which is also confirmed by *Plutarch*; he adds, that at the first interview between *Alexander* and *Taxiles*, the latter, who was reputed a very wise man, addressed him thus: *To what purpose should we destroy the subjects of each other, if it be not your design to deprive us of our fruits and our water, which as they are the only things necessary to preserve the lives of men, are only worth fighting about? As to what the world calls riches, if I am better provided than thee, thou shalt share with me with all my heart; but if thou art already richer than I, I am not so proud as to refuse being obliged to you, or so base as to think of being ungrateful for your favours.* To which *Alexander* replied, *Do not think, Taxiles, that by these fair speeches you shall avoid contending with me; I will no more be overcome in civility than war; and therefore, do what you will, I will oblige you still more.* Which promise of his he accordingly made good, not only by bestowing on the king great presents, but also by making large additions to his dominions (79). After this, *Arrian* and indeed all other authors agree, that *Alexander* proceeded to reduce *Nysa*, a famous city, said to be built *Bacchus*, at this time governed by its own laws, and living in a state of freedom: We did not think fit, however, to enter into a detail of what passed between *Alexander* and the deputies from this city in the text, because *Arrian* himself, though he has related it at large, seems to doubt very much of the fact, or rather to look upon it as a fable (80). To say the truth, there are so many things of importance belonging to the history of *Alexander*, that we are willing to pass by, as briefly as we may, such romantic stories as these, that we may not omit things at once more pleasing and more profitable to the reader.

(76) *Diodor. l. xvii.* (77) *Curt. l. viii. 12.* (78) *Strab. Geogr. l. xv.*
 (79) *Plut. in vit. Alex.* (80) *Arrian. l. v. Diodor. Curt. Justin.*
Plut. &c.

These ceremonies over, *Alexander* appointed *Philip* governor of *Taxila*, and put a *Macedonian* garison into the place, because he intended to erect an hospital there for the cure of his sick and wounded soldiers. These things once performed, he ordered the vessels, of which his bridge had been composed when he passed the *Indus*, to be taken to pieces, that they might be brought to the *Hydaspes*, where he was informed, that *Porus*, with a great army, lay encamped to hinder his passage. When he approached the banks of this river with his army and the auxiliaries under the command of *Taxiles*, he found that the people he had to do with were not so easily to be subdued, as the *Persians* and other *Asiatics*. The *Indians* were not only a very tall and robust, but also a very hardy and well-disciplined, people ; and their king *Porus*, a prince of high spirit, invincible courage, and great conduct. It was about the summer solstice when *Alexander* reached the *Hydaspes*, and consequently its waters were broader, deeper, and more rapid than at any other time ; for in *India* the rivers swell, as the sun's increasing heat melts the snow, and subside again as winter approaches ; *Alexander* therefore had every difficulty to struggle with. *Porus* had made his dispositions so judiciously, that *Alexander* found it impossible to practice upon him, as he had done upon others, and to pass the river in his view ; wherefore he was constrained to divide his army into small parties, and to practice other arts, in order to get the better of so vigilant a prince ². To this end he caused a great quantity of corn and other provisions to be brought into his camp, giving out, that he intended to remain where he was till the river fell, and, by becoming fordable, should give him an opportunity of forcing a passage : This did not, however, hinder *Porus* from keeping up very strict discipline in his camp, which when *Alexander* perceived, he frequently made such motions as seemed to indicate a change of his resolution, and that he had still thoughts of passing the river. The main thing the *Macedonians* stood in fear of was the elephants ; for the bank being pretty steep on the other side, and it being the nature of horses to start at the first appearance of those animals, it was foreseen, that the army would be disordered, and incapable of sustaining the charge of *Porus's* troops. But after some time, that the kings had amused each other, *Alexander*, who hated inactivity, determined to pass at all events.

² ARRIAN. lib. v. DIODOR. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. ALEX.
JUSTIN. lib. xii. c. 8. CURT. lib. viii. c. 13.

yet, before he took that resolution, he contrived a method of passing with the least danger possible, which was this: There was at the distance of one hundred and fifty stadia from his camp, a rocky promontory projecting into the river, thick covered with wood, and over-against this promontory there lay a pretty large uninhabited island almost overgrown with wood. The king therefore conceived within himself a project of conveying a body of troops from this promontory into that island, and upon this scheme he built his hopes of surprizing *Porus*, vigilant as he was. To this end, he kept him and his army constantly alarmed for many nights together, till he perceived that *Porus* apprehended it was only done to harass his troops, and therefore no longer drew out of his camp, but trusted to his ordinary guards: Then *Alexander* resolved to put his designs in execution. A considerable body of horse, the *Macedonian* phalanx, with some corps of light-armed foot, he left in his camp under the command of *Craterus*; as also the auxiliary *Indians*, giving these orders to be observed in his absence. That if *Porus* marched against him with part of his army, and left another part with the elephants behind in his camp, *Craterus* and his forces should remain where they were. But if it so happened, that *Porus* withdrew his elephants, then *Craterus* was to pass the river, because his cavalry might then do it safely. *Alexander* having marched half the way, or about nine of our miles, ordered the mercenary troops, under the command of *Attalus* and other generals, to remain there; and directed them, that as soon as they knew he was engaged with the *Indians* on the other side, they should pass in vessels provided for that purpose in order to assist him. Then taking a round-about road, that the enemy might not perceive his design of reaching the rock, he marched as diligently as he could towards that post. It happened very fortunately for him, that a great storm of thunder, lightning, and hail, rose in the night, whereby his march was perfectly concealed, his vessels of thirty oars put together, and his tents stuffed and stitched, so that they passed from the rock into the island, without being perceived, a little before break of day; the storm ceasing just as he and his soldiers were ready for their passage. When they had traversed the island, they boldly set forward to gain the opposite shore in sight of *Porus's* out-guards, who instantly posted away to give their master an account of this attempt. *Alexander* landed first himself, and was followed as expeditiously as possible by his forces, whom he took care to draw up as fast as they arrived. When they began their march
again,

again, they found that their good fortune was not so great as at first they esteemed it ; for it appeared now, that they had not reached the continent at all, but were in truth in another island much larger than the former. They crossed it as fast as they could, and found that it was divided from the *terra firma* by a narrow channel, which, however, was so swelled by the late heavy rain, that the poor soldiers were forced to wade up to the breast ; when they were on the other side, the king drew them up again carefully, ordering the foot to march slowly, they being in number about six thousand, while himself with 5000 horse advanced before. As soon as *Porus* received intelligence that *Alexander* was actually passing the river, he sent his son, with two thousand horse and one hundred and twenty armed chariots, to oppose him. But they came too late, *Alexander* was already got on shore, and even on his march. When the *Macedonian* scouts perceived them advancing, they informed the king, who sent a detachment to attack them, remaining still at the head of his cavalry in expectation of *Porus*. But when he found that this party was unsupported, he instantly attacked them with all his horse, and defeated them with the slaughter of many, and the loss of all their armed chariots, the son of *Porus* being slain in the fight. The remainder of the horse returning to the camp with this disastrous account, *Porus* was in some confusion ; however, he took very quickly the best and wisest resolutions his circumstances would allow, which were, to leave a part of his army with some of his elephants to oppose *Craterus*, who was now about to pass the river also, and with the rest to march against *Alexander* and his forces, who were already passed. This resolution once taken, he marched immediately out of his camp at the head of four thousand horse, thirty thousand foot, three hundred chariots, and two hundred elephants. He advanced as expeditiously as he could, till he came into a plain, which was firm and sandy, where his chariots and elephants might act to advantage ; there he halted, that he might put his army in order, knowing well that he need not go in quest of his enemy. *Alexander* soon came up with his horse, but he did not charge *Porus* ; on the contrary, he made a halt, and put his troops in order, that they might be able to defend themselves in case they were attacked. When he had waited some time, his foot arrived, whom he immediately surrounded with his horse, that after so fatiguing a march, they might have time to cool and breathe themselves before they were led to engage. *Porus* permitted all this, because it was not his interest to fight, and because
he

he depended chiefly upon his order of battle, the elephants covering his foot, so that the *Macedonians* could not charge them. When *Alexander* had disposed his foot in proper order, he placed his horse on the wings, and observing that he was much superior in them to the enemy, and that the cavalry of *Porus* were easy to be charged ; he resolved to let the foot have as little share as possible in this battle. To this end, having given the necessary directions to *Cœnus* who commanded them, he went himself to the right, and with great fury fell upon the left wing of *Porus*. The dispute, though short, was very bloody ; the horse of *Porus*, though they fought gallantly, were quickly broken ; and the foot being by this means uncovered, the *Macedonians* charged them. But the *Indian* horse rallying, came up to their relief, yet were again defeated. By this time the archers had wounded many of the elephants, and killed most of their riders, so that they did not prove less troublesome and dangerous to their own side than to the *Macedonians* ; whence a great confusion ensued, and *Cœnus*, taking this opportunity, fell in with the troops under his command, and intirely defeated the *Indian* army. *Porus* himself behaved with the greatest intrepidity and with the most excellent conduct : He gave his orders, and directed every thing as long as his troops retained their form ; and when they were broken, he retired from party to party as they made stands, and continued fighting till every corps of *Indians* was put to the rout. In the mean time *Craterus* had passed with the rest of the *Macedonian* army ; and these, falling upon the flying *Indians*, increased the slaughter of the day excessively, insomuch that twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse were killed, all the chariots hacked to pieces, and the elephants not killed were taken : two of *Porus*'s sons fell here, as also most of his officers of all ranks. As for himself, *Alexander* gave strict directions that no injury might be done to his person ; he even sent *Taxiles* to persuade him to surrender himself, and to assure him, that he should be treated with all the kindness and respect imaginable ; but *Porus* disdainig this advice from the mouth of an old enemy, threw a javelin at him, and had killed him, but for the quick turn of his horse. *Meroe* the *Indian*, who was also in the service of *Alexander*, succeeded better ; he had been the old acquaintance of *Porus*, and therefore, when he entreated that prince to spare his person, and to submit himself to fortune and a generous victor, being weary and almost choaked with thirst, *Porus* stopped his elephant, alighted, and, having refreshed himself with a little water,

water, desired his friend to conduct him to *Alexander*. As soon as the *Macedonian* knew that *Porus* was coming, he went with some of his friends to meet him. At this interview, *Alexander* was greatly surprized ; the *Indian* king was seven foot high, exactly proportioned, of a noble aspect, and in his air and behaviour preserved such an unconquered spirit, that *Alexander* was charmed with him, insomuch that he desired *Meroe* to ask him, *How he would please to be treated?* *Porus* answered, *As a king* ; which when it was reported to *Alexander*, he said, *That for my own sake I shall do. And therein, returned Porus, is comprehended all that I can ask.* This so well suited the genius of his conqueror, that we may say, the condition of this *Indian* king suffered nothing by the loss of the battle. *Alexander* gave him his liberty immediately, restored him shortly after to his kingdom, to which he also annexed provinces almost equal to it in value. Neither was *Alexander* a loser by his munificence, for *Porus* remained his true friend, and constant ally ^a.

Alexander, to perpetuate the memory of his victory, ordered two cities to be erected, one on the field of battle, which he named *Nicæa*, which seems to have been the same which *Plutarch* says was built to the memory of his famous dog *Peritas* ; the other on this side of the river, where his camp had been, which he called *Bucephala*, in honour of his horse who died there, as *Arrian* says, of mere old age, being on the verge of thirty. All the soldiers who fell in the battle he buried with great honours, offered solemn sacrifices to the gods, and exhibited pompous shews on the banks of the *Hydaspes*, where he had forced his passage. After this short recess from war, he, at the head of his horse and light-armed troops, entered the territories of the *Glaucæ*, in which there were thirty seven good cities and a multitude of populous villages ; all which were delivered up to him without fighting ; and as soon as they were given up to him, he presented them to *Porus* ; and having reconciled him to *Taxiles*, he sent the latter home to his own dominions. About this time ambassadors arrived from *Abissarès*, professing, that himself and his kingdom were at his devotion ; among these ambassadors was his brother who brought a large present and forty elephants. *Alexander* directed *Abissares* to repair to him in person, and having given orders to *Philip* to march with a body of troops to reduce the *Affaceni* who were revolted, himself

His proceedings in the conquest of India.

^a *ARRIAN.* lib. v. c. 14, 15, 16. *PLUT.* invit. *Alex.* *CURT.* lib. viii. *JUSTIN.* lib. xii.

with the rest of his army marched to the river *Acesines*, which being fifteen furlongs broad, extremely rapid, having great rocks in the midst of its channel, he passed it with much difficulty, making use both of his vessels and his skins. However, those on the latter escaped best, for when they struck against the rocks, the very force of the blow threw them off again; whereas the like accident dashed the vessels to pieces. On the other side of this river lay the territories of another *Porus*, whose conduct had been very fluctuating during the course of this war; for at some times he had thoughts of submitting himself to *Alexander*, at others he determined to oppose him, at last he abandoned his dominions, and led away with him those soldiers who ought to have defended them. *Alexander* in pursuit of him passed the *Hydraotes*, another *Indian* river, and having now conquered the whole kingdom of this other *Porus*, he gave it to *Porus* his ally ^b.

The Indians confederate against him.

IN the midst of all this success, *Alexander* received advice that the *Cathei*, *Oxydracæ*, and the *Malli*, the most warlike nations in *India*, were confederated against him, and had drawn together a great army. The king immediately marched to give them battle. In a few days he reached the city of *Sangala*, seated on the top of a hill, and having a fine lake behind it. Before this city the confederate *Indians* lay encamped, having three circular lines of carriages locked together, and their tents pitched in the centre. It was evident enough to the *Macedonians*, that the forcing of these people would be a work of great difficulty; however, *Alexander* resolved immediately to attack them; in pursuance of which resolution, he encamped as near as possible to their first intrenchment of carriages, and having taken a view of it, chose out a place which he thought the most proper for an attempt to be made on. The *Indians* made a noble defence, but at last the first line of their carriages was broken, and the *Macedonians* entered. The second was stronger by far, yet *Alexander* attacked that too, and after a desperate resistance, forced it; the *Indians* without trusting to the third, retired into the city, which *Alexander* would have invested; but the foot he had with him not being sufficient for that purpose, he caused his works to be carried on both sides as far as the lake, and on the other side of that, ordered several brigades of horse to take post; he likewise commanded the engines to be brought up for battering the walls, and in some places employed miners. The second night he received intelligence

^b ARRIAN. DIODOR. JUSTIN. CURT. PLUT. in vit. Alex.
that

that the besieged, knowing the lake to be fordable, intended making their escape through it. Upon this he ordered all the carriages which had been taken on forcing their camp to be placed up and down the roads in order to hinder their flight, giving directions to *Ptolemy*, who commanded the horse on the other side of the lake, to be extremely vigilant, and to cause all his trumpets to sound, that the forces might repair to that post where the *Indians* made their great effort. These precautions had all the effect he could wish; for of the few *Indians* who got through the lake, and passed the *Macedonian* horse, the greater part were killed on the roads; but the gross of their army was constrained to retire through the water again into the city. Two days after the place was taken by storm, in which seventeen thousand *Indians* were killed, seventy thousand taken prisoners, with three hundred chariots, and five hundred horse. *Alexander* is said to have lost but a hundred men in the siege, but he had twelve hundred wounded, and amongst them many persons of distinction. This done, he sent *Eumenes* his secretary with a party of horse to acquaint the inhabitants of the cities adjacent of what had befallen the *Sangalans*, with a promise that they should be kindly treated, if they submitted; but they were so much affrighted at what had happened to their neighbours, that all *Eumenes*'s good words and promises were lost upon them, inso-much that, abandoning all their cities, they fled into the mountains, chusing rather to expose themselves to wild beasts, than to those invaders, who treated their countrymen so cruelly. When the king was advised of this, he sent detachments of horse to scour the roads, and these finding aged, infirm, and wounded people, to the number of about five hundred, put them to the sword without mercy. Perceiving that it was impossible to retrieve the inhabitants of this country, he razed *Sangala*, and gave the territory to the few *Indians* who had submitted to him. These points once settled, he prepared to pass the river *Hyphasis*, having nothing in view, as *Arrian* tells us, but still to seek out new enemies, when he had subdued the old ones.

THE chief reason which induced the king to think of this expedition was, the informations he had received of the state of the countries beyond this river. He was told, that they were in themselves rich and fruitful; that their inhabitants were not only a very martial people, but also very civilized; that they were governed by the nobility, who were them-

^c *ARRIAN. lib. v. c. 25. DIODOR. PLUT. JUSTIN. ubi supra.*

selves subject to the laws ; and that, as they lived in happiness and freedom, it was likely they would fight obstinately in defence of those blessings. He was farther told, that among these nations there were the largest, strongest, and most useful elephants bred and broke ; he was fired with an earnest desire of reducing such bold and brave people under his rule, and of attaining to the possession of the many valuable things that were said to be amongst them. As exorbitant as his personal ambition was, he found it impracticable to infuse any part of it into the minds of his soldiers, who were so far from wishing to triumph over new and remote countries, that they were highly desirous of leaving those they had lately conquered, and returning to their own. When therefore they were informed of the king's intentions, they privately consulted together in the camp on the situation of their affairs ; at this consultation, the gravest and best of the soldiery held down their heads, wept and lamented their misfortune, that the king should make use of them, not as lions, who fall fiercely on those by whom they are injured, but as mastives to fly upon and tear such as were shewn them for enemies by their master ; the rest were not altogether so modest, they expressed themselves roundly against the king's humour of leading them from battle to battle, from siege to siege, and from river to river ; protesting that they would follow him no farther, nor lavish away their lives any longer to purchase fame for him. *Alexander* was a man of too much penetration not to be early in perceiving that his troops were very uneasy ; he therefore harangued them from his tribunal, and, if we might depend upon them, *Arrian* and *Curtius* both have given us the substance of that harangue ; but they differ widely from each other, and the frame of each of the speeches agrees exactly with the genius of the author, in whose works we find it. That in *Arrian* is grave, solid, and at the same time very specious ; whereas that in *Curtius* is copious, florid, and full of strong rhetorical figures, which serve rather to amaze than to persuade : We may therefore reasonably suppose, that *Arrian* and *Curtius* composed each his harangue ; as to that of *Alexander*, it turned probably on the same general heads with theirs, and consisted in a warm representation of the glory that would redound to them, if, after conquering *Asia*, they went on to subdue the habitable world ; a recapitulation of the victories they had already gained, and large promises of vast rewards and gratifications, if they continued to be the companions of his labours, and enabled him to maintain the character of invincible, which as

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the son of *Jupiter* the oracle of *Hammon* had bestowed upon him. His eloquence was great, and the love his army had for him was yet very strong ; however, they did not relent, but remained sullen and silent, and at last turned their eyes on *Cænus*, an old experienced general, whom *Alexander* loved, and in whom the army confided. He had generosity enough to undertake their cause, and to tell *Alexander* frankly, that men endured toil and labour in hopes of repose ; that the *Macedonians* were already much reduced in their numbers ; that of those who remained, the major part were invalids, and that they expected, in consideration of their former services, he would now lead them back to their native country ; an act which of all others would contribute most to his own great designs, since it would encourage the youth of *Macedon*, and even of all *Greece*, to follow him in whatever new expedition he should please to undertake, whether to the north or to the south, against the *Indians* beyond *Hyphasis*, or the unknown nations bordering on the *Hyrcanian* sea. The king was far from being pleased with *Cænus*, and much less satisfied with the disposition of the army, which continued buried in a deep silence. He therefore dismissed the assembly ; but the next day he called another, wherein he told the soldiers roundly, that he would not be driven from his purpose, that he would proceed in his conquests with such as would follow him voluntarily ; as for the rest, he would not detain them, but leave them at their liberty to go home to *Macedon*, where they might publish that they had left their king in the midst of his enemies. Even this expedient had no success, his army was so thoroughly tired of long marches and desperate battles, that they were unanimously determined to go no farther, either for fair speeches or foul. The king thereupon retired to his tent, where he refused to see his friends, and put on the same gloomy and discontented temper which reigned among his forces. For three days things remained in this situation ; at last the king suddenly appeared, and as if he had been fully determined to pursue his first design, he gave orders for sacrificing for the good success of his new undertaking. *Aristander* reported after the sacrifices were over, that the omens were altogether inauspicious ; upon which the king said, *That since his proceeding farther was neither pleasing to the gods, nor grateful to his army, he would return.* When this was rumoured among the army, they assembled in great numbers about the royal tent, saluting the king with loud acclamations, wishing him success in all his future designs, giving him

him at the same time hearty thanks ; *For that he, who was invincible, had suffered himself to be overcome with their prayers* ^d (E).

Alexander,

^d ARRIAN. lib. v. c. 25—29. DIODOR. lib. xvii. Olymp. cxiii. 2. PLUT. in vit. Alex. CURT. l. ix. c. 5—10. JUSTIN lib. xii. c. 8.

(E) *Diodorus Siculus* insists largely on the battle between *Alexander* and *Porus* ; he tells us, that king was so wounded, that he fell from his chariot to the ground, that he lost in the engagement twelve thousand men, and that of the *Macedonians* there fell two hundred and eighty horse and seven hundred foot : After this he describes the countries through which *Alexander* passed, and the singularities observable in them. He asserts the *Hyphasis* to be seven furlongs over and six fathoms deep ; and he tells us, that *Alexander* was informed, that if he continued his march, he would meet with a desert twelve days journey over, and then the river *Ganges*, the largest and deepest in *India* ; on the other side of which, he would find *Xandranes* king of the *Gangarides* at the head of an army of twenty thousand horse, two hundred thousand foot, two thousand chariots, and four thousand elephants. The king, looking upon this story to be a mere romance, sent for *Porus*, and charged him to tell him the truth, who assured him, that the thing was so, and that he was not imposed on. These accounts, joined to the hardships they had endured, induced the *Macedonians* to refuse to be led farther, which at first exceedingly displeased the king ; but when he found they could not be moved, he consented to return, having first given orders that they should first erect twelve altars, each fifty cubits high, to draw a trench round his camp fifty foot broad and forty deep, casting up out of the earth, which was dug from thence, a very strong retrenchment on the inside ; every foot soldier was likewise directed to provide two beds of five cubits ; and all the cavalry, besides these beds, were ordered to put up a manger twice as big as the ordinary size ; these things were done to amuse posterity, and to make them believe that *Alexander* had led an army above the common standard of men into *India* (81).—*Plutarch* says expressly, that the battle with *Porus* took off the edge of the *Macedonian* courage, and made them unwilling to meddle any more with the *Indians*, especially when they heard that beyond the *Ganges* the kings of the *Gangarides* and *Præfians* had assembled eighty thousand horse, two hundred thousand foot, eight thousand armed chariots, and six thousand fighting elephants. Our author assures us, that this was no vain report ; for that *Andracottus*, who was then a youth, and

(81) *Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvii.*

Alexander, having once resolved to make the *Hyphasis* the limits of his conquests, divided his army; and having prevailed ordered on to return.

saw *Alexander* in his camp, lived afterwards to conquer all these countries with an army of six hundred thousand men, and made *Seleucus* a present of five hundred elephants at once; which prince was often heard to say, that if *Alexander* had pursued his design, he would in all probability have succeeded, the king then reigning in those parts being hated for his cruelty, and despised for the meanness of his birth. We have also from *Plutarch* an account of *Alexander's* causing arms of an extraordinary bigness, mangers of an excessive largeness, and bits for bridles of unusual size to be left behind in his camp, when he was compelled by his soldiers to think of returning (82).—*Strabo* in his description of *India* agrees very well with *Diodorus*, relating almost the same things which he does: We have in both stories of venomous serpents, of a nation putting children to death for want of comeliness and well-proportioned limbs, and dogs so strong, and of such spirit, that they encounter lions, with many other tales of the like nature taken from *Onesicritus*, who was indeed the captain of *Alexander's* galley, but had the honour also to outlye every author that meddled with his history, which was in truth no ordinary performance (83).—*Curtius* in the main agrees pretty well with the authors mentioned in this note; however, he differs in certain circumstances; some of no great moment, and some which deserve notice. He makes the distance from the *Hyphasis*, which he stiles *Hypasis*, and the *Ganges*, eleven days journey; he calls the king of the *Gangaridæ*, *Aggrannes*, and says he had twenty thousand horse, two hundred thousand foot, three thousand chariots, and three thousand elephants. In relating the sedition in the *Macedonian* camp, he hath inserted rhetorical speeches of excessive length; as to the extraordinary altars, arms, and beds, he agrees with *Diodorus* and *Plutarch* (84).—*Justin* gives a short, but very magnificent detail of the battle with *Porus*, whose character he has raised more in a line or two, than many authors in pages; he places the *Gangaridæ* amongst the nations conquered by *Alexander*, and says, that when he came with his army to engage the *Cupbites*, the *Macedonians* perceiving they were to fight with two hundred thousand horse, intreated him to spare the small remains of the forces his father had made use of, and allow them the moderate favour of carrying home their mangled carcases to be buried in the sepulchres of their ancestors, to which reasonable request he at length with much ado assented (85).—*Polyænus*

(82) *Plut. in vit. Alex.*(83) *Strab. Geogr. lib. xv.*(84) *Curt. lib. ix. c. 2. & seq.*(85) *Justin. lib. xii. c. 8.*

ordered twelve altars to be erected equal in height, and exceeding in breadth redoubts of an ordinary size, he caused sacrifices to be offered on them; and having exhibited public shews after the *Grecian* manner, he added all the conquered country to the dominions of *Porus*, and then began his march towards the river *Hydraotes*; from thence he marched on to the *Acesines*, where he found the city which he had directed *Hephestion* to build, to which he invited all the inhabitants of the adjacent country, and left also therein such of his mercenaries as were infirm, and desired to reside there. *Abissares*, a petty king, who had submitted to him in his march this way, and whom the king had ordered to repair to him, sent deputies to excuse himself on account of sickness, which excuse the king was pleased to accept, because that prince had sent the thirty elephants which he had promised, and offered to submit to what-ever terms the king should impose. *Alexander* therefore ordered *Arfaces*, president of the province adjoining to his dominions, to inspect his conduct; and having settled the tribute he should pay, marched on to the river *Hydaspes*, where finding the new cities, *Nicaea* and *Bucephala*, somewhat damaged by the great rains which had fallen in his absence, he ordered his soldiers to repair them, gave the necessary directions for the security of his conquests, and then addressed himself to the care of the preparations necessary for passing down the river *Indus* into the ocean * (F).

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* ARRIAN. lib. vi. c. 1—3.

amongst many instances of *Alexander's* wisdom and military skill mentions several which happened in his *Indian* war, amongst others the passage of the river *Hydaspes* and the battle with *Porus*; the success of the former of which he attributes to the king's invention, and the victory obtained over the latter to the masterly disposition *Alexander* made of his troops before the engagement (86). This we have fully explained in the text, and it is without question one of the noblest acts which stands recorded of this conqueror.

(F) *Alexander's* design was to sail down the *Hydaspes* to its junction with the *Acesines*, and then through the *Acesines* into the *Indus*, and through the last mentioned river to the ocean. As the king was a diligent inquirer into whatever regarded natural history, when he first arrived in these parts, he from general informations took up a very odd opinion; it was this, that he had

(86) *Polyæn. Stratagem. lib. iv. c. 3, 4, 5, 9.*

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found

THE care taken by *Alexander* for the execution of this project, shewed much more prudence than the project itself, he had ordered vast quantities of timber to be felled in the neighbourhood of the *Hydaspes*, through which he was to sail

*Embarques
his army.*

found out the source of the *Nile*. The grounds of this mistaken notion were these: *Alexander* had seen in the river *Indus* crocodiles, and on the banks of the *Acēsines* such beans growing as in *Egypt*; putting these things together, he fancied that this great river, rolling on into vast deserts, lost in them its name; but entering again the well inhabited country of *Ethiopia*, was there called the *Nile*, and thence rolled down with the same name into *Egypt*. He was confirmed in this odd conjecture by *Homer's* calling the *Nile*, from its entering *Egypt* to its fall into the sea *Egyptus*; for this seemed to imply, that the same river running through different countries, acquired different names. At last he became so confident, that amongst other things which he wrote to his mother *Olympias*, he set down this; that he had found the springs of the *Nile*. But inquiring farther, and receiving full satisfaction that the *Indus* did not lose itself in any desert, but by two large mouths entered the ocean, he caused the passage before-mentioned to be struck out. It may to some seem strange, that we have insisted so largely upon a point which at first sight may seem trivial; our reason is this: Many have erred in the like manner with *Alexander*, though few have had the good sense to retract their errors like him, even when they have discovered them. The matter here stated is a fact, and a fact attended with very curious circumstances, sufficient to direct us in all cases of a like nature, and to engage us not to depend too much on the conjectures of the greatest men, and the greatest travellers, but to rely on them only for facts (87). A little before this his embarkation died *Cænis*, *Alexander's* old captain, and who had dared to take upon him the arduous employment of being the army's orator against the will of their prince; *Curtius* tells us, that *Alexander* was afflicted at his death, but that he could not help saying, *That he had made too long a speech, considering the short time he had to live*, with other things to the same purpose; However, he was interred with great solemnity, and if *Alexander's* sorrow was not over sincere, we may be sure that of the army was unfeigned; for they had now lost their best friend, as well as a most experienced general *Diodorus* (88) and *Curtius*, in what they say of the king's passing down these rivers, vary in some respects from *Arrian*, and in others contradict him; but there is no need of troubling the reader with particular accounts, because they are matters of small importance, and such as have in them more of the wonderful, than of the credible or the useful (89).

(87) *Arrian. lib. vi. c. 1.*

(88) *Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvii.*

(89) *Curt. l. ix. Arrian. l. vi. c. 2.*

into the *Indus* ; he had caused the vessels with which he had passed over rivers to be brought thither ; and had assembled a vast number of artificers, capable of repairing, rebuilding and equipping his fleet, which, when finished, and in a condition to be launched, consisted of eighty vessels of three *banks of oars*, and of lesser ships and transports about two thousand. As for those who were to manage this fleet, he collected them out of the *Phœnicians*, *Cyprians*, *Carians*, and *Egyptians* following his army, and who were held to be perfectly well versed in all the branches of the *nautic art*. As for the disposition of the army, it was settled thus ; the archers, *Agrians*, the light-armed foot, and some horse, he took on board the fleet ; *Craterus*, with a body of horse and foot, marched on the right-hand *bank* ; *Hephestion*, with the major part of the army, and two hundred elephants, on the left-hand. *Nearchus* was admiral of the whole fleet ; and *Onesicritus* captain of the royal galley. When all things were ready, the army embarked about break of day, the king, in the mean time, sacrificing to the gods, according to the rites used in his own country, and to those of that country where he now was. Then he himself went on board, and causing the signal to be given by sound of trumpet, the fleet began to move. *Craterus* and *Hephestion* had marched some days before. From the third day, we are informed by *Arrian*, *Alexander* came to that part of the river which was over-against their camps. Here he had information, that the *Oxydracæ* and the *Malli* were raising forces to oppose him ; whereupon he determined to reduce them, for he made it a rule with him in the course of this voyage, to compel the inhabitants on both sides the river to yield him obedience ; but, before he arrived on the coasts of the people before-mentioned, he himself sustained no small danger ; for coming to the confluence of the *Acesines* with the *Hydaspes*, from whence both rivers roll together into the *Indus*, the eddies, whirlpools and rapid currents rushing with tremendous noise from the respective channels of those rivers into the great one formed by them both, at once terrified those who navigated his vessels, and actually destroyed many of the long vessels, with all who were aboard them ; the king himself being in some danger, and *Nearchus* the admiral not a little at a loss. As soon as this danger was over, and the fleet and army had once more joined, he went himself on shore, and having ordered his elephants, with some troops of horse and archers, to be carried a-cross, and put under the command of *Craterus*, he then divided his army on the left-hand bank into three bodies ; the first commanded by himself

self; the second by *Hephestion*; the third by *Ptolemy*. *Hephestion* had orders to move silently through the heart of the country five days march before the king, that if, on *Alexander's* approach, any of the barbarians should attempt to shelter themselves, by retiring into the heart of the country, they might fall into the hands of *Hephestion's* forces. *Ptolemy Lagus* was commanded to march three days behind the king, that if any escaped his army, they might fall into *Ptolemy's* hands. As for the fleet, it had orders to stop at the confluence of this river with the *Hydraotes*, till such time as these several corps should arrive.

Alexander himself, at the head of a body of horse and light-armed foot, marched through a desert country against the *Malli*, and scarce affording any rest to his soldiers, arrived on the third day at a city into which they had put their wives and children for security, and a good garison for their defence. These people having no apprehension that the king would attempt to march through a barren country, were all unarmed and in confusion. Many of them therefore were slain in the field; the rest fled into the city, and shut the gates. But this only protracted their fate for a small time; for the king having ordered the city to be invested by his horse, attacked it, and, with some loss, took both it and the castle by storm, putting all he found therein to the sword. He sent at the same time *Perdiccas* with a considerable detachment, to invest another city of the *Malli* at some distance; but when he arrived, he found it abandoned; however, he pursued the inhabitants, who had but lately left it, and slew numbers of them on the road. After this the king took several other cities, not without considerable resistance; for the *Indians* sometimes chose to burn their houses, and themselves therein, rather than surrender. He seems, in respect to this nation, to have acted with more than ordinary resentment, hunting them rather as beasts, than fighting with them as men, and taking pains to cut off not only such as resisted him, but those who fled into woods and deserts to escape him. At last he marched to their capital city, and, finding that abandoned, he proceeded to the river *Hydraotes*, where he found fifty thousand men encamped on the opposite bank. He hesitated not to enter the river, though he had with him only an inconsiderable party of horse; and the *Indians* were so affrighted at his presence, that even with all these troops they retired; but when they saw how few accompanied the king, they returned, and charged him; but

¹ ARRIAN. l. vi. c. 6, & seq. DIODOR. ubi supra.

by this time the rest of his forces were passing the river, so that the *Indians* were constrained to retire to a city which lay behind them, which *Alexander* invested that very night. The next day he stormed the city with such violence, that the inhabitants were compelled to abandon it, and to retire to the citadel, where they prepared to make a very resolute defence. The king instantly gave orders for scaling its walls, and the soldiers prepared to execute those orders as fast as they could; but the king, who was impatient, catching hold of a ladder, clapped it against the wall, and mounted it himself, covering his body with his shield, *Peucestas* following him, after him *Leonatus*, all by the same ladder. *Abreas*, a man of great courage, who, on that account, had double pay allowed him, mounted by another. The king, having gained the top of the battlements, cleared them quickly of the defendants, killing some of them with his sword, and pushing others over the walls; but, when he had done this, he was in more danger than ever, for the *Indians* from the adjacent tower, galled him with their arrows, though they durst not come near enough to engage him. His own battalion of targeteers mounting in haste to second him, broke the ladders; which when *Alexander* perceived, he threw himself down into the castle, as did also *Peucestas*, *Leonatus*, and *Abreas*. As soon as the king was on the ground, the *Indian* general rushed forward to attack him, whom the king slew presently with his sword, as he did several of those who followed him; upon which the rest retired, and contented themselves with throwing stones and darts at him at a distance. *Abreas* was struck into the head with an arrow, and fell upon the spot, and shortly after another struck through the king's breast-plate into his body. As long as he had spirits he defended himself valiantly, but, through a vast effusion of blood, losing his senses, he fell upon his shield. *Peucestas* then covered him with the sacred shield of *Pallas* on one side, as did *Leonatus* with his own shield on the other, though they were themselves dreadfully wounded. The soldiers on the out-side, eager to save their prince, supplied their want of ladders, by driving large iron pins into the walls. By the help of this contrivance many of them ascended, and threw themselves over, where some covering the body of the king, compelled the *Indians* to retire, and others having pulled down the bars, broke down a gate between two towers, and thereby gave admittance to their companions. The soldiers, in the heat of their resentment, put all that they found to the sword, women and children not excepted. Then they took up the king, and bore him away upon his shield to the camp. There he continued,

continued for some time in so weak a state, that his recovery was very doubtful. The news of this accident having reached the camp on the river side, where was the head quarters of the whole army, it struck such a panic, that they scarce knew what to do; for they immediately reckoned that he was dead; and when, from time to time, they were informed that he grew better, they attributed this to the arts of the general officers who were about him, nor would they suffer themselves to be convinced, even when they received advice that he was returning to the army. The king was perfectly sensible of all the mischiefs which might attend these fears and apprehensions of his soldiers: As soon therefore as his health would permit, he caused himself to be put on board his galley, and rejoined his forces. When he came to the camp, and shewed himself, both on horseback and on foot, the soldiers gathering round him, eagerly kissed not only his hands and his knees, but his feet and his robes, and resumed in a moment that courage and alacrity which had hitherto rendered them invincible. The officers, however, of the first rank, who were *Macedonians* by birth, after the first compliments were over, did not spare to tell the king, that he had done very much amiss in hazarding his person after such a manner. At which *Alexander*, who was no longer a lover of truth, was very much displeased; but received into his favour, and ever after treated with the greatest kindness, an old *Bæotian*, who told him, to sooth his vanity, that such extraordinary attempts became a hero * (G).

THE

* *ARRIAN. lib. vi. c. 12, 13. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. CURT. l. ix c. 14, & seq. JUSTIN. l. xii. c. 9.*

(G) *Arrian*, speaking of the king's misfortune, vindicates his own credit, and that of his history. He tells us, that it is not certain, whether a physician or *Perdiccas* opened the king's wound, and drew out the arrow; but he assures us, that a great effusion of blood happened at that time, and that the king's fainting saved his life; for the blood then stopping, gave them time to apply medicines and bandages, for want of which he must otherwise have perished. He then acquaints us, that many strange things relating to this accident are to be found in historians, who, drawing their materials from romantic memoirs, were in danger of deceiving posterity, if no stop were put to that way of writing. He proceeds to give many instances of the flights of such kind of writers, and then returning to the fact before us, takes notice, that it was the vulgar opinion, that *Alexander* received his wound before
the

The Malli
and Oxy-
dracæ sub-
mit.

THE *Malli* being by this time convinced, that nothing but submission could save the small remainder of them, sent their deputies to beseech *Alexander* to forget what was past, and to accept of the dominion of their country, which they offered him. At the same time arrived deputies from the *Oxydracæ*, to tender their submission. They had formerly entered into an alliance with the *Malli*, to oppose *Alexander*, and put a stop to his conquests; and, in order thereto, they assembled a great army, with which they proposed to have joined the forces of the *Malli*; but *Alexander's* marching through a desert, and thereby entering the country of the last mentioned people, when they did not in the least expect it, rendered this project impracticable; and the ruin which then fell upon the *Malli*, induced this other *Indian* nation to seek their safety by a timely compliance with the king. Their deputies therefore acquainted him, that, not out of any disrespect to his person, but merely from the love of liberty, they had hitherto declined submitting to him; but that now they were ready to accept of such terms as he should please to give them. *Alexander* commanded, that they should send him no less than a thousand of the principal men among them to serve in his army, and to remain as hostages for the fidelity of the rest. As for the *Malli*, he added them to *Philip's* province, commanding him to have a strict eye over them. While he continued in this camp at the confluence of the *Hydraotes* with the *Acesines*, for the recovery of his health, and in expectation of *Perdiceas*, the thousand men he

the capital of the *Oxydracæ* (90). It is not easy to pronounce what was *Diodorus's* opinion; for in many copies we have *Syracusians* instead of *Oxydracians*. However, it is most probable, that he held that which *Arrian* (91) calls the vulgar opinion, in which he is followed by *Cartius* (92). *Plutarch* is right as to the place; but he is among the number of those authors, who report, that the king received a blow with a club upon his helmet, which so stunned him, that a mist seeming to fall over his eyes, he fell down; but, recovering his spirits, rose again, and continued fighting till he was shot in the breast (93); yet *Ptolemy*, who could not but be well informed, wrote expressly, that he was only wounded in the breast (94). We might insist here on many other particulars, which, to avoid prolixity, we chuse to omit. These are sufficient to shew what care ought to be taken in writing the history of *Alexander*, and how dangerous it is to trust any author too much.

(90) *Arrian. l. vi. c. 2.* (91) *Diodor. Sicul. l. xvii.* (92) *Cart. l. ix.* (93) *Plut. in vita Alex.* (94) *Arrian. ubi supra.*

had demanded of the *Oxydracæ* arrived, together with five hundred chariots of war, properly harnessed and equipped; which being over and above his demand, and a free gift of the people, he was so pleased therewith, that he gave the whole thousand men leave to return home, adding, that the faith of so generous a nation was a full security for their obedience. These affairs settled, he employed his thoughts first about augmenting his fleet, to which end he caused several new vessels to be built, as also in erecting a city; to which he was led from the commodious situation afforded by the confluence of two great rivers. *Oxyartes*, the father of his wife *Roxana*, came hither to pay his respects to him, and was kindly received, having the government of *Paropamisus* bestowed upon him, the old governor having been displaced for male-administration. To this province, that he might further gratify his father-in-law, the king joined all the country, from the falling of the *Acesines* into the *Indus* to the sea, joining *Python* with him in commission; then having transported *Craterus* and his forces cross the river, and giving him such directions as he thought fit, *Alexander*, with a larger part of his army than before, embarked on board his fleet, and continued his voyage. He had received information, that the kingdom of *Musicanus*, which lay at no great distance, was one of the richest and most populous in *India*. He was therefore highly incensed, that this prince should neither have sent ambassadors to make his submission, nor have taken any other method to bespeak his favour; and for these reasons would not hear of making any stop or stay till his fleet arrived on the coasts of this kingdom. *Musicanus*, surprised at his sudden visit, immediately went forth to meet him, with all his elephants in his train, and, having offered him presents of the highest value, delivered himself and realms into his hands, and acknowledged his offence; which kind of behaviour always weighed much with *Alexander* towards obtaining whatever was requested. Having therefore pardoned him, and admired at the wealth and beauty of his kingdom and capital city, he delivered the government of both again into his hands; but, lest he should attempt any innovation when he was at a distance, he ordered *Craterus* to build a castle in the city, and himself tarried there to see it finished. This done, he left a strong garison therein; because this fort seemed extremely commodious for bridling the neighbouring nations, and keeping them in subjection. Then, with his archers and *Agrians*, and all the troops of horse which he had on board his navy, he marched against a neighbouring prince named *Oxycanus*, and invaded his dominions; because he neither came forth to meet him, nor sent embas-

sadors

lators with the surrender of himself and country. He took two of his chief cities at the first assault, in one of which the king himself was taken prisoner. *Alexander* gave the spoils of them to his soldiers, and carried away his elephants; whereupon all the other cities belonging to *Oxyconus* immediately submitted without blows. So much did the courage and fortune of *Alexander* prevail against the *Indians* in those parts. After this he led his forces against *Sambus*, whom he had before declared governor of the *Indian* mountaineers; but who had fled, when he heard that *Musicanus* was dismissed in a friendly manner, and had his dominions restored; for he was at enmity with *Musicanus*. When *Alexander* approached the capital city of his province, called *Sindomana*, the gates being set open, the friends and domestics of *Sambus* came forth to meet him, with presents of money and elephants, assuring him, that *Sambus* did not retire out of his territories by reason of any sinister designs against him, but for fear of *Musicanus* after his enlargement. Having then received the homage of these, he attacked, and won a city which had revolted from him, and put to death as many of the *Brachmans* as fell into his hands, having charged them with being the authors of this rebellion. About this time he received advice, that king *Musicanus* was revolted; whereupon *Python* the son of *Agenor* was dispatched with a body of troops sufficient to reduce that kingdom again, which he performed effectually, distributing garisons throughout all the country, and bringing with him, on his return to the camp, *Musicanus* in chains. *Alexander* directed that prince to be carried back into his own dominions, and there crucified, together with all the *Brachmans* who were about him, and had instigated him to this revolt ^h (H).

THE

^h *ARRIAN.* l. vi. c. 15, & seq. *DIONOR.* SICUL. ubi supra. *PLUT.* in vita Alex.

(H) *Diodorus*, from the embarkation of *Alexander* to his entering the territories of *Sambus*, hath abundance of passages which are not to be found in *Arrian*. The reason seems to be, because they are either ill-sounded or trivial (95). *Curtius*, however, hath transcribed the same tales very carefully, and, as usual, with some improvements (96). But, what is not a little odd, neither of these writers have obliged us with any distinct account of *Alexander's* war with *Musicanus*, though they have both mentioned it slightly. *Strabo* treats of it accurately, as indeed he does of every thing, of

(95) *Diador.* ubi supra(96) *Curt.* ubi supra.

†

which.

THE king of *Pattala*, a noble island in the river *Indus*, Alexander came and submitted himself to *Alexander*, who restored him *sails into the ocean.* his dominions, promising to come shortly and visit him, and directing him to furnish his army and fleet with provisions. The king then dispatched *Craterus* with a considerable body of horse and foot to escort the invalids through the countries of *Arachosia* and *Drangia* into *Caramania*, where they were to embark for *Macedon*; the elephants being also committed to his care. As to the rest of his army, part of it, under the command of *Pytho*, marched on one side of the river; another part, under *Hephestion*, on the other side; the rest remained on board with the king, who, as soon as his affairs would permit him, continued his voyage to *Pattala*. When he came thither, he was exceedingly surprised to find that the prince, who had lately submitted to him, was fled with almost all his subjects, leaving the cities empty, and the fields destitute of husbandmen. The king thereupon dispatched some

which, by his subject, he is led to treat at all. He informs us, that the subjects of this prince were a very wise and polite people; and therefore we need not wonder, that they could not long brook slavery (97). As to *Oxycanus*, *Diodorus* and *Curtius* are also very concile; however, they differ with *Arrian*, for they expressly affirm that the king was slain; whereas, he says, he was taken prisoner. *Diodorus* calls him *Porticanus*, and he is called so likewise in the best editions of *Curtius*. As to *Sambus*, whom *Diodorus* calls by the same name, but who is called by *Strabo* *Sabutas*, by *Plutarch* *Sabbas*, *Curtius*, who calls him *Sabus*, insists very largely (98), all authors agree, that the revolt of this prince was, by *Alexander*, charged upon the *brachmans*, whom he punished most severely for it, till such time as he became acquainted with their wisdom and generous notions; for then, if we may believe *Plutarch*, he revered and used them kindly, especially on account of an excellent maxim in government taught him by *Calanus*, one of the principal philosophers of the country; which happened thus: *Calanus*, through the intreaty of *Taxiles*, came, contrary to the custom of the *Indian* sages, to visit the king; and when *Alexander* desired to receive from him some mark of his extraordinary science, he called for a dry hide, and throwing it upon the floor, he first trod on this side, and then on that, which made it continually rise in one place, as it became flat in the other. At last he set his foot in the middle, which made the whole hide lie even; thereby instructing *Alexander*, that to keep so great an empire quiet, he ought to re- late in its centre, and not make expeditions into remote countries, to endanger the rest of his dominions (99).

(97) *Diodor. Curt. ubi supra. Plut. in vita Alex. Strabo Geogr. l. xv.* (98) *Ubi supra.* (99) *Plut. ubi supra.*

light-armed troops, in order to make prisoners; which having done, and brought them to the camp, the king kindly dismissed them, ordering them to tell their countrymen, that they might safely return to their habitations; for that he would do them no injury whatsoever. Perceiving that, at the point of the island *Pattala*, the river *Indus* divided itself into two vast branches, he ordered a haven and convenient docks to be there made for his ships; and when he had careened his fleet, he sailed down the right-hand branch towards the ocean. In his passage however he sustained great difficulties through the want of pilots, and at the mouth of the river *Indus* very narrowly missed being cast away; yet all this did not hinder him from pursuing his first design, tho' it does not appear that he had any other motive thereto, than the vain desire of boasting he had entered the *ocean* beyond the *Indies*; and this is confirmed by what he performed when he did enter the *ocean*; for, having consecrated certain bulls to *Neptune*, and thrown them into the sea, performed libations out of golden cups, and thrown them also into the ocean, he came back again, having only surveyed two little islands, one at the mouth of the *Indus*, and one seated farther in the ocean¹ (I).

ON

¹ ARRIAN. l. vi. c. 18, 19. DIODOR. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Alex.

(I) When *Alexander* sailed down the right hand branch of the *Indus*, he found its mouth to be there two hundred furlongs broad. Here the flux and reflux of the sea, with which himself and his principal commanders were unacquainted, exceedingly amazed them (100). *Curtius* has described their surprize in too rhetorical a manner, and for it has been severely censured (1). At this mouth of the river there lay an island, called by *Arrian* *Cillutas*; by *Plutarch* *Scillustis* (2). *Curtius* has given it no name. Here his fleet anchored, while himself sailed out farther to sea, and took a view of another island; after which he returned to his fleet, offered sacrifices on that island where he had left them, and afterwards sailed again beyond the other island, that he might boast of his daring exploits in the ocean. He then sacrificed once more to the gods, and besought them, says *Plutarch*, that no other man might exceed the bounds of his expedition (3); which carries in it little probability. What is said in the text of his sacrificing for the safety of *Nearchus*, who was to sail from thence through the *Persian* gulf to the mouth of the river *Euphrates*, is reasonable and just. It is said, when this design was first undertaken by *Nearchus*, that *Alex-*

(100) *Arrian*. l. vi. c. 19.
in vit. Alex.

(3) *Idem* *ibid.*

(1) *Curt.* l. ix. c. 31. (2) *Plut.*

On his return to *Pattala*, he found, that the commands he had issued when he left that place, were, in a great measure, complied with ; that the fort was in a defensible condition, and the dock capable of being made use of. He then resolved to sail down the other branch of the *Indus* into the ocean, that he might see whether it were safer and more commodious for his fleet than that which he had already tried ; nor did he fail of offering very plausible reasons for his conduct in this respect. He was informed, that the season of the year would not permit a favourite design of his to be executed ; which design was this : He had resolved to send *Nearchus* with his fleet by the ocean, through the *Persian* gulf, up the river *Tigris*, to meet him and his army in *Mesopotamia* ; but the possibility of this voyage depending on the ceasing of the *Etesian* winds, there was a necessity of laying up the fleet, till the season should prove favourable. *Alexander* therefore sailing through this branch of the *Indus*, sought on the sea-coasts for *Bays* and *Creeks*, where his fleet might anchor in safety ; he caused also pits to be sunk, that they might fill with fresh water for the use of his people, and took all imaginable precautions for preserving them in ease and safety, till the season would allow them to continue their voyage. In this he succeeded to his wish ; for he found this branch of the river *Indus* at its mouth, spread over the plain country, and formed a kind of lake, wherein a fleet might ride without any danger ; he therefore appointed *Leonatus*, and a part of his army, to carry on such works as were necessary, and cause them to be relieved, as occasion required, by fresh troops. Then having given his last instructions to *Nearchus*, he departed with his army, in order to march back to *Babylon* by land.

He resolves to leave the navy and proceed by land.

Alexander affected a degree of coldness. He who feared nothing for himself, had a mind to pass for one who was apprehensive of all things for his friends, and who could scarce think of exposing them to the peril of such a voyage, when he was not to share with them their dangers in person. But *Nearchus* overcame all these real or pretended scruples, by assuring the king, that he believed it very practicable for him to fulfil all that had been proposed ; and, on the other hand, *Alexander* was himself extremely cautious in providing for the safety of his fleet, by all the methods that human wit could devise, or human labour execute, as we have shewn in the text, therefore need not expatiate further on it here. The curious and inquisitive reader may, if he pleases, inform himself further on this head, from the authors mentioned at the bottom of the page (4).

(4) *Strab. Geog. l. xv. Arrian. Hist. Ind.*

Before his departure, there wanted not some who had so much love for him, and concern for his army, as to inform him that nothing could be more rash or dangerous than this resolution. They acquainted him that the country through which he was to travel was a wild uncultivated desert, where his soldiers would be doubly exposed to the danger of dying for hunger, and to the peril of being lost through heat and thirst; they added, that *Semiramis*, when she fled out of *India*, endeavouring to lead her army this way, brought but twenty of them home; and that *Cyrus* doing the same thing, escaped with but seven. This was so far from having the desired effect, that it more than ever determined *Alexander* to this very method; for it was his peculiar vanity to desire not only to overcome all nations, but even nature herself, and to attempt and perform those things which none but himself would have dared to think of. He remained therefore fixed to his first purpose, and as soon as he had put things in order, marched at the head of a convenient body of troops to reduce the *Oritæ*, who had been hitherto free, and who had never vouchsafed either to make submission, or to court his friendship; their territories lay on the other side the river *Arabis*, which river *Alexander* crossed so speedily, that they had no intelligence of his march, and so made an easy and quick conquest of the whole country, though not of the inhabitants, for most of them fled into the deserts. Their capital he found to be so well situated, that he resolved to take it out of their hands, and to cause a new and noble city to be erected there, the care of which he committed to *Hephestion*; then he received the deputies of the *Oritæ*, and the *Gadrosi*, and having assured them, that if the people returned to their villages, they should be kindly treated, and having appointed *Apollonphanes* president of the *Oritæ*, and left a considerable body of troops under *Leonatus* to secure their obedience, he began his arduous march through *Gadrosia*. The most sober writers of the affairs of *Alexander* find themselves constrained to launch out a little into rhetorical descriptions of this more than *Herculean* labour, which the king imposed upon himself and his soldiers, merely that he might have the reputation of surpassing all the heroes of antiquity; we shall, as the nature of our work requires, give as distinct, but at the same time, as short an account of it as we may *.

*The miseries just-
tained by
the Macedonians.*

THE road itself was exposed to many inconveniencies: For, first, it was very uncertain; secondly, it was extreme-

* ARRIAN. I. vi. c. 21----27. DIODOR. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Alex.

ly troublesome on account of its lying through deep and loose sands, rising in many places into hillocks, which forced the soldiers to climb, and at the same time sunk under their feet : Thirdly, there were no towns, villages, or places of refreshment to be met with, so that after excessive marches, they were forced to encamp among these dry sands. As to provisions, they hardly met with any during their whole march ; the soldiers were therefore forced to kill their beasts of carriage ; and such as were sent to bring some corn from the sea-side, were so grievously distressed, that though it was sealed with the king's signet, they cut open the bags, chusing rather to die a violent death for disobedience, than to be famished. But *Alexander*, when he was informed of the matter, freely pardoned them, conceiving that his own commands were dispensed with by the necessities of nature ; he was likewise forced to overlook the excuses that were daily made him for the loss of mules, horses, &c. by excessive heat, which were in truth eaten by the soldiers, and their carriages broke in pieces to avoid farther trouble. As for water, their want of it was a great misfortune, and yet their finding it sometimes in plenty was a greater ; for as by the first they perished thro' thirst, so by the latter they were burst, thrown into dropsies, and rendered incapable of travel. Frequently they met with no water for the whole day together ; sometimes were disappointed of it at night, in which case, if they were able, they marched on, so that it was common with them to travel thirty, not seldom they were forced to march forty, sometimes they were constrained to go fifty, nay, and sixty miles without encamping ; numbers through these hardships were constrained to lag behind ; and of these, numbers, not to say few, for indeed scarce any ever joined the army again, but were left behind, and perished ; so that of all others, this was the most dreadful misfortune that had ever befallen them, which however they sustained with the more patience from the example of their king, who not only supported all these evils with invincible patience, but even carried his courage and self-denial farther, and performed such things as nothing but the authority of the authors who relate them could engage us to credit (K).

When

(K) These extraordinary acts of *Alexander* are recorded by *Arrian* after this manner. As the forces continued their march through these sands, which reflected the burning rays of the sun upon them, it was necessary that they should send out parties daily to seek for water ; the king though ready to faint away with thirst, marched

When he arrived at the capital of *Gadrosia*, he allowed his fatigued army some rest. Here he removed *Apollonhanes* for non-execution of his orders. *Thoas* was the successor assigned him, and he dying soon after, *Sibyrtius* had the government given to him. About this time *Alexander* was informed that *Philip*, whom he had left president in *India*, had been murdered by the mercenary soldiers, but that most of these had been put to death by the *Macedonians*; which occasioned his writing to *Endemus* and *Taxiles* to take upon them the administration of affairs there, till such time as he should send another president. The king then began his march into *Caramania*, a very plentiful country, where the troops made themselves amends for the hardships and fatigue they had sustained. Here the king again halted to give time to those who were appointed to meet him to come thither. *Craterus* first joined him with the troops and elephants; then came *Staasanor*, president of the *Arrians*, and *Pharissmanes* the son of *Phrata-*

on foot at the head of his troops, that his officers and soldiers, as is usual in such cases, might the more patiently endure those hardships which their general shared in common with them. In the mean while, some light-armed soldiers, who were dispatched to search for water, found a small quantity not far from the army in the channel of a brook almost dried up, but it was very muddy: However they drew it up, and bringing it in a shield, presented it to the king as a choice gift: He received it, and returning due thanks to those who brought it, poured it immediately upon the ground in presence of the army. This action of his encouraged the soldiers, as much as if every man had drank a share of that water, which he refused to taste; and his extraordinary self-denial is no less praise-worthy than the noble example he shewed of a wise and consummate general. Another accident happened here, which, if it had not been speedily remedied, might have occasioned the loss of the whole army; for the sands being moved to and fro by the winds, and all the surface reduced to a level, their guides themselves were at a loss how to conduct the army any further. In this difficulty *Alexander* was forced to proceed as chance directed him. However, he ordered his army to turn to the left, and himself with a few choice horse, went before to point out the road; but their horses quite spent with heat, were most of them left behind; insomuch that only he, with five of his followers, pass'd through the sands to the sea-shore safe on horseback. However on their arrival there, they dug nigh the coast and found plenty of water sweet and clear; whereupon he ordered the army thither, and after that travelled seven days along the sea coast, and always found plenty of water. Then his guides assuring him they knew the way again, they left the sea, and led the army into the inland parts (95).

(95) *Alexander's* lib. vii.*Plut. in Alex. lib. 11.*

phernes, governor of *Parthia*; they brought with them camels, horses, and other beasts of burthen in vast numbers; for they foresaw, that the king's march through *Gadrosia* would be attended with the loss of most if not all the cavalry, and beasts belonging to his army. Their care in this respect was highly commended, as also that of *Craterus*, who seized *Ordones* a *Persian* nobleman, who had been practising to raise a rebellion¹.

THE king's return into *Caramania* made a vast alteration in the affairs of his empire; for as from the moment he entered it, he heard and redressed all grievances, so the people from all the neighbouring provinces, who had been grievously oppressed in his absence, came readily to inform the king of their griefs. *Clitander*, *Sitalces*, and *Heracon*, who had since the death of *Parmenio* commanded in chief the forces quartered in *Media*, came hither with their troops; and were hardly arrived, when they were accused of many flagrant crimes, such as suppressing the *Persian* religion, extorting vast sums of money from the people, ravishing women, and in short giving a loose to their passions in all things. *Clitander*, and *Sitalces* being fully convicted, were immediately put to death; but *Heracon*, baffling his accusers, was acquitted, yet the inhabitants of *Susa* preferring a new charge against him, he was seized, convicted, and executed; which effectually fixed the affections of the people in all the provinces to *Alexander*, and at the same time obliged all the magistrates acting under him to behave as became them. The king after a short recess continued his march through *Caramania*, not with a *Bacchanalian* solemnity, as some authors, and particularly *Plutarch*, have reported, but gravely, and in good order; as *Arrian* assures us from *Ptolemy* and *Aristobulus*, who in their memoirs contradicted the vain relations which others took pains to propagate (L). In his march, *Nearchus* his

*The male
adminis-
tration of
governors
punished by
the king.*

admiral

¹ *ARRIAN. lib. vi. c. 27. DIODOR. PLUT. ubi supra.*

(L) *Diodorus Siculus*, after having given us a dreadful picture of the miserable condition of *Alexander's* army, when it returned out of *India*, tells us expressly, that as soon as they entered a rich and plentiful country, the king caused them to celebrate a feast to *Bacchus*, himself leading the dance, and the army following dressed in the *Bacchanalian* mode, seven whole days being spent in rioting and drunkenness (96). *Plutarch* heightens this scene a good deal, and runs into a long description of the pomp and splendor of this

(96) *Diodor. lib. xvii.*

admiral joined him, and gave him an account that all under his command were in perfect safety, and in an excellent condition ; with which the king was mightily pleased, and having treated him with singular marks of favour and respect, sent him back to the navy. Some informations having reached the king's ear of great disorders committed in *Persia* during his absence, he immediately set out with a body of horse, and light-armed troops, for *Passargadæ*, where was the tomb of *Cyrus*. It was a small, but neat pile of building, with a fine plantation about it ; and near it a convenient house for some of the magi, who were appointed to take care of it. In the tomb itself lay the body of *Cyrus* in a coffin of gold ; placed on a bed of state, the apartment being in every respect royally furnished. This place to his great con-

romantic cavalcade (97): *Curtius* exceeds *Plutarch*, and displays his rhetoric in a very pompous detail of this *Dionysian* festival. At the close of his account he has added some political reflections, which do indeed shew that such a march was excessively foolish and ridiculous, but at the same time bear so hard on the probability of the fact, that one would think they were sufficient to overthrow it. He observes, that if but one thousand men of courage had attacked this drunken and dissolute rout, they must at least have defeated, and might have easily cut them all to pieces (98). *Arrian* however assures us, that *Ptolemy* and *Aristobulus*, who accompanied the king in his march, said nothing in their memoirs of the celebrating any such festival (99). The great Sir *Walter Raleigh* (100), and the learned dean *Prideaux*, (1), both mention this march, without giving their readers the least notice, that there is reason to doubt what some authors have delivered about it. Nay, the latter actually quotes *Arrian* in support of this passage, which however he flatly contradicts. This shews the necessity of separating the relations of different authors ; if we intend to instruct, and not to confound readers ; and this shews too the use of a history written truly from what is delivered by the antients, and not after the collections of the moderns, who are too apt to regard the symmetry and beauty of their own works, to intersperse those doubts which necessarily arise from the consideration of divided authorities. We thought this no less necessary to be said in defence of our own work, than proper for the information of the reader, since we presume not to dissent from the opinions of men of so great worth as *Raleigh* and *Prideaux*, but for the sake of siding with truth and justice, which no authority ought to overbear.

(97) *Plut. in vit. Alex.* (98) *Curt. lib. ix. prop. fin.* (99) *Arrian. lib. vi. c. 23.* (100) *History of the world, Book II. sect. 22.*
 (1) *Connection of the Old and New Testament. P. 1. B. 8. A. A. C. 325.*

cern and amazement he found rifled, all things valuable taken away, except the coffin, which was strangely battered and bruised. All the enquiry he could make produced no discovery of the authors of this villainy; for the magi either could not or would not declare by whom it was done. All that in such a case therefore the king could do, was to direct that every thing should be restored to the state it was in before this accident, which accordingly was done, and *Aristobulus* was appointed to see those orders executed. *Orsines* a *Persian* acted at this time as governor of *Persia*, not by any appointment from the king, but of his own head, the governor settled there by *Alexander* dying while he was in *India*; this *Orsines* was charged by the people with many grievous crimes, particularly with putting many persons of distinction to death, merely to gratify his own resentments. Upon which accusations, after due proofs exhibited, he was condemned to be crucified. This story by some authors is related in a very different manner, as if not he, but *Alexander* himself, had been the criminal; however, there seems to be no just grounds for any such charge, and therefore we may justly wonder that modern writers of great credit have given into it, and thence taken occasion to charge *Alexander* with a vice which the best authors tell us he vehemently detested (M). *Peucestas*, who
had

(M) *Curtius* tells us, that *Orsines* the *Persian* was lineally descended from *Cyrus*; that he met the king with a most prodigious train of carriages filled with all sorts of provisions and refreshments; to which he added presents of great value, and four thousand talents in ready money. He was also, as the same author tells us, extremely liberal to *Alexander's* friends; but passed by *Bagoas* the eunuch, whom this author makes *Alexander's* catamite, without affording him any taste of his bounty. Nay, when he was put in mind of him by his friends, he answered, that he loved the king, and honoured his counsellors and captains; but as for such infamous fellows as *Bagoas*, he contemned and despised them; upon this the eunuch determined to destroy him, and for that purpose hired certain mean wretches to forswear themselves by vouching upon their oaths certain stories which he taught them. Himself took pains to poison the king's mind with the most malicious tales, and the most cruel suggestions against this innocent and worthy man, whom at length he took this opportunity to destroy: The king going to visit the tomb of *Cyrus*, which we have elsewhere described, found it robbed of every thing valuable. *Bagoas*, seeing *Alexander* surprised, immediately said, he wondered not at all at it, for that some governors were so rich, that their houses would not contain their wealth; and that in all probability *Orsines* would not have parted with his money so freely, if he had come by it very
honestly.

had saved the king's life when he fought against a whole garrison, was appointed governor of *Persia*. Which dignity was no sooner conferred upon him, than he laid aside the *Macedonian* garb, and put on the *Median* habit, being the only one of *Alexander's* captains, who, by complying with the manners of the people he governed, acquired their affection. *Baryaxes* a *Mede*, who had put on the royal tiara, and assumed the regal style, being brought prisoner hither by *Atropates*, governor of *Media*, with those who had counselled him to revolt, was with them by order of the king put to death: After which *Alexander* marched to *Persepolis*, the ruins of which when he had a while considered, he is said to have expressed great concern for what he had done. In these marches, *Calanus* the *Indian*, who had accompanied *Alexander* at his intreaty, finding himself declining in health by reason of a flux which hung upon him, besought the king that a funeral pile might be prepared, which with some difficulty was granted. The sage, now so weak as to be carried in a litter, caused himself to be placed therein on the top of the pile, after having taken an affectionate leave of the *Macedonians*, particularly of *Lyfimachus*, who was his disciple, and stretching himself at full length, remained without voice or motion in the midst of the flames^m.

Endea-
vours to
unite the
Macedo-
nians and
Persians.

THE king having dispatched *Atropates* to his government, marched himself to *Susa*, where *Abulites* and his son *Oxathres*

^m ARRIAN. lib. vii. c. 3, 4, 5. DIODOR. PLUT. ubi supra.

honestly. Then *Bagoas* put his false witnesses upon accusing *Orsines*, and on their testimony he was condemned and executed. *Curtius* tells us, that as he went to death, *Bagoas* struck him; and that thereupon *Orsines* said, *I have heretofore been informed that the Persian empire hath been governed by women; but that it should be ruled by an eunuch, is a new thing* (2). We are not able to trace any part of this story in any of the histories remaining of *Alexander's* life, excepting this of *Curtius*. *Arrian* says expressly, that *Orsines* was put to death for sacrilege, oppression and cruelty (3). *Plutarch* speaking of the robbery committed in *Cyrus's* tomb, says, that *Alexander* put to death *Polymachus*, a man of quality, and native of *Pella* in *Macedonia* (4). As to the fact, we can say no more; but as to the dying words, they certainly belong to *Curtius*, for *Orsines* could not possibly use them. He must have remembered the empire ruled by a namesake of this very eunuch; nay, he must have remembered this very eunuch in the highest favour with *Darius*. Let the reader decide of the rest as he thinks fit.

(2) *Curt. lib. x.* (3) *Arrian. lib. vi. cap. 30.* (4) *Plutarch. in vit. Alex.*

being

being charged with great crimes in the administration of public affairs, were put to death. Afterwards the king gave an extraordinary loose to pleasure, resolving to make himself, his officers, and soldiers, an amends for the difficulties they had hitherto undergone, purposing at the same time so effectually to unite his new-conquered with his hereditary subjects, that the jealousies and fears which had hitherto tormented both should no longer subsist. With this view he took himself two wives of the royal blood of *Persia*, *Barsine*, or *Statira*, the daughter of *Darius*, and *Parisatis* the daughter of *Ochus*. *Drypetis*, another daughter of *Darius*, he gave to *Hephestion*; *Amastri* the daughter of *Oxyartes*, the brother of *Darius*, married *Craterus*; and to the rest of his friends, to the number of eighty he gave other ladies of the greatest quality. All these marriages were celebrated at once, *Alexander* himself bestowing fortunes on them; he directed likewise that the numbers of his officers and soldiers who had married *Asiatic* wives should be taken; and though they appeared to be ten thousand, yet he gratified each of them according to his rank. He resolved next to pay the debts of his army, and thereupon issued an edict, directing every man to register his name, and the sum he owed; with which the soldiers complying slowly from an apprehension that there was something else behind, he ordered tables heaped with money to be set in all the quarters of the camp, and caused every man's debts to be paid on his bare word; without so much as making any entry of his name; though the whole sum came to twenty thousand talents. On such as had distinguished themselves in an extraordinary manner, he bestowed crowns of gold. *Peucestas* had the first; *Leonatus* the second; *Nearchus* the third; *Onesicritus* the fourth; *Hephestion* the fifth; and the rest of his guards each of them one. After this he made other dispositions proper for conciliating, as he supposed, the differences among all his subjects. He reviewed the thirty thousand youths, whom at his departure for *India* he had ordered to be taught *Greek*, and the *Macedonian* discipline; expressing high satisfaction, that the fine appearance they made rendered them worthy of the appellation he had bestowed on them, viz. *Epigoni*, i. e. successors. He promoted also, without any distinction of nation, all those who had served him faithfully and valiantly in the *Indian* war. When all these regulations were made, he gave the command of his heavy-armed troops to *Hephestion*, and ordered him to march directly to the banks of the *Tigris*, while in the mean time a fleet was

equipped at the *Eulæus* for carrying the king and the troops he retained with him down to the ocean ⁿ.

*The Ma-
cedonians
mutiny.*

It is clear from this short expedition, that *Alexander* began to have a great taste in maritime affairs, which had been too much neglected by his predecessors, his father *Philip* only excepted. It is said, that he meditated a voyage to the coasts of *Arabia* and *Ethiopia*, and thence round the whole continent of *Afric* to the streights of *Gibraltar*. However, of this there seems to be no great certainty; but that he really intended to subdue the *Carthaginians*, and make some attempt on *Italy*, is more than probable. When he arrived with his fleet in the ocean, he directed his course to the mouth of the river *Tigris*, which he entered, and sailed up to the camp of *Hephestian*, without meeting either with any extraordinary obstacle, or himself performing any thing worth recording, except that he directed certain engines to be removed, which the *Persians* had placed in the river to render it less navigable; for he conceiving this to be a cowardly and scandalous practice, worthy of the old masters of the river, though not of him, would not permit these incumbrances to remain any longer, and therefore set the river free. When the king came to *Opis*, a city seated on the *Tigris*, he issued an edict, purporting that such of the *Macedonians*, as through infirmity or wounds, were incapable of serving longer, or who through the hardships they had undergone, were unwilling to make any more campaigns, might have their discharges, and return home; but that such as chose rather to remain with him, should receive so great encouragement, that those in their own country should envy their condition; this was certainly intended to please the soldiers, and to make them perfectly easy: It had however a quite contrary effect; for as soon as the army was informed of his intent, they began immediately to clamour in an unusual manner, and to transgress all the bounds both of reason and duty; insomuch that when the king mounted his tribunal, they assembled round it, demanded, *That they might all be discharged, reproached the king with the favours he had done to the Barbarians, bid him take his dancing boys and conquer nations; and some of them had the insolence to tell him, That his father Hammon and he might go and subdue the world by themselves.* It was upon this occasion that the king performed the most shining action in his whole life; he leaped from his tribunal, and calling to his guards, made them seize one by one thir-

ⁿ ARRIAN. lib. vii. c. 6. DIODOR. ubi supra PLUT. ubi supra.
CICERO. lib. x.

teen of the ring-leaders, whom he pointed out, and ordered to be put to death upon the spot ; this struck such a terror into the rest, that they were all silent ; whereupon the king remounted his tribunal, and in an eloquent speech, shewed the justice of his own conduct, and the folly of theirs. When he had done speaking, he leaped again from his tribunal, and retired to his palace, where he neither put on his robes, nor admitted any of his friends for two days ; on the third he called the *Persian* nobility round him, promoted them to the principal commands in the army, and permitted such of them as were become his relations by marriage to kiss him. In the mean time, the *Macedonians* stood most of them about the tribunal like statues ; but when they were told that the king was forming a *Persian* army after the *Grecian* manner, and that he intended to give the title of the royal regiment to a *Persian* corps of horse, they ran like distracted people to the palace ; and surrounding it laid down their arms, offered to deliver up the authors of the sedition, and protested that they would remain there day and night, till the king had pity on them. When *Alexander* was informed of this, he came to the gate in order to speak to them ; but when he saw their arms upon the ground, and their dejected looks, he melted into tears, and lost the power of speaking. A quarter of an hour past in deep silence ; at last *Callines*, an antient man, who had served in an auxiliary troop of horse, broke it : *Thy Macedonians, O king!* said he, *are full of grief, because you have stiled the Persians your kindred, and have suffered them to kiss you, while they were excluded.* The king answered, *I now make you all my kindred, and henceforward will have you reputed so.* *Callines* thereupon stepping forward, kissed him, as did every one of the *Macedonians*. After this *Alexander* gave a solemn feast, at which were present nine thousand persons. The *Macedonians* sat next the king, next them the *Persians*, and after them persons of all nations. This vast company eat together, and drank all out of one golden cup, to the prosperity and perpetual affection of all the nations over whom *Alexander* was king °.

THE *Macedonians*, who were sent home as invalids, a- Alexander mounted to ten thousand : they had each of them their pay, der and a talent apiece given them over for their expences ; *Cra- marches* *terus* was appointed their commander, and *Polyperchon* no- into Me- minated to assist him ; orders were likewise sent into *Mace-* dia. *donia*, directing that these old soldiers should have great respect paid them, and themselves and their children enjoy large

° ARRIAN. DIODOR. PLUT. CURT. & JUST. ubi supra.

privileges ;

privileges ; their sons however by *Asiatic* women the king retained, appointing them schools and masters at his own expence. The severity with which he punished such of the governors as had offended during his absence, as it extremely pleased the people in general, so it frightened such as were guilty, as those who were executed, insomuch that many of them fled. Amongst the rest, *Harpalus*, who had done so once before ; but now, to secure himself effectually, he took five thousand talents out of the king's treasury, and having collected about six thousand mercenary soldiers he left them at *Tænarus*, and went himself to *Athens* ; from whence, after some time, being obliged to withdraw, he returned to his troops, and was killed by *Thimbro*, one of his intimate friends. As for *Alexander*, having cured the army of sedition, he was plagued with disputes among his friends. *Hephestion* his favourite especially presumed too far on his kindness towards him, and had once the insolence to remove *Eumenes*, the king's secretary, and the man of the clearest head in his whole army, out of his lodgings, for the sake of a musician belonging to himself ; whereupon *Eumenes* went to the king, and in the height of his passion told him, *That the way to be in his favour now was to lay down their arms, and turn fiddlers.* The king was very angry with *Hephestion*, and after having reproved him sharply, obliged him against his will to be reconciled to *Eumenes*. Then the king continued his march through *Media*, in which as *Arrian* informs us, it was said that he received from *Atrobates* a troop of female warriors, who were supposed to be *Amazons* ; but the same author tells us, that no author of any dignity had presumed to publish such a story in his writings ; he therefore rejects it as a fiction, as we also do, nor shall we trouble the readers with what other authors relate of *Thalestris*, her corps of female warriors, and her desiring *Alexander* to get her with child ; tales fitter for a romance, than for any thing which bears the name of history, much less the history of *Alexander*, the most prosperous captain of the *Greeks*, once the most eminent and deserving people in the world. The cause of the king's march this way is not expressed by *Arrian*, or indeed by any other author ; but it may with probability be imputed to *Harpalus's* flight, and the danger there was, that the rest of the royal treasures might be dissipated ; however it was, the king continued his rout to *Ecbatana* by pretty quick marches ^P.

^P *ARRIAN*. lib. vii. c. 13. *DIODOR. SICUL.* lib. xviii. *PLUT.* in vit. *Alex.* *JUSTIN.* lib. xii.

ON his arrival at that noble capital, he offered sacrifice to the gods, and exhibited solemn sports and plays, making also a royal banquet on that occasion; but the joy and mirth, as well of the king as of his army, was very shortly interrupted by *Hephestion's* falling suddenly very ill, and appearing to be in great danger of death. Authors are not agreed as to the occasion of his sickness; some expressly affirming that he overdrank himself; others, that he took a surfeit; however on the seventh day of his illness mortal signs appeared, of which when the king had notice, he immediately quitted the place of exercise, where he was at that time, and went to see him; but he came too late, for before he reached his lodgings, *Hephestion* was dead. It is said, that his physician having prescribed him a low diet, he refused to comply with it, eat a boiled capon, and drank freely of some wine which he liked that day; whereupon his fever, returning with greater violence than ever, carried him off. The king expressed very deep concern for the loss of his friend, and did him all the honours that he could possibly devise. *Plutarch* says, he ordered ten thousand talents to be spent on his monument; *Arrian* mentions the same sum spent in his obsequies at *Babylon*: As for what *Ælian* tells us, that he razed the castle of *Ecbatana*, crucified *Hephestion's* physician, and forbade the sound of the flute, or any other musical instrument in his camp, it really deserves no credit⁹. One thing *Arrian* informs us relating to this business, which is more probable, and at the same time more curious and better worth relating, viz. that all the great officers in *Alexander's* army devoted themselves and their arms to *Hephestion* at the motion of *Eumenes*, who took this method of shewing, that, far from being pleased at the death of a man who had differed with him, he was deeply concerned at it^r. In the neighbourhood of *Ecbatana* dwelt the *Cossæans*, a race of rude and barbarous people, sheltering themselves in the *Median* mountains, and whom some writers affirm never to have been subdued by the *Persian* kings. Against these people on account of their having committed some new robberies, *Alexander*, though it was winter, resolved to march, which accordingly he did, dividing his army into two bodies, one under his own command, the other under that of *Ptolemy Lagus*. The *Cossæans*, as soon as they entered their country, fled to their old hiding places, supposing they would be now, as they had been heretofore, so many inaccessible fortresses; but they were quite mistaken, for

⁹ *ÆLIAN. Hist. Var. lib. ii. c. 41.*
supra.

^r *ARRIAN. ubi*

Alexander and *Ptolemy* continually pursued them, and at the head of the light-armed foot clambered up the rocks, and either compelled those who had taken shelter there to come down, or blocked up the mouths of their caves, and left them to starve. Whereupon the *Cossians* in despair sent deputies to submit themselves to *Alexander's* mercy. Some authors have affected to call this expedition man-hunting, and tell us, that *Alexander*, having slain many thousands of these poor people, called it offering a sacrifice to the manes of *Hephestion*. But if, as all authors agree, the *Cossians* were no better than a race of highland robbers, who, presuming on the natural strength of their country, thought to plunder such as passed through the skirts of it with impunity, with what propriety can the king's punishing these criminals be styled man-hunting? as to his sacrificing to the manes of *Hephestion*, we are told, that at *Babylon* he offered ten thousand beasts of different kinds to him; yet even this is taken from romance-writers; for neither *Ptolemy* nor *Aristobulus* mention any such thing; what credit then ought we to give this story of sacrificing men? If we may be indulged a conjecture, we can offer some account of the origin of this tale. It is highly probable, that some of *Alexander's* officers might propose the undertaking of this expedition to cure his grief, and in all likelihood some rhetorical flourish, in his memoirs after *Alexander's* death, took from thence a hint of calling this a sacrifice to the manes of *Hephestion*, and, as is natural enough, some dull writer or other transcribed this flourish for truth. *Arrian* often complains of such things, and *Eratosthenes* had before exposed them; we may therefore justly wonder when we find modern writers transcribing these improbable stories without giving their readers the least caution, or putting them in mind that they are taken from writers of doubtful credit. If the following a different method hath something lengthened this history, the judicious peruser will not complain, since it is certainly of equal importance to be acquainted with the authority on which facts are founded, as to be told the facts themselves. But to return to *Alexander*; while he was at *Ecbatana*, he gave orders for felling a great quantity of timber in the mountains for building a navy, with which he designed to examine the *Hyrceanian* or *Caspian* sea, and to make himself as thoroughly acquainted therewith, as he now was with the coasts of the ocean, and the passage into the *Tigris* by the *Persian* gulph. These directions given, and the necessary

[ATHEN. Deipnosoph. lib. x. PLUT. in vit. Alex. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.

orders distributed for the quiet administration of affairs in the province, he set out for *Babylon*.

IN his march from *Ecbatana* to the last mentioned city, he Alexander gave directions for collecting whatever *Grecian* statues or o- *marches to* ther curiosities had been brought by *Xerxes* or any of his offi- *Babylon.* cers in any of their expeditions out of *Greece* into the *Persian* dominions, and ordered they should be carefully sent back. He likewise gave audience to many ambassadors, not only from the states of *Greece*, but also from *Barbarian* princes, who came to congratulate him on his safe return from his *Indian* expedition, giving them not only courteous and obliging answers, but also gratifying them in whatever requests they made him. When he drew near *Babylon*, the magi are said to have sent a deputation, requesting the king not to enter that city, because they foresaw that it would be fatal to him. Others say, that they were afraid to deliver the message they were charged with to the king himself, but that they applied themselves to *Nearchus*, who was then at court, and informed him of the king's danger; however it was, all agree that the king had notice of these predictions of the magi, and that at first they made great impression on him; but that when he had heard the *Grecian* philosophers reason upon this subject, he began to slight such things, and to return to his first resolution of marching directly to *Babylon*. When the *Chaldeans* found this, they offered the king another piece of advice, which was this; that if he would needs enter *Babylon*, he should march round it, and so enter it with his face towards the east. To this the king assented; but when he attempted to put it in execution, he found it impracticable, for the country, on the other side of *Babylon*, being a deep impassable marsh, he was constrained to return, and to enter it with his face to the west. This with some other presages, and unlucky omens, some of which fell out, and others were remembered about this time, gave the king great uneasiness (N). However, when he

(N) The presages referred to in the text are thus related by *Arrian*. *Aristobulus* tells us a strange story which happened to one of *Alexander's* men in this manner: When *Apollodorus* the *Amphipolitan*, one of the king's friends, who had been deputed to preside over the army, which was left for the security of the province, *Mazeus* being then governor, met him at his return from *India*, and perceived how severely he had treated several governors of provinces, he wrote to his brother *Pythagoras*, one of those augurs who gave answers by inspecting the entrails of beasts, and consulted him about his own safety. *Pythagoras* asked him in an-

he had been some time in *Babylon*, he resumed his former spirit, and began to bend his thoughts to the execution of certain vast designs he had formed, such as the conquest of the *Arabians*, the draining the *Babylonian* fens, and making a basin at *Babylon* capable of containing a thousand gallics. As to the first of these designs, he directed proper inquiries to be made concerning the country, people, and most proper

answer to his letter, of whom he principally stood in fear, that he might divine accordingly? and when he replied, that he chiefly dreaded *Alexander* and *Hephestion*, and when he saw the livers wanting, he wrote a letter, and sent it sealed to his brother *Apollodorus* then at *Ecbatana*, wherein he assured him he need not stand in fear of *Hephestion*, for he would shortly be taken off by death. And *Aristobulus* tells us, that *Apollodorus* received this letter the day before *Hephestion's* decease: Then *Pythagoras* again consulting for *Alexander*, and finding the fillets of the liver wanting thereto, wrote to the same purpose a second time to *Apollodorus*. He never so much as endeavoured to conceal the matter, but freely communicated the whole story to the king, as a testimony of his sincere good will towards him; and intreated him to beware of the danger which threatened. *Alexander* hereupon commended him for his fidelity, and when he entered into *Babylon*, he demanded of *Pythagoras* by what means he was informed of those things which he had written to his brother concerning him? and being answered, that the livers of the sacrifices offered for that purpose were defective; he again enquired what that portended? to which the augur replied, some great mischief. However, the king was so far from being offended at him, that he respected him the more for relating the whole matter to him simply and sincerely. *Aristobulus* tells us, that he received this story from *Pythagoras's* own mouth, who also afterwards inspected the intrails for *Perdiccas* and *Antigonus*, and gave the same responses, and the events happened accordingly; for *Perdiccas* was slain making war against *Ptolemy*, and *Antigonus* lost his life in a battle against *Seleucus* and *Lyfimachus*, at the river *Ipsus*. A strange story is also related concerning *Calanus* the Sage, to this effect: When he was carried towards the funeral pile, immediately before his death, he kissed all his friends, and took his leave of them, except *Alexander*, and when he drew near the king for that end, he refused to kiss, and take his leave of him then; but told him, he would find him again at *Babylon*, and do it there. These words were not at all regarded at that time by those who heard them; but the decease of *Alexander* afterwards at *Babylon* brought them fresh into their memories, and they then looked upon them as a prophecy of his death (5).

(5) *Arrian. lib. vii. c. 18.*

proper time for invading *Arabia*. For his third project, he instantly assigned a number of ship-builders, architects, and labourers to carry it on ; and as to the second, he went in person down the *Euphrates*, about fourscore of our miles, to examine the canal called *Pallacopas*, by which the waters of the *Euphrates* were let out, in order to judge the better of the proposals he should receive for remedying those evils which fell so heavy upon *Assyria*. From thence he passed to the mouth of the canal, and so to the *Arabian* confines, where, finding an agreeable situation, he built a new city, and left in it a colony of *Greek* mercenaries. Then he determined to sail back through the marshes, having the city on his left hand. To shew the skill he had acquired in naval affairs, he directed the royal galley himself ; but as he was upon deck for this purpose, his *tiara* and *fillet*, which, according to the eastern mode, he wore to denote his regal dignity, were blown off by the wind. The *tiara* by its weight was carried to the bottom of the river ; but the *fillet* was borne by the winds to the sepulchre of one of the *Assyrian* kings, and there it stuck upon the reeds. A sailor seeing this, and being desirous to shew his zeal and courage in his master's service, jumped into the water, swam to the monument, and recovered the fillet. But being afraid that it might be wet as he swam back again, he put it upon his head, which was believed to increase the presage already held ominous enough ^a. Some writers have informed us, that this sailor on his coming on board had a talent given him as a reward for his boldness, but that he was immediately put to death ; but what *Aristobulus* says, besides the credit it derives from his saying it, is much more probable, *viz.* that he was rewarded with a talent for saving the fillet, and scourged for his indiscretion in putting it on his head. When the king returned to *Babylon*, he found there *Peucestas* who was come from *Persia* with twenty thousand regular troops, besides a considerable corps of *Cossians* and *Tapurians*, nations lately reduced. *Philoxenus* also arrived with an army out of *Caria*, *Menander* with a body of troops from *Lydia*, and *Menidas* with several squadrons of horse. Embassadors from *Greece* also arrived, who approached the king with garlands on their heads, and presented him with golden crowns, intending thereby to offer him divine honours, a thing which had been fatal to his father, and proved no less so to the son. He was extremely desirous of forming the *Persian* troops on the *Ma*

^a ARRIAN. lib. vii. c. 22. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xxi.

cedonian model, and having first appointed them officers of that nation, he next determined to incorporate them into his grand army. For this purpose, having directed a review, he assisted thereat for some time with great pleasure ; but finding himself on a sudden very dry, he quitted his throne to go and take some refreshment. A mean fellow, who was a prisoner, but sometimes permitted to go without chains, seeing the royal seat empty, passed briskly through the eunuchs, and sat himself down on the throne. When the king was informed of this, he ordered the man to be seized, and examined whether any body put him upon this, or what was his motive, if he did it of his own accord. The man answered, that himself only was to blame, and that he did it from a levity of mind, for which he could not account. On this account the thing was held still the more ominous, and the unhappy wretch for his unaccountable presumption, immediately put to death. A few days after this, when he offered the accustomed sacrifices for the success of his affairs, and had added some new ones, by the advice of his soothsayers, he feasted his friends, and continued the banquet till late at night. He is also said to have given the flesh of the sacrificed beasts to his army, and ordered wine to be distributed among them, according to their numbers in each troop and company. Some authors add, that he was then willing to have retired from the banquet to his bed-chamber, but was met on his way by *Medius*, one of his friends at that time in high favour, who intreated him to go and make merry with him that night, for that the sports and entertainments in his apartment would not displease him. The royal diary gives us an account that he eat and drank with *Medius*, and then retired to rest, and when he awaked, and had washed and refreshed himself, he again supped with *Medius*, and drank till late at night. When he retired from the banquet, and had washed, he eat a little, and lay down there, because he had some symptoms of a fever. Afterwards he was carried in a chair to the temple, and there sacrificed after his usual manner, and this he repeated several days ; and when the sacrifices were performed, he lay in an apartment prepared on purpose for him, till the evening. In the mean time he issued out orders to the captains of his troops to make ready for a march in four days time, and even nominated those who should travel on foot ; but those that were to go on board the fleet with him were to prepare themselves gainst the fifth day. After this he was carried to the river, and being put on board one of his galleys,

gallies, was conveyed to some pleasant gardens on the other side, where, after he had washed, he went to rest. The next day he again bathed, and performed his accustomed sacrifices, which done, he entered his chamber, and held discourse with *Medius*, having given orders to his officers to attend him in the morning. He then supped moderately, and being conveyed to bed, had a continued fever upon him all that night. However, the next morning he again washed and sacrificed, and ordered *Nearchus* and the rest of his captains to prepare for sailing the third day. The next day he washed and sacrificed as before, but his fever still continued; notwithstanding which he again called his captains to him, and ordered all things to be made ready for a voyage, and having bathed, his fever increased towards the evening. The next day he was carried into a house adjacent to the bath, where he performed his usual sacrifices, and once more called his chief officers about him, to give orders concerning the intended voyage. The day following he was with great difficulty carried to sacrifice; however, he still continued to renew his orders, and notwithstanding he grew manifestly worse, could not be restrained from sacrificing the day after. He then commanded his chief officers to remain with him in the hall, and the inferior ones to wait at the gates, and growing still worse he was conveyed from the hall in the garden, where he then was, into the palace; and his chief officers approaching near to pay their attendance, he made signs, that he knew them, but was not able to speak, nor pronounce any thing articulate; and thus he remained all that night. The day following his fever still increased, and all that night and the next day continued strong and violent. The army by this time began to suspect that the king was dead; and as all crowds are violent in the pursuit of whatever they believe, they openly published this opinion of theirs, and when it was contradicted by those about his person, some of the soldiers had the assurance to force into the royal apartments, and even into that where the king lay. He was by this time speechless, and scarce able to stir; however he raised himself up, and made shift to extend his hand for them to kiss; which when they had done, they retired. A little after *Python*, *Attalus*, *Demophon*, *Peucestas*, *Cleomenes*, *Menidas* and *Silencus* came in. They had watched all night in the temple of *Serapis*, and had proposed the following question to the god, Whether *Alexander* should be brought into his temple to recover his health? To which the oracle answered, That it would be best

best for him to remain where he was. They had been in the room but a small time when the king expired, so that it was conjectured the oracle meant death was best for him: This is *Arrian's* account. As for those of other writers, the reader will find them in a note, it being absolutely necessary to let whatever is said upon that subject rest on the particular credit of him who writes it * (O).

WE

* *ARRIAN. lib. viii. c. 24, 25, 26.*

(O) *Diodorus Siculus*, speaking of the death of *Alexander*, ushers it in with an account of his losing his *Tiara* and *Fillet*, to avert which ill omen, he informs us, the king was enjoined to offer certain sacrifices; which having performed, *Medius* invited him, on his return, to a banquet, where the king drinking off the *Herculean* cup, was immediately struck with excessive pains, so that he was carried instantly to his lodgings. His sickness increasing, he began himself to despair of life, and gave his ring to *Perdiccas*. His friends inquiring to whom he left the kingdom, he answered, *To the most worthy*. He also intimated his foresight of their broils, by saying, *He could already view the funeral games which would attend him*. This author mentions the report of *Alexander's* dying by poison, through the contrivance of *Antipater*, with the circumstances alledged to support that opinion. But he leaves the reader to judge for himself on the facts and reasons produced (5). *Plutarch* relates the manner of his death circumstantially. He says, that after having given an entertainment to *Nearchus*, as he was going from the bath to bed, *Medius* would needs conduct him to a banquet. There, he says, the king drank all night, and the next day, which threw him into a fever that carried him off. He expressly rejects the story of the *Herculean* bowl, and of the king's being taken in an extraordinary manner. As to his being poisoned by *Antipater's* contrivance, he mentions it, and all its circumstances; but openly professes his disbelief of it. He cites the king's diary, as *Arrian* does; from whence it is clear, that there was nothing hasty or violent in *Alexander's* death, but that he was taken off by a fever (6). *Curtius* copies the same authors with *Diodorus*, but either delivers what they say more at large, or amplifies out of his own head. He tells us, that the king directed his body to be carried to *Ammon*; that when *Perdiccas* demanded at what time divine honours should be paid him? he answered him, *when you are all happy*. He is positive that the king was poisoned, and affirms that this black affair was styled by the power

(5) *Diodor. Sicul. l. xvii. prop. fin. l. xiii. prop. fin.*

(6) *Plut. in vit. A.*

WE have seen from the before-mentioned relation, as also *Other re-*
 from what we have noted out of other antient writers, that *lations of*
Alexander died a natural death. There was, however, an o- *the king's*
 pinion propagated very early, that he died of poison; and *death.*
 the story is told thus. *Antipater*, say they, perceiving that *Year of*
 he declined much in the king's favour, that *Craterus* was as- *the Flood,*
 signed him for a successor, and that himself was sent for into *2676.*
Persia, began to be fearful of the event. He therefore first *Before*
 of all sent his son *Cassander* to apologize for his conduct, with *Christ,*
 directions, if he found the king inexorable, to take him off; *323.*
 for which purpose, by the contrivance of *Aristotle*, who was
 in fear that the king would put in execution the threats
 thrown out against him when *Callisthenes* was in prison, *Cas-*
sander was furnished with some *Arcadian* water of a deadly
 nature, put up in a vessel made of a mule's hoof, in which
 alone it could be contained. This water, it is said, *Cassan-*
der, when he thought it necessary, gave to his brother *Follas*,
 who was the king's cup-bearer, by whom it was mixed with
 the wine which the king drank at the banquet given by *Me-*
dius. The whole tale was, in all probability, a contrivance
 of *Olympias*, who, to give it the greater colour, would not
 suffer the body of *Follas*, who died not long after, to remain
 interred, but cast out his remains, as if she was satisfied that
 he had a hand in the death of his sovereign. The hatred

of his successors. This is at least very improbable, for the king
 died at *Babylon*, *Antipater* commanded in *Greece*, a sedition fol-
 lowed on the king's demise, is it not strange none of the con-
 tending parties should mention it then (7)? *Seneca*, speaking of
 the dreadful effects of drunkenness, expatiates on the death of
Alexander. "He who in so many marches (says this elegant
 " writer) so many battles, and so many harsh seasons, had van-
 " quished all the difficulties of time and place; after so many
 " rivers and seas traced in safety, by intemperance in drinking
 " was destroyed, and by the fatal *Herculean* cup was sent to his
 " grave (8)." *Justin* writes more clearly than all the rest as
 to the poisoning, which he takes for an indubitable fact. In other
 circumstances he agrees with *Diodorus* and *Curtius*. He is clear
 also as to the king's speaking after the soldiers had quitted the
 room; and yet *Arrian* and *Ptolemy*, from the king's diary, seem
 to agree he was speechless before they saw him. Perhaps he
 gave his ring to *Perdiccas*, and expressed his sentiments to his
 friends just before he lost his speech (9).

(7) *Curt.* l. x.
 l. xii.

(8) *Senec. Epist.* lxxviii.

(9) *Justin.*

which *Cassander* expressed towards the family of *Alexander*, hath been also used as an argument in support of the probability of this story; but it has little in it, for, as the reader will see hereafter, this antipathy of *Cassander* may be accounted for as well, if not much better, from later causes. There is another story relating to *Alexander's* death, which, for its oddity, deserves to be recorded. It is said, that, when he found himself past recovery, he desired to be carried to the *Euphrates*, that, throwing himself thereinto, posterity might believe, as he came from, so he was returned to the gods; but in this he was hindered by his wife *Roxana*, to whom, upon that occasion, he said, That she envied him the honour of his divine origin. *Arrian*, from whom we have this, tells us, that he inserted it in his history, only that it might appear that he was acquainted with such reports, but that, however, he gave no credit to them^a.

*Remarks on
his charac-
ter.*

WE are now come to the end of that famous reign, which makes so great a figure in all history; but we shall not take upon us to conclude it with any character of *Alexander*, because, in the best authors of antiquity, there are many characters of him already. To these we cannot altogether assent, and it would be perhaps setting our own authority too high, should we attempt to censure them: We shall therefore observe, that, in reading these characters, just regard ought to be had to the rank and credit of the several authors who have wrote them. Historians have considered him either as an enterprising and successful prince, the glory of whose great actions scarce suffers the blemishes in his personal conduct to be seen; which is the light *Arrian* has placed him in; or they make his virtues and vices alike conspicuous, which seems to be the view of *Curtius*. Philosophers and moral writers have dealt more strictly with him, and have therefore seldom run into high panegyrics, *Plutarch* only excepted, who, in his orations on the fortune and virtue of *Alexander*, speaks as a rhetorician. The satyrist *Lucian* hath depicted him with great spirit, and with consummate judgment; but he seems to have kept his eye too closely on the latter scenes of his life, when his fortune, not his merit, was at its greatest height. However it is considered, his character is always shining, as his actions were in themselves very extraordinary. He died, according to the account of *Aristobulus*, in the hundred and fourteenth *Olympiad*, when he had lived thirty two years and eight months, and had reigned twelve years

^a ARRIAN. I. vii. c. 27.

and eight months ^b. *Plutarch* agrees pretty well with this ^c; but *Justin* asserts, that he was thirty three years old and one month, for which questionless he had some, though we think, not sufficient authority (P).

As

^b Ap. ARRIAN. l. vii. c. 28. ^c PLUT in vita Alex. JUSTIN. l. xii. c. ult.

(P) We propose, in this note, to say somewhat of the historians who have written of *Alexander's* history, and of those especially from whom we have collected it. We will begin with *Aristobulus*. He was an eminent officer in *Alexander's* army, and much in his favour, as is evident from his being intrusted with the care of seeing the tomb of *Cyrus* restored to its first condition (10). He wrote memoirs of what he saw, which are much commended, and in a great measure copied by *Arrian*, *Plutarch*, and *Strabo*; yet they had not the good luck to please *Alexander*, who, reading in them the story of his engagement with *Porus*, threw the book into the river *Hydaspes*. *Anaximenes* of *Lampsacus*, who had once been *Alexander's* tutor, wrote of his actions; but his work, which was not much approved, hath been long lost. *Baton*, who acted as engineer in *Alexander's* army, published an account of *Alexander's* encampments during his expedition (11). *Callisthenes* the philosopher; the history he wrote of *Alexander* is said to have been excellent so far as it went; yet it is questionable whether he wrote any history at all (12). *Clytarchus*, another of his followers, wrote a very fabulous history of his achievements (13). *Marsyas*, the brother of *Antigonus*, and who commanded the fleet under his nephew *Demetrius*, wrote a complete history of *Macedon*, including the reign of *Alexander*, which was much esteemed; and another treatise of the education of *Alexander*, for which he was exceedingly well qualified, because he was educated with him (14). *Nearchus*, *Alexander's* admiral, left the journal of his *Indian* voyage, which *Arrian* made use of in his *Indian* history, not without a gentle censure of the author's veracity (15). *Onesicritus*, the captain of *Alexander's* gally, writ a history, or rather a romance, in relation to his master's achievements. This man had genius, was a great philosopher, and had a good stile. It is said, that *Alexander*, having read this performance, said, He should be glad to come to life again after some time, to see what reception that book met with. Its author, it seems, read part of it once, which contained *Alexander's* war against the *Amazons*, to *Lyfimachus*; And where, I pray, was I, said the king, when all these strange things happen-

(10) *Arrian*. l. vii. (11) *Joseph contra Appion*. (12) *Arrian* l. iv c. 15. (13) *Curt*. l. ix. (14) *Athen. Dipnosoph*. l. 14. *Diodor. Sicul*. l. xx. (15) *Arrian. hist. Indic. Strabon. Geog* l. xi.

*The wives
and de-
scendants
of Alex-
ander.*

As to the issue he left behind him, we shall speak generally here, and more particularly in the subsequent chapter. By *Barsine* the daughter of *Artabazus*, and the widow of *Memnon*, a lady of great beauty and merit, he had a son named *Hercules*, who was afterwards murdered. By *Roxana* the daughter of *Oxyartes* the *Bactrian*, he had a posthumous son named *Alexander*, who had for a time the title of king. By *Cleopbes*, queen of part of *India*, he had a son named *Alexander*, who succeeded his mother in her kingdom. By *Statira*, the daughter of *Darius*, he had no children; nor by *Parisatis* the daughter of *Ochus*. As to the former, the very judicious dean *Prideaux* seems to think, that *Arrian* mistook her name when he called her *Barsine*, and that he confounded her with the widow of *Memnon*^d; but, upon looking farther into this matter, we find, that *Arrian* did not confound them, though there is a mistake in the name in the present copies; for it appears from the excerpts in *Photius*, that she was called by *Arrian*, not *Barsine*, but *Arsinoe*, which, for aught we know, might be her true name^e. Of these ladies we have reason to suppose, that *Roxana* was the best beloved, since it appears, that he married her from the dictates of his passion, the rest for reasons of state.

^d Connection of the Old and New Testament, p. i. b. viii. A. A. C. 325. ^e Ap. Phot p. 214.

ed (16)? There is still a manuscript history in *Latin*, which goes under the name of *Valerius*, stuffed with these romantic accounts, and for that reason never printed. As to authors in better repute, *Craterus* is said to have written memoirs of his master's victories, which were also recorded in the commentaries of *Exmenes*, and in the history of *Ptolemy* the son of *Lagus*, whom, of all others, *Arrian* commends, and follows most. On this account it is, that we prefer his history to all that are now extant; and, amongst other reasons, it is valuable for this, that we have it intire, excepting only a passage of no great length in the seventh book. *Strabo*, as he has occasion to mention the provinces conquered by *Alexander*, mentions also abundance of passages of his life, and furnishes us with various particulars, which are not to be found elsewhere. *Diodorus Siculus* hath afforded us much assistance, and would have afforded more, if there had not been so large a chasm in his seventeenth book. *Curtius* we have all along examined, and, where it was necessary, made use of him, as also of *Justin*. *Ælian*, *Polyænus*, and *Frontinus*, have been consulted as to particular facts, together with *Lucian*, *Seneca*, and many others, whose names it is unnecessary to retail to the reader.

(16) *Plut. in vita Alex.*

W E

WE have now perfected the history of a reign, which bestowed the epithet of *Great* on him of whom we have been speaking, and extended his empire, in name at least, over the world. This indeed was rather a flight of *Grecian* flattery, than any adequate description of his dominions. He was far from being master of the world then known, for he possessed but part of *Asia*, a small part of *Afric*, and a still smaller of *Europe*; yet he was the lord of a multitude of fair provinces, the sovereign of many large and powerful kingdoms, and held an empire more extensive than the world had till that time seen. *Macedon* was his hereditary kingdom; a great part of *Thrace* and *Illyria* he had subdued; all *Greece* was under his protection, and the protection of so great a prince always did, and always will include sovereignty. His *Asiatic* conquests reached from the *Hellepont* to the *Indian* ocean, including all that the *great king* possessed, and more. *Egypt* and *Libya* were his; and all the *Greek* islands owned his authority. All these were the acquisition of a few years, and many of them obtained in as little time as he could pass through them. We have, in the course of our history, endeavoured to place all these conquests according to the order of time in which they were made, as also according to their vicinity to each other. For the better understanding of the whole, we have subjoined a map of his dominions, wherein is marked the rout of his army, from his first march out of *Macedonia* to his last coming to *Babylon*; and, that this might be still more intelligible, we have, in a note, shewn the value of that map in point of accuracy, and likewise explained its uses (Q). Here then let us quit this subject, with

(Q) The map which we have given our readers, was drawn by the famous M. *De Lisle*, in the year 1729, for the use of the *French* king. There is therefore all the reason in the world to believe, from the known ability of the author, and from the design of his work, that it is excellent in its kind, and was performed with all imaginable accuracy. In this map there is a double description of the countries laid down therein. One by M. *De Lisle*, founded upon astronomical observations; the other according to our modern geographers in general. The reader will have the satisfaction of comparing both, and of seeing all *Alexander's* marches and conquests, as they are delineated in one and in the other. The situation of places in M. *De Lisle's* map were, as we have said, determined by observations, where they were to be had, and, where they were not, from the geographical tables of the eastern astronomers, who, by comparison of the situations assigned of places where observations had been made, were judged

with this remark, that the foregoing history is not collected from any one author, or with a partial regard to any of those it is collected from. We have compared the best writers of antiquity on this subject, and have from them laid down a regular series of events, distinguishing, as far as we were able, the probable from the improbable, the certain from the doubtful; and, where we were not able thus to distinguish, we have cited the authorities which hindered us from distinguishing, and have placed the evidence before our readers, that they may decide for themselves. Such is this history of the rise, progress, and establishment of the *Macedonian* empire, which, we hope, will be found consistent with the plan laid down of this work, and very different from any other yet extant in our language.

S E C T. VI.

The Division of the MACEDONIAN Empire.

*State of
things at
the death
of Alexan-
der.*

THE death of *Alexander* had well nigh proved the dissolution of his empire; for at first the extreme grief of every body hindered them from paying a proper respect to public affairs; and, when these high transports of affection were over, their feuds and jealousies had almost occasioned the shedding a deluge of *Macedonian* blood round

to come very near the truth. Where both of these were wanting, the distances set down in the relations of travellers in the highest credit were made use of. The inquisitive reader may be further satisfied of the care and nicety with which this map was done, if he will take the trouble of perusing a short, but very full memoir on that subject, written by the author's son-in-law (17). We ourselves have taken some pains in the same way, and have compared the situation of the *Caspian* sea in M. *De Lisle's* map, by the chart of the same sea drawn by order of the *Czar*, and published in the year 1731, and find them to correspond very well. We have also found, that M. *De Lisle's* map reconciles the descriptions given by antient authors, with those which have been delivered to us by the most judicious modern travellers. On the whole therefore we are well satisfied, that what we have just now said, and also what we have advanced in the text, is agreeable to truth, and no more than what every judicious reader will readily discern; to add more on this head therefore would be tedious.

(17.) *Recherches Geographiques sur l'etendue de l'empire d'Alexander, &c. par M. Bauche. Memoires de l'Academie Royale des Sciences, 1731.*

the dead body of their king. The want of an historian who might be depended on, and the having many on whose works we cannot so well rely, have concurred in throwing a dark veil of obscurity over this part of our history ; which, from the best materials we have, and in the best manner we can, we will endeavour to remove. A day or two after the death of the king, his friends assembled in the council-room, and summoned thither all the principal commanders of the army ; but the soldiers and people who were not summoned, and who neither ought, nor with any propriety could have any share in such consultations, came in vast crowds, and so blocked up the passages, that many of the great officers could not get in. Proclamation was then made by a herald, that none should presume to approach the assembly, or to remain there, but such as were called by name ; which proclamation however was very little regarded ; and we mention this as a remarkable instance of the difference between *authority* and *power*. Those who had commanded this proclamation to be made, had assumed the administration ; but the people presuming on their own power, and knowing that these governors had none but what they should think fit to lend them, gave little heed to their commands ; but, on the contrary, made them give way to their own curiosity, so that numbers of mean rank and little consideration remained at present in the council. *Perdiccas*, as soon as silence could be obtained, ordered the chair of *Alexander* to be brought forth, and having placed the robes and regalia upon it, laid upon them the royal ring, declaring, that he most willingly resigned any authority that might be intended him by the king when this ring was delivered to him. However, he proposed it as a thing not only expedient, but necessary, that the empire should have a head ; and when he had demonstrated this by proper arguments, he told them, that *Roxana* was with child, and that, if she brought forth a son, he ought to be acknowledged his father's successor. *Nearchus* applauded the design of preserving the regal dignity in the family of *Alexander* ; but said, it would be too long to wait for *Roxana's* delivery, especially as it would be attended with uncertainty. He therefore put them in mind of *Hercules* the son of *Alexander* by *Barsine*. The soldiers signified their dislike of this by the clangour of their arms. *Ptolemy* then propounded, that the chair of *Alexander* should retain the shadow of sovereignty, and that the state should be governed by a council of officers ; but this being disliked, a motion was made in favour of *Perdiccas* ; but he, out of modesty, refused it. At last somebody mentioned *Antideus* the brother of *Alexander*, who had always accompanied the king, and was wont to sa-

crifice

grifice with him. The *Macedonian* phalanx, full of affection, as all brave and honest nations are to the hereditary line of their antient kings, closed immediately with this proposition, and called for *Aridæus*. *Perdiccas*, *Ptolemy*, and most of the horse officers, were extremely averse to this measure; and they carried their obstinacy so far, as to retire from the assembly, and even to quit the city. However, *Meleager*, at the head of the phalanx, supported vigorously their first resolution, and threatened loudly to shed the blood of those who affected to rule over their equals, and to assume a kingdom which no way belonged to them. *Aridæus* they arrayed in royal robes, put on him the arms of *Alexander*, and saluted him by the name of *Philip*, that he might be rendered more popular^a. While things remained in this situation, *Meleager* managed affairs about the new-created king, and *Perdiccas* transacted all things for the other party. Both pretended vast concern for the public, yet, at the bottom, intended nothing so much as their own private advantage, each having formed a scheme of ingrossing the administration, under colour of serving the interests of those they had drawn, not to favour them personally, but their specious pretences. In order to apprehend these things clearly, let us view all these great ones in their proper lights.

The characters of *Perdiccas* was a man of high birth, had a supreme command in the army, was much in favour with *Alexander*, and strongly confided in by the nobility. *Meleager* had rendered himself formidable by uniting the *Macedonians* who composed the phalanx in one opinion, and by raising one to the kingdom who was wholly under his direction^b. *Aridæus* was, as we have heretofore shewn, the son of *Philip* by a dancer named *Philina*; he was of small parts, not by nature, but by the practices of *Olympias*, who by poisonous draughts had taken care to weaken both his constitution and his mind. He had however for his wife *Eurydice* his cousin, as we shall see hereafter, by whose assistance he was able to manage pretty well. At present, alone and without counsellors, he acted as the times required, he did what *Meleager* would have him, but he declared that whatever he did he did by the advice of *Meleager*, so that he made his minister accountable for his own schemes, and no way indangered himself. The *Macedonians* besides their affection for the royal house, began to entertain a personal love for *Aridæus*, now called *Philip* on account of

^a CURT. lib. x DIODOR. SICUL lib. xviii JUSTIN. lib. xiii. OROS. lib. iii PLUT. in vit. Alex. & EUMEN. ^b PLUT. in vit. EUMEN. DIODOR. CURT. ubi supra.

his mildness and moderation^c. Besides these who were the principal characters on the stage at this time, there was another who through modesty declined public notice, and was notwithstanding a prime instrument in adjusting the differences which were now on foot, and made a most shining figure in public affairs afterwards. This was *Eumenes* the *Cardian*, the late king's secretary. He was, as far as we find, little distinguished by birth, though his father could not have been a waggoner, as some report, because he was *Philip* of *Macedon*'s host, who taking a fancy to his son, retained him about his person, and having tried his fidelity, at length made him his secretary, in which post *Alexander* found and continued him. This post alone would have rendered him very considerable, but the king had raised him beside to the highest military commands, he being one of so rare a genius as to be alike suited to a camp or court, and no less capable of commanding in the field, than of giving advice in the closet. When the marriages were made by the king's directions at *Susa*, *Eumenes* was in some measure allied to him, for he had then given him *Artonis*, whom some call *Barsine* the daughter of *Artabazus*, and sister to *Barsine*, who was the mother of *Hercules* by *Alexander*. These were the busy actors at this period, *Perdiccas* full of ambition, *Meleager* selfish and revengeful, *Aridæus* or *Philip* weak and timorous, *Eumenes* brave, wise, and inviolably attached to the royal house^d.

THE foot under *Meleager* held *Babylon*, and the king's person in their hands, and were cloathed with his authority, which however *Meleager* overstretched when he sent some to seize *Perdiccas*, for that great officer so frightened them with his frowns, and words, that they returned *re infecta*, and so made the breach the wider. The cavalry under *Perdiccas*, *Ptolemy Lagus*, and other generals, invested the city, or rather shut up the passages thereto, so that presently famine began to appear, and even to be felt. The inhabitants of the adjacent villages fled for safety to *Babylon*, and multitudes, pinched by hunger, issued from the city to seek subsistence in the country. This confusion compelled the phalanx to think of treating, and *Eumenes*, who, as a stranger by birth, had hitherto affected a neutrality, easily brought about an accommodation by blending both schemes together, allowing *Aridæus* or *Philip* the regal title, and vesting the authority in the great officers, of whom *Meleager* was to be held the third.

^c ARRIAN. apud. PHOT. Biblioth. Cod. xcii. JUSTIN. CURT. ubi supra. ^d PLUT. in vit. Eumen. & CORN. NEPOS, in vit. ejusd.

In consequence of this accommodation, all the great officers of the army came to court, especially *Perdiccas* and *Ptolemy*, the former eagerly desiring to assume the sovereignty under the specious title of protector, and the latter secretly aiming at the division of the empire, that under the name of a government he might secure a kingdom to himself. *Perdiccas* soon gained an ascendancy over *Philip*, insomuch that he conducted all things according to his own will, though in the name of that prince. The first design of consequence he aimed at putting in execution was the taking off *Meleager*, in order to which he framed a plot equally subtil and successful; he put some of his own adherents on complaining openly of *Meleager's* being made equal to *Perdiccas*; this naturally led *Meleager* to expostulate with him; upon which *Perdiccas* with an air of frankness told him, that such incendiaries ought immediately to be punished, and proposed a general lustration of the army, as the only probable method of taking off such disturbers of the public peace. *Meleager* readily came into this, looking upon it as an indubitable testimony of *Perdiccas's* friendship. But when the horse and foot were drawn into the field, and the king quitting the phalanx, rode along the first line of the right wing with *Perdiccas*; the foot began to be in some terror, and in that terror all their courage forsook them; sometimes they thought of retiring into the city, at others of opposing force by force. *Meleager* of all others was least present to himself, so that after deliberating long, and proposing many things, they resolved on nothing, till *Perdiccas* formed the horse over-against them with the elephants in front. Then taking the king with him, he rode along the first line of the phalanx, and demanded the authors of the late sedition. *Meleager* and his soldiers answered nothing, yet by the dejection of their countenances, they plainly shewed how low their spirits were sunk; this encouraged *Perdiccas* to draw out by force three hundred, who in the late affair had been most active for *Meleager*, whom without more ado he cast to the elephants, and suffered to be trampled to death in the sight of the army; the king looking on rather as a surprized spectator, than as the author of so cruel a deed. As no body pretended to lay hands on *Meleager* himself, he neither spoke nor stirred to save those who had acted by his authority, which answered the end of *Perdiccas*, for on his return to *Babylon* every body shunned and was afraid of him, which had such an effect on his mind, already disordered, that he took sanctuary in a temple, vainly hoping that his enemies would not pursue him to the altar; whereas ambitious men shew no respect to religion, but when it is their tool, and

therefore *Perdiccas*, who thought himself not safe while this man lived, ordered him without ceremony there to be slain, which was accordingly performed; and thus the authority of *Perdiccas* was for the present established * (A).

To

* DIODOR. CURT. JUSTIN. ubi supra.

(A) In this note we intend to acquaint the reader with the authors on whose authority we build what is delivered in this section. The first of these is *Arrian*, the same whom we chiefly followed in our history of *Alexander the Great*. He wrote upon this subject a treatise consisting of ten books, which are all unfortunately lost, and what we quote in their stead is no more than a very brief account of their contents preserved by the famous *Photius*, who at the end of his extract hath added a character of this author worthy of the service which he has done to the commonwealth of letters. He tells us, that as an historian he knows none who ought to be preferred before him, his stile, continues he, is strong and uniform, his narration seldom interrupted by digressions; those there are alike pertinent and short. His eloquence never misleads him into any thing forced, or hard to be understood, and while he preserves all the dignity of history, he introduces nothing of that unintelligible sublime, which is the bane of writers of warm imaginations, and who have judgments as warm. Yet in point of elegance his work is no less valuable than in point of veracity; his periods are sweet and perfectly well turned; his language so accurately proper, that it is impossible to say he ever rises above, or sinks below his subject. In a word, there is such a harmony, perspicuity, and noble simplicity in the works of this writer, that to add or take away from them, would be doing visible injury both to the author and reader (1). *Diodorus Siculus* hath written as well and more copiously than any on the matters of which we treat in this section (2). *Curtius* at the close of his work treats very fully of what happened at and immediately after the death of *Alexander*, in which he the rather deserves credit, because what he relates agrees very well with *Arrian*, particularly in the division of the provinces (3). *Plutarch* in the close of his life of *Alexander*, in his lives of *Eumenes* and *Demetrius*, and in many other treatises of his, hath afforded us frequently materials. To these we may add *Justin* (4). We have collated them all; and where they differ have selected what was most probable, and most consistent with other parts of the narration. In most of our collections of general history, this period is remarkably distracted and confused, not so much for want of authorities, as for want of using them; as also from a prejudice against

(1) *Phot. Bibliothec. Cod. xcii.* (2) *Diodor. Sicul. lib. xviii.*

(3) *Curt. lib. x.* (4) *Justin. l. xiii.*

*The empire
divided.*

To satisfy the ambition of the principal commanders in the army, to provide for the safety of the empire, and to free himself from competitors, *Perdiccas* quickly called a general council, wherein the following distribution of honours and governments was made. *Aridæus*, and the son of *Roxana* now born, and named *Alexander*, were to enjoy the regal authority. *Antipater* had the government of the *European* provinces as general of the army there. *Craterus* had the title of protector. *Perdiccas* had in reality the office, with the stile of general of the household troops, in the room of *Hephestion*. *Ptolemy* the son of *Lagus* had *Egypt*, *Libya*, and that part of *Arabia* which borders upon *Egypt*. *Cleomenes*, a man of infamous character, whom *Alexander* had made receiver-general in *Egypt*, was made *Ptolemy's* deputy. *Lao-medon* had *Syria*, *Philotas* *Cilicia*, *Pithon* *Media*, *Eumenes* *Cappadocia*, *Paphlagonia*, and all the country bordering on the *Euxine* sea, as far as *Trapezus*; but these were not yet conquered, so that he was a governor without a province. *Antigonus* had *Pamphilia*, *Lycia*, and *Phrygia Major*, *Cassander* *Caria*, *Menander* *Lydia*, *Leonatus* *Phrygia* on the *Hellepont*. In *Europe*, *Thrace*, the *Chersonese*, and the countries adjoining as far as *Salmydessus* on the *Euxine Sea* were given to *Lyfimachus*; the rest of the countries subject to the *Macedonians*, as far as the *Ceraunian* mountains, with all *Greece*, were left to *Craterus* and *Antipater*. As to the rest of the provinces not mentioned in this division, they remained under the governors appointed them by *Alexander*. We have in this account followed our old guide *Arrian*; what other authors have delivered on this subject, the readers will perceive by a note; for to have inserted in the text the different accounts we have of this matter would have taken up much time, and room, at the same time that it would have

the matter itself, as if the wars of *Alexander's* successors, till such time as the four capital empires, into which his was broken, arose, were of little importance. Whereas the giving a full, distinct, and perspicuous account of such perplexed parts of history, is one of the greatest services a writer can render to posterity; and in support to this observation, we beg leave to remark, that though *Arrian* wrote but seven books of the life of *Alexander*, yet he wrote ten of the division of his empire, notwithstanding he carries his history no lower than *Antipater's* return to *Europe*; so necessary it appeared to him that the transactions in this period should be well understood. Add to this, that the latter extract in *Photius* is four times as long as the former (5).

(5) *Vide Phot. Bibl. Cod. xci. xcii.*

perplexed the reader, and interrupted the thread of our narration † (B). THIS

† ARRIAN. apud. Phot. ubi supra. CURT. ubi supra.

(B) The division of *Alexander's* empire, according to other authors, ran thus: *Diodorus Siculus* affirms, that *Perdiccas* confirmed the kingdom to *Aridæus*; gave to *Ptolemy* Egypt; to *Pithon* Media; to *Eumenes* Paphlagonia, with Cappadocia, and the neighbouring countries; to *Cassander* Caria; to *Meleager* Lydia; to *Leonatus* Phrygia upon the Hellespont; to *Lyfimachus* Thrace, with the adjacent nations as far as the sea; to *Antipater* Macedonia, with the neighbouring countries; to the rest of the officers he distributed the other provinces in Asia; to *Oxyartes* Caucasus, and the Paropamisus; to *Sybirtius* Arachosia and Gedrosia; to *Stasanor* the Solian, Aria and Drangiana; to *Philip* the prætor Bactria and Sogdiana; to *Phrataphernes* Parthia and Hyrcania; to *Peucestes* Persis; to *Tlepolemus* Caramania; to *Atropas* Media; to *Archon* Babylonia; to *Arcesilaus* Mesopotamia; to *Seleucus* the command of the royal cavalry, which *Hephestion* had first, and *Perdiccas* afterwards; to *Taxiles* and *Porus* each their own kingdoms, as restored and augmented by *Alexander*. The king kept *Perdiccas* with him, and constituted him captain of the guards, and the forces which attended him (6). According to *Justin*, the provinces and chief commands were thus divided. *Ptolemy* had Egypt, Africa, and part of Arabia; *Laomedon* Syria; *Philotas* and his son Cilicia and Illyricum; *Atropatos*, it should be *Atropates*, Media the greater; *Alcetas* the brother of *Perdiccas* Media the less; *Scynus* Susiana; *Antigonus* the son of *Philip* Phrygia the greater; to *Nearchus* Lycia and Pamphilia; to *Cassander* Caria; *Menantander* Lydia; *Leonatus* Phrygia the less; *Lyfimachus* Thrace, and the countries adjacent to the Pontic sea; *Eumenes* Cappadocia, and Paphlagonia; to *Seleucus* the son of *Antiochus* the chief command of the forces; to *Cassander* the son of *Antipater* the command of the king's guards; *Taxiles* the countries between the rivers *Indus* and *Hydaspes*; *Pithon* the son of *Agenor* the colonies settled in India; *Parapomenus* the borderers on mount Caucasus; *Extarches* the Argæans; *Amyntas* the Bactrians; *Scythæus* the Sogdians; *Nicanor* the Parthians; *Philip* the Hyrcanians; *Phrataphernes* the Armenians; *Tlepolemus* the Persæ; *Peucestes* the Babylonians; *Archos* the Pelasgæ; *Archesilaus* Mesopotamia. There are other accounts of this division which agree not either with these or with that of *Arrian* in the text; but in producing those of *Diodorus* and *Justin*, we have done enough to put it in the readers power plainly to perceive the sources of these discordances (7). For, first, here are some names mis-spelt, or changed through the ignorance of transcribers, which creates a seeming without a real difference. As for instance, *Scynus* is undoubtedly put for *Antigonus*, though there is not the least conformity between them. *Extarches* is for *Oxyartes*, and *Scythæus*, is put for *Sybirtius*, and in *Diodorus* the same person is called *Ibertius*. Se-

(6) *Diodor. Sicul. lib. xviii.*

(7) *Justin. lib. xiii.*

Perdiccas This division of the empire, as well as all other things, had *assumes regal power.* the sanction of the royal name, and seemed to be done by authority of king *Philip* ; but in truth, it was the mere act of *Perdiccas* and his associates, who shared at their pleasure the empire of their deceased master, treating his lawful heirs as pageants and cyphers ; but we need not wonder at this, when we find that *Alexander* himself was no less slighted, for while these disputes were on foot, his body was altogether neglected, and seven days elapsed before any orders were given for its embalment. It is said that the *Egyptians* and *Chaldeans* who were ordered to perform this office, found the royal corps not only perfectly sound, and free from corruption, but with so lively a countenance, that they were afraid to touch it. Some have conceived that this story took rise from flattery, and that those who made it their business to magnify the actions of *Alexander*, as if they were incompatible with mortality, had a mind to carry their servile panegyrics still farther, by representing his very dead body as incorruptible. But as those who are best versed in these things agree, that without any miracle dead bodies remain sometimes a considerable space without corrupting, the fact may be believed, and the inferences rejected. However it was, *Alexander* was at length embalmed, and *Aridæus*, not the king, but a commander so called, was charged with the care of the royal funeral. As they had taken so little notice of his body, they made no scruple of vacating his will, because it contained in it nothing beneficial for them. What we call his will, was a short memorandum of things he would have done ; those were reduced to five points : The first concerned the building of a fleet of a thousand stout galleys to be made use of against the *Carthaginians*, and other nations, who should oppose the reduction of the sea-coasts of *Africa* and *Spain*, with all the adjacent islands, as far as *Sicily*. The second directed a

condly, *Justin* does not distinguish between the first and second division, neither do *Dexippus*, *Orosius*, or other authors ; whence their differences with *Arrian*. *Diodorus* indeed mentions both the divisions by *Perdiccas*, and by *Antipater*, and is in all respects more correct as well as more copious than the rest.

The author of the first book of *Maccabees* hath a very short and very expressive account of this matter in the beginning of his work. So *Alexander* reigned twelve years, and then died, and his servants bare rule every one in his place, and after his death they all put crowns upon themselves, so did their sons after them many years, and evils were multiplied in the earth (8).

(8) 1 *Maccab.* i. 7, 8, 9.

large and regular high-way along the sea-coast of *Africa*, as far as *Ceuta* or *Tangier*. The third ordered the erecting six temples of extraordinary magnificence at the expence of fifteen hundred talents each. The fourth appointed forts, arsenals, havens, docks and yards for building ships to be settled in proper places throughout his empire. By the fifth he proposed the building in proper situations several new cities in *Europe* and *Asia*; those in *Asia* to be inhabited by colonies from *Europe*; and those in *Europe* to be filled with *Asiatics*, that by blending their people and their manner, that hereditary antipathy might be eradicated, which had hitherto subsisted between such as dwelt in different continents. Lastly, he had projected the erecting a pyramid equal in bulk and beauty to the biggest in *Egypt*, in honour to his father *Philip*. All these designs, under pretence of their being excessively expensive, were referred to a council of *Macedonians* to be held no body knew when or where. The proceedings of the new government, which was entirely in the hands of *Perdiccas* and *Roxana*, grew quickly very cruel, and of consequence generally distasteful. Before *Alexander* was well dead, *Roxana* dispatched letters under his seal to *Statira* and *Drypetis*, the daughters of *Darius*, directing them in his name to come to *Babylon*, where when they arrived, she got them into her power, and by the assistance of *Perdiccas*, murdered them, that no son either of *Alexander* or *Hephestion* might give any trouble to her or her son *Alexander*. As for *Syfigambis* the mother of *Darius*, as soon as the news of *Alexander's* death reached her ears, she resolved to take away her own life, which accordingly she did, sinking under this, though she had born up against many other misfortunes. For her father and a multitude of her brethren had been put to death by *Ochus*; and her son *Darius* had lost both the empire and his life through force and fraud. The mercenary *Greeks* who were disposed up and down the inland provinces of *Asia*, despairing now of ever seeing their own countries by fair means, resolved to attempt something by force. With this view they chose one *Philo* to be their general, and assembled an army of twenty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, marching directly towards the sea. As soon as *Perdiccas* received advice of this, he made choice of *Pithon* to command the forces destined to march against these rebels, as he called them. These forces consisted of three thousand foot, and eight hundred horse, all *Macedonians*; but *Pithon* carried with him orders to the governors to furnish him with ten thousand foot, and eight thousand horse, out of the provinces through which he passed, which accordingly they performed. From the
moment

moment he was appointed to this command, *Pithon* had formed a scheme of setting up for himself, by offering the rebels any terms, if they would join with him. *Perdiccas* was aware of this, and therefore he publicly gave him orders to put the rebels without mercy to the sword, and to distribute all their effects among his soldiers, whereby every man he commanded was made a check upon him. *Pithon* when he drew near *Philo* and his troops, found means to corrupt one *Lipodorus*, who commanded a body of three thousand men. This traitor, in the midst of a general engagement, when the victory was doubtful, retired with his troops to the top of a hill, which so disordered *Philo's* army, that a general defeat ensued. After this *Pithon* sent to *Lipodorus* to come down with his troops and join him, assuring him that he and his should be treated as well as his own soldiers. *Lipodorus* coming accordingly into his camp, the *Grecians* were mingled with the *Macedonians*, and *Pithon* began to resume his former ideas, when of a sudden the *Macedonians* conceiving that their new oath was incompatible with their old oath to *Perdiccas*, cut the throats of the *Greek* mercenaries, and seized all they had; after which bloody action, *Pithon* wholly disappointed, returned with his forces to *Perdiccas* ^g.

A war in
Thrace.
Year of
the Flood
2677.
Before
Christ,
322.

ACCORDING to the chronological order of events, we ought now to speak of the *Lamian* war in *Greece*; but inasmuch as we shall in the next chapter treat expressly of the affairs of *Macedon*, we will refer that account thither as to its proper place, and confine ourselves here to the disputes which happened in *Asia*, and elsewhere, till the governors of provinces assumed the regal dignity. *Lyfimachus* who was in *Thrace*, the province assigned him, found himself on a sudden in danger of being entirely stript thereof. For *Seuthes*, descended of the antient race of the *Odryssian* kings, had set up a claim to the dominions of his ancestors, and had raised an army of twenty thousand foot and eight thousand horse. *Lyfimachus* had no more than 4000 foot and 2000 horse, yet he was forced to come to an engagement, wherein as he was not defeated, he may be said to have gained a victory; for he kept the field of battle, and preserved that part of the province which he held ^h.

Eumenes
put in pos-
session of
Cappado-
cia.

As for *Perdiccas*, he was full of great projects, and very industrious in procuring means and instruments to execute them, though as yet he did not think fit to produce them to light. First of all he chose *Eumenes* for his confident, and prime minister, whose character we have given before. He

^g DIODOR. lib. xviii. Olymp. cxiv. 2.

^h Id. Ibid.

knew

knew that this man was thoroughly loyal to the kings, and therefore doubted not his friendship to himself, wherein he was by no means deceived ; for *Eumenes* was as careful of his interests, as if they had been his own ; and, notwithstanding *Perdiccas* was a man of great parts, understood and would have conducted them better than he himself did. In the first place, it was held requisite to put this man in possession of his government, which, though stiled a province, was in truth an unconquered kingdom ; *Alexander*, when he first invaded *Asia*, passing by *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*, and never had time afterwards to reduce him. This prince knowing well that it would one time or other fall to his lot to fight for the kingdom of his ancestors, made use of that repose, which in the midst of general confusion his territories enjoyed, to lay up great sums of money, and to hire mercenary troops for the defence of them. *Perdiccas* knowing as well how the matter stood, directed *Antigonus* and *Leonatus* by letters in the names of the kings to march against the *Cappadocian* prince, and to put *Eumenes* in possession of his province : As to *Antigonus*, he was now become too haughty to think of paying any respect to the commands of another. *Leonatus* indeed marched with an army, as if he intended to perform what *Perdiccas* had directed, and therefore *Eumenes* was sent to join him. This friend of *Perdiccas* had not been long in the army before *Hecataeus* the tyrant of *Cardia*, his native country, arrived, and began to treat with *Leonatus* to come to the assistance of *Antipater* ; to which the latter agreed. Yet he confessed to *Eumenes*, that his true design was to marry *Gleopatra* the sister of *Alexander the Great*, and in her right to seize the kingdom. *Eumenes* thereupon laying hold of his treasure, which consisted of five thousand talents, quitted the camp in the night with his attendants, and retired to *Perdiccas*. This was a new proof of his fidelity, and *Perdiccas* was so pleased with it, that he determined to march in person with an army to execute what *Leonatus* ought to have performed, which accordingly he did, carrying the kings with him. *Ariarathes* with an army of thirty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse, met him on the frontiers of his dominions, where a very obstinate battle was fought, in which the *Cappadocian* was entirely defeated with the loss of one thousand men upon the spot, himself with six thousand more being taken prisoners. Upon which, to prevent any further disturbance, and to secure *Eumenes* in the peaceable possession of his province, *Perdiccas* ordered *Ariarathes* to

to be crucified, which was certainly a very arbitrary and cruel act^l.

**Lauranda
and Isaurus
taken.**

THIS expedition over, *Perdiccas* determined to reduce *Lauranda* and *Isaurus*, two cities of *Pisidia*, because they had slain *Balacrus* the son of *Nicanor*, whom *Alexander* had appointed their governor. *Lauranda* was not very strong, *Perdiccas* therefore took it by assault, and dealt with the inhabitants very severely. All who were able to bear arms, he put to the sword; as for the youths, women, and children, he sold them for slaves. He next invested *Isaurus*, which, being a strong and populous place, held out gallantly for a time, till the number of the defendants being greatly reduced, those who remained resolved not to share the same fate with the *Laurandians*; but having appointed a sufficient number to defend the walls, they set the city on fire in all quarters, consuming their parents, wives, and children, in their houses, while themselves repelled the *Macedonians*, who sought to break in and extinguish the flames; and when *Perdiccas* had drawn off his troops, jumped into the fire. The *Macedonian* army having collected what gold and silver they could find in the ashes, *Perdiccas* led them into winter quarters, and left the conquered countries under the care of *Eumenes*^k.

**The pro-
jects of
Perdiccas.**

AT the first division of the provinces, *Perdiccas*, to strengthen himself, had proposed to marry *Nicæa* the daughter of *Antipater*, and this was so well relished, that her brethren *Jollas* and *Archias* now conducted her to him, in order to be present at the celebration of the nuptials. But *Perdiccas* had other things in his head. *Olympias*, who had always hated *Antipater*, had privately solicited him to marry her daughter *Cleopatra*; this lady was the widow of *Alexander*, king of *Epirus*, at whose marriage *Philip* was slain, and she now resided at *Sardis* in *Lydia*. *Eumenes* strongly persuaded this match, without doubt because he believed it would prove beneficial to the royal family, and his reasons had such weight with *Perdiccas*, that he was dispatched to *Sardis* to compliment *Cleopatra*, and to carry her presents in the name of her new lover. In the absence of *Eumenes*, *Alcetas* the brother of *Perdiccas* persuaded him to marry *Nicæa*, which he accordingly did to sooth *Antipater* and his family, and that he might carry on his own designs more safely. These designs tended all to gratify his ambition; for first he resolved to

^l PLUT. in vit. Eumen. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. ^k ARRIAN. ap. PLUT. ubi supra. DIODOR. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Eumen.

repudiate the wife he had just married : Next he intended to marry *Gleopatra* ; this he conceived would give him a pretence for altering the government in *Macedon* ; and as a necessary measure preparative to these, he entered into contrivances for taking off *Antigonus*. With this view he caused numberless accusations to be set on foot against the last-mentioned person, who was a man not easy to be dealt with ; for he had a spirit not to be tamed, and an understanding too penetrating ever to be imposed on. He therefore put on an appearance of submitting to *Perdiccas*, and pretended to busy himself in collecting proofs of his innocence against the day of trial ; while he secretly intended nothing less. An accident happened which compelled him to disclose his purpose sooner than he designed. *Cynane* the daughter of *Philip* of *Macedon* by his second wife, who by *Amyntas*, the true heir of the *Macedonian* crown, had a child, brought her daughter *Ada*, who was afterwards called *Eurydice* to court, in hopes that *Arideus* or *Philip* might marry her. Against this lady *Cynane*, *Perdiccas* on some political motives conceived such a grudge, that he caused her to be murdered, which made a great noise, the soldiers retaining not only a great love for *Alexander* her brother, but a high veneration for *Philip* her father ; this so frightened *Perdiccas*, that to still the storm he had raised, he promoted the match between king *Philip* and *Eurydice*, to prevent which he had taken off her mother. *Antigonus* liked this short method of proceeding so little, that as soon as he was informed of it, he put himself, his son *Demetrius*, and all his domestics in whom he could confide, on board of some *Athenian* vessels, and sailed over to *Greece*, there to take shelter under the protection of *Antipater* and *Craterus*, whom he informed of the designs of *Perdiccas* ; above all, setting forth the murder of *Cynane* in the blackest colours !

Ptolemy in the mean time remained in peaceable possession of *Egypt*, which he governed with so much wisdom, clemency, and justice, that all who were willing to enjoy peace, and secure protection, resorted out of *Europe* and *Asia* thither, Egypt. and thought themselves happy under his government. *Timbro*, who, as we have seen, had slain *Harpalus*, and possessed himself both of his army and his treasure, landed in *Cyrene*, where at first he had great success ; but at last after a long war, one *Ophellus*, who had fled into *Egypt*, and requested succours against this robber, returning into *Cyrene*,

The success of Ptolemy in Egypt.
Year of the Flood, 2678.
Before Christ, 321.

! ARRIAN. DIODOR. PLUT. ubi supra.

VOL. VIII.

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fought

fought and routed him, himself being taken prisoner in the battle. He was immediately crucified, as his crimes justly deserved ; and thus the *Cyrenians* lost their freedom, and became subjects to *Ptolemy*. He, thus strengthened by so considerable an accession, gave a willing ear to the ambassadors from *Antipater* and *Craterus*, who proposed to him a league against *Perdiccas* to set bounds to his power at least, who plainly set none to his ambition ^m.

The corpse of Alexander conveyed to Ptolemy.

Aridæus, to whose care the funeral of *Alexander* had been committed, having now spent two years in making preparations for it, much against the will of *Perdiccas*, set out from *Babylon* for *Damascus*, with intent to carry the king's body into *Egypt*. There was, it seems, a superstitious report, that where-ever his body was laid, that country should flourish most. *Perdiccas* therefore, out of love to his native soil, would have sent it to the royal sepulchres in *Macedon* ; but *Aridæus* pleading the king's express direction, would carry it into *Egypt*, which *Perdiccas* could not hinder. That commander therefore executed his intention with all imaginable magnificence, *Ptolemy*, as soon as he knew of his coming, marched in person to meet the corpse as far as *Syria* ; he did not, however, convey it to the temple of *Hammon*, but contented himself with reposing it in a noble temple, which for this purpose he built in the city of *Alexandria*, and by this respect shewn to his dead master, drew numbers of his veteran soldiers to his service, which proved of mighty consequence to him in his affairs, as we shall quickly see ⁿ.

Perdiccas makes war on him.

Perdiccas having full intelligence of his enemies designs, and perceiving that he should have to deal with a veteran army out of *Greece*, and with the numerous forces of *Ptolemy* at once, he called a council of his friends, in order to resolve on the measures proper to be taken in so nice a conjuncture. In this council it was unanimously determined, that it would be best for *Perdiccas* to march with the kings, and the gallant army attending on their persons, into *Egypt* against *Ptolemy*, while some commander of approved abilities should make head against *Antipater* and *Craterus*, who, it was foreseen, would transport an army from *Macedonia* to make war upon *Perdiccas*. This captain was immediately found in *Eumenes* ; him *Perdiccas* ordered to his government, creating him at the same time captain-general of the countries as far as the *Hellepont*.

^m DIONOR. ubi supra. JUSTIN. lib. xiii. c. 6.
DIONOR. & JUSTIN. ubi supra.

ⁿ DIONOR.

Alcetas the brother of *Perdiccas*, and *Neoptolemus* the governor of *Armenia*, had directions to obey the orders of *Eumenes*, which not a little displeased them. These things settled, *Perdiccas* began his march towards *Egypt* °.

Eumenes, when he came to his province, found things in a very uncouth situation ; he had indeed an excellent body of foot, but they were much inclined to mutiny. *Neoptolemus*, who should have assisted him, began already to betray an inclination to desert him, and *Alcetas*, as soon as *Antipater* and *Craterus* approached, was prevailed on to be neuter in a war made against his brother. Larger offers than had corrupted these two were made to *Eumenes*, if he would concur with *Antipater* and *Craterus*. He answered, *That he believed it would be some time before he could reconcile himself to Antipater his old enemy, the rather, because he had a way of treating his friends like enemies. As for Craterus his old friend, he would be glad to be an instrument of reconciling him to Perdiccas, whom he was determined not to desert.* During these negotiations, *Eumenes* had raised a body of three thousand six hundred horse, partly by bestowing horses on the soldiers he could confide in, and partly by encouraging the *Cappadocians* to addict themselves to military affairs. By this contrivance he gained not only a great body of cavalry on which he might depend, but also struck the phalanx with such awe, that they in some measure left off their old turbulent humour. *Neoptolemus* earnestly desiring to gain the friendship of *Craterus* by subduing his old friend *Eumenes*, contrived to attack him suddenly ; but *Eumenes* was too quick for him, and falling in the beginning of the engagement on his horse, routed them intirely, compelling *Neoptolemus* to make his escape with only three hundred men to *Antipater* and *Craterus* ; then he fell upon the phalanx of *Neoptolemus's* army, and, having disordered them, offered to receive them into his own troops, if they would take an oath of fidelity to the kings, which they readily did. This success was far from making *Eumenes* secure ; he knew very well, that though he had beaten *Neoptolemus*, and increased his own army, yet he had still to deal with very odd people ; for he was conscious to himself, that if his own army knew they were to fight against *Craterus*, they would be so far from executing his commands, that they would infallibly desert him. When therefore he had intelligence that *Antipater* was marched into *Cilicia*, and that *Craterus* and *Neoptole-*

*Eumenes
defeats
Neopto-
lemus and
Craterus.*

° ARRIAN. DIODOR. PLUT. JUSTIN. ubi supra.

mus were in full march against him, he told his own army, that *Neoptolemus* and *Pigris*, with some *Cappadocian* and *Paphlagonian* horse, were marching to surprize them ; wherefore he intended to decamp, and meet them in the night. When they came to engage, he placed a body of foreign horse, over-against *Craterus*, commanded by *Pharnabazus* and *Phœnix*, ordering them to charge home, and not to give the enemy any time to send heralds or messengers. They performed their commission so well, that *Craterus*, who fought bravely at the head of his troops, was mortally wounded before he was known. *Eumenes* in the mean time engaged *Neoptolemus* personally, and both of them falling together from their horses, fought it out afterwards on foot, till *Eumenes* gave *Neoptolemus* a mortal wound in the neck, and proceeded to strip him of his arms, inveighing bitterly against him for his vanity and perfidy, whereby so much mischief had been wrought ; then returning to the centre of his army, he found *Craterus* yet living, over whom he wept and lamented, permitting the *Macedonian* phalanx, after they had taken an oath of fidelity, to retire to their quarters ; yet in breach of that oath, they privately stole away to *Antipater* in *Cilicia*, leaving *Eumenes* the reputation of having gained two signal victories in ten days, which, however, was more than ballanced by the envy which other commanders conceived against him, and by the hatred his own army bore him, for making them the instruments of slaying their favourite *Craterus*. But it is now time to follow *Perdiccas* ².

*Perdiccas
slain.*

THE royal army marched as far as *Damascus* with all imaginable tranquillity ; but when they came there, and heard every-where as they passed the character of *Ptolemy*, they began to grow diffident and uneasy ; and when they entered *Egypt*, they grew more and more turbulent. *Perdiccas*, being a man of high spirit, treated them with a good deal of haughtiness, and threatened to punish them as rebels. This was so far from mending the matter, that it made it much worse, his soldiers beginning to mutter, that he, who was but tutor to their princes, should never become a tyrant over them who had been allowed all liberty even by *Alexander* himself ; neither was it the private men only who were offended with his conduct, some of the chief officers were no less discontented, insomuch, that they took the first opportunity of deserting him. This brought *Perdiccas*

² ARRIAN. DIODOR. PLUT. ubi supra.

to a true sense of his error ; he therefore altered his whole conduct, caressed the soldiers, treated the officers familiarly, and encouraged all by fair words and fine promises. Then he brought them to pass the river *Nile*, and to attack *Ptolemy* in his retrenchments. The army on this occasion behaved with all the bravery imaginable, and, as they had the advantage in numbers, attacked several times. But *Ptolemy*, on the other hand, fighting in a fortification, being himself a great captain, exposing his person freely, and having scarce a man in his troops, who was not desirous of losing his life in his cause, maintained his post so well, that *Perdiccas* was forced to retire ; and, having marched a great part of the night, attempted to repass the river. Part of his forces actually got over by wading up to the chin ; but on a sudden the river grew deeper, and the stream so much stronger, that no more could pass : This accident occasioned a great deal of speculation ; but the true cause was this ; so great a body as at first passed having stirred, and, as it were, digged the loose sand at the bottom of the river, the stream had carried it away. *Perdiccas*, like an indefatigable officer, had recourse to various expedients ; but they all proved ineffectual ; at last he ordered the forces which had passed to return, which they accordingly did, but with the loss of two thousand men half drowned, and half eaten by the crocodiles. Upon this misfortune the phalanx mutinied, and a hundred principal officers, among whom was *Pithon*, immediately went over to *Ptolemy*. A troop of horse following the example mutinied also, and having surrounded the general's tent, some of them entered and murdered him. The next day they held a consultation ; but before they resolved upon any thing, *Ptolemy* came to them, and brought with him a vast quantity of provisions, which he freely bestowed upon them, kindly saluting every battalion of *Macedonians*, embracing their officers, and offering them all that was in his power. In this assembly *Aridæus* and *Pithon* were chosen protectors of the kings ⁹.

Two days after the death of *Perdiccas*, news arrived in *Pithon* and the camp of the victory gained by *Eumenes*, which, had it *Aridæus* arrived sooner, would certainly have saved that general's *succeed* life. As it was, it served only to heighten the misfortunes *Perdiccas* of his friends ; for the soldiers in a rage put all of them to death on whom they could lay hands ; amongst the rest *Atalanta*, the sister of *Perdiccas* and wife to *Attalus* the admiral ; they likewise proscribed *Eumenes*, and fifty persons

⁹ ARRIAN. ubi supra. DIODOR. ubi supra. JUSTIN. ubi supra.
of

of quality with him : amongst whom was *Alcetas*, *Perdiccas*'s brother, who had so scandalously sat still at the beginning of the war. Having thus glutted their resentment, they quitted *Egypt*, and, under the command of *Aridæus* and *Pithon*, marched back again into *Cælo-Syria*. In this march, *Eurydice* the wife of king *Philip* began to take pretty much upon her, which *Aridæus* and *Pithon* were very much displeased at ; yet finding the army more inclined to favour her than themselves, they were forced to temporize till they come to *Trip paradisus*, where *Antipater* joined them. There a grand council was held, in which the new elected tutors of the kings resigned their offices, and *Antipater* was chosen sole protector with sovereign power. He was no less dissatisfied with *Eurydice*'s behaviour than his predecessors had been, and therefore began to check her, which irritated her so much, that in a set oration she accused him to the army ; and though he made a long and laboured answer, yet such a sedition ensued, that *Antigonus* and *Seleucus* were forced to rescue him at the peril of their lives, as well as his. However, after some days the matter was adjusted, and the administration again put into the hands of *Antipater*. When things were a little quiet, and the army pacified with promises as to their pay, *Antipater* proceeded to make a new division of the provinces^r.

Antipater divides the provinces anew.

Egypt, *Libya* and the parts adjacent, were given to *Ptolemy*, which could not be avoided ; for he would not have parted with them, if *Antipater* had given them to any body else. *Syria* was confirmed to *Laomedon*. *Philoxenus* had *Cilicia*. *Mesopotamia* and *Arbelitis* were given to *Amphimachus*. *Babylon* was bestowed on *Seleucus*. *Susiana* fell to *Antigenes*, who commanded the *Macedonian silver-shields*, because he was the first who opposed *Perdiccas*. *Peucestas* held *Persia*. *Tlepolemus* had *Caramania* given him. *Pithon* held *Media*, as far as the *Caspian* streights. *Stasander* had *Aria* and *Drangia*. *Philip* *Parthia*. *Stasanor* *Bactria* and *Sogdia*. *Sybirtius* *Arachosia*. *Oxyartes*, the father of *Roxana*, *Paropamisus*. *Python* the country-between this province and *India*. *Porus* and *Taxiles* held what *Alexander* had given them, because they would not part with any of their dominions. *Cappadocia* was assigned to *Nicanor*. *Phrygia Major*, *Lycaonia*, *Pamphylia* and *Lycia* were given to *Antigonus*. *Caria* to *Cassander*. *Lydia* to *Clytus*. *Phrygia* the less to *Aridæus*. *Cassander* was appointed general of the horse.

^r ARRIAN. ubi supra. DIODOR. ubi supra.

The

The command of the household troops was given to *Antigonus*, with orders to prosecute the war against *Eumenes*, who was now reputed a public enemy. *Antipater*, when he had thus settled all things, returned home to his own province with the kings, much commended, and highly admired by all the *Macedonians* ^c.

As for *Eumenes*, he began to provide for the war, which *Eumenes* he foresaw was breaking upon him, with all imaginable prudence. *Alcetas* the brother of *Perdiccas* joined him; so did *Attalus* with the fleet. This officer, on the first news of the death of his brother and his wife, sailed with the navy under his command to *Tyre*, where *Archelaus* was governor, by the appointment of *Perdiccas*, who had also intrusted him with eight hundred talents. This governor retained so grateful a sense of the favours done him by his deceased patron, that he willingly received *Attalus*, and readily paid him the money which had been left in his hands. Here also *Attalus* collected such of the friends and soldiers of *Perdiccas*, as repaired to him, with whom he afterwards sailed to *Eumenes*. Among the principal officers in the camp of the last-mentioned general, there was one *Perdiccas*, whom he trusted much. This man prevailed on a body of three thousand five hundred horse to desert with him, and with them marched a considerable distance from the camp. *Eumenes* did not pursue him the first night; but as the second drew on, he sent one *Phœnix*, with four thousand choice foot and a thousand horse, through certain by-ways. These surprized the traitor and his soldiers, and brought them all prisoners to the camp of *Eumenes*, who hanged *Perdiccas*, and a few of those who were principally concerned, receiving the rest into favour. It was not long before a general engagement happened, wherein *Eumenes*, through the treachery of *Apollonides*, general of his horse, was totally routed, with the loss of eight thousand men. However, he performed on this occasion one of the most extraordinary actions that we find recorded in history; for, with the scattered remains of his army, striking off into a road parallel to that by which the enemy pursued him, he passed by them unperceived, and returned to the field of battle, where gathering all the wood that could be found in the adjacent villages, he burned all the dead bodies of his soldiers in one heap, and those of his officers in another; covering the ashes of each with a large mount of earth. Then dismissing such of his soldiers

prepares to defend himself.
Year of the Flood,
2679.
Before Christ,
320.

^c *ARRIAN. & DIODOR. ubi supra.*

as were sick, wounded, or were unable to bear fatigue, he, with six hundred men, retired into the castle of *Nora*, a place exceedingly strong, by its situation on the top of an inaccessible rock, well fortified, and stored with all sorts of provisions, where he resolved to abide a siege, hoping that *Alcetas* and *Attalus* would be able to raise such a body of troops, as might enable them to deliver him before the castle could be reduced. *Antigonus* immediately caused the place to be invested; but when he was informed how well it was provided, and how resolute those men were who had chosen to be shut up therein, for *Eumenes* had none with him but such as requested it as a favour, he began to despair of taking it by force. In order therefore to get over this matter as soon as possible, he sent to desire a conference with *Eumenes*. *Eumenes* answered, that he had many eminent commanders in his army; but, if himself should be taken off, those in the fort would be destitute of any commander. *Antigonus* returned, That, as he was the greater man, he expected that he should wave such excuses, and come to him. To which *Eumenes* replied, That while he had his sword in his hand, he held no man greater than himself. *Antigonus* thereupon sent him hostages; and *Eumenes* coming to the foot of the rock, *Antigonus* went thither to meet him. As soon as they met together, they embraced, having been formerly intimate friends. Then *Eumenes* demanded to have the provinces restored to him, exhorted *Antigonus* to act dutifully towards the kings, and behaved in all things as if they had treated upon equal terms. The *Macedonians* who were near, admired the courage and spirit of the man. Those who could only see him, were charmed with the sweetness of his aspect, and the beauty of his person; for he was one of the handsomest men of his age, the most perfect in his exercises, and absolutely free either from passion or pride. At last the throng of the spectators grew so great, that *Antigonus* was in pain for his person; finding therefore that no accommodation could be made, he took *Eumenes* in his arms, and so brought him to the passage of the rock, where they parted. *Antigonus* perceiving that the siege would much incommode his affairs, ordered the place to be surrounded with a strong wall, and leaving a sufficient body of troops to guard it, he marched against *Alcetas* and *Attalus*.

Alcetas
defeated
and killed.

THE celerity with which *Antigonus* marched into *Pisidia*, where *Alcetas* and *Attalus* with their army lay, was such, that he surprized them; and tho' their troops behaved very well, yet overcome with numbers, with elephants and the

†

superior

superior skill of the old *Macedonian* soldiers, they were totally beaten. *Attalus*, *Docimus*, and *Polemon* were taken; but *Alcetas*, with about six thousand men, escaped to *Termissus*. *Antigonus* followed him and invested the city, demanding *Alcetas*. The magistrates were all for delivering him up; but the people of the city, to whom *Alcetas* had done innumerable favours, swore solemnly they would live and die with him. In this the magistrates acquiesced; but while the citizens were at their posts, they sent some of their servants to murder *Alcetas*, who, perceiving their intention, killed himself. His body being delivered to *Antigonus*, he first used it despitefully, and after two days, when it began to corrupt, caused it to be thrown into the road, whence it was taken by the *Termissians*, and honourably buried, who were very hardly deterred from burning their magistrates in their houses^r.

Antigonus receiving the news of the death of *Antipater*, *Antigonus* and that he had, by his will, appointed *Polyperchon* tutor to *rejoice to* the kings, he immediately conceived a great contempt of *seize Asia*. them all, resolving to make himself lord of *Asia*. He had now an army of sixty thousand foot and nineteen thousand horse, many elephants, and treasure in abundance. He began therefore to make no secret of his designs; but to remove all the governors of provinces who were not in his interests. In this, however, he had not very great success; for *Aridæus* governor of *Phrygia* immediately began to arm, and when *Antigonus* threatened to deprive him of his province, as one who affected regal authority, he sent him word his own intentions were honest, and that he armed, because he looked upon him, *Antigonus*, to be a traitor. The next step *Antigonus* took, was to bring over *Eumenes*; in order to which he sent a trusty person to confer with that great captain in his castle of *Nora*, to desire him to forget the battle in *Cappadocia*, and to assure him, that if he would become his friend, he should be the second person in his court. *Eumenes* gave a proper reception to these overtures; whereupon *Antigonus* framed an oath, which he sent to the commanders of the troops forming the blockade of the castle of *Nora*, with instructions, that on *Eumenes's* swearing thereto, they should raise the siege. The purport of this oath was, that he should be faithful to *Antigonus*, and have the same friends and enemies with him. When this oath was tendered to *Eumenes*, he observed that it was not properly drawn; wherefore, instead of *Antigonus*, he inserted *Corymbus*, the kings,

^r Diodor. ubi supra.

and the *royal family*. This change the *Macedonians* immediately approved, and on *Eumenes* swearing, they instantly set him and his friends at liberty. He no sooner regained his freedom than he began to collect forces for the defence of the kings, whose authority, he saw clearly, was on the very point of being extinguished in *Asia*. But when *Antigonus* was informed of what had happened, he was extremely angry, and sent to his generals to make war on *Eumenes*, and, if possible, to secure his person ; but these orders came too late, for *Eumenes*, having collected about two thousand foot and five hundred horse, quitted *Cappadocia*, and marched towards mount *Taurus* ^u.

*The kings
create Eumenes
general in
Asia.*

Polysperchon finding himself exceedingly distressed, through the wickedness of many, and the extraordinary power of *Antigonus*, sought out all possible methods to secure himself and the kings from destruction. To this end he invited *Olympias*, who, for fear of *Antipater* and his contrivances, had fled from *Macedon* to *Epirus*, to return, and take upon her the education of *Alexander's* young son. He likewise dispatched letters in his own name and hers, to *Eumenes*, whereby he constituted him general for the kings in *Asia*, ordering the governors to pay him five hundred talents to indemnify him for his losses, and assigning him a thousand *silver shields* for his guard. *Olympias* also wrote to him herself to desire his advice, whether she should remain still in *Epirus*, or return into *Macedonia*. She likewise exhorted him to remain firm to the interests of the royal family, for that she and her children put their whole confidence in him. *Eumenes* in answer wrote her word, that to him it appeared most adviseable for her to remain in *Epirus*, where she was, till the war was over. As for himself, he promised to be ever observant of the interest of the royal family, and to hazard all things in order to check the torrent of *Antigonus's* ambition. He said he was the rather inclined to this, because the tenderness of the young *Alexander's* age, and the all-grasping disposition of his father's captains, left an honest man no part to act, but that of sacrificing his own concerns to the public safety. To shew that his loyalty did not consist in words, when his enemies were retired into *Cappadocia*, he made a quick turn into *Cilicia*, where he joined *Antigenes* and *Teutamus*, who had three thousand of the *Argyraspidae* or *silver shields*, under their command. They received him with all the marks of deference and respect which they could possibly devise; but he very quickly perceived, that neither they, nor the rest of the commanders who resort-

^u *Diodora*, ubi supra.

ed to him, esteemed him in their hearts ; but on the contrary, envied him. He therefore applied himself to two things ; first, the lessening of their malice ; and secondly, providing for his own safety. With respect to this he refused the five hundred talents and the title of general, saying, *That great wealth and high titles were of no use to a man who sought to serve his sovereign, and not to be a prince himself.* As to that, he borrowed large sums of those who hated him most, and thereby made them careful of his safety, lest they should lose their money. With this money he furnished such friends as he could trust, ordering them to raise soldiers, and to give them more pay than was absolutely necessary, rightly conceiving, that numbers would resort to him, in hopes of extraordinary pay, who might afterwards be induced to serve on moderate terms. By these arts, before *Antigonus* was aware, he had assembled an army of fifteen thousand men. These proceedings raised the admiration of all his contemporaries ; but, however, they were so far from raising him in his own mind, that he contrived therein a scheme for lessening his own authority, and putting himself upon the same rank with all the rest of the captains. He told the officers of the army, that he had in a dream seen *Alexander*, adorned in his royal robes, sitting on his throne, and giving orders, as he was wont, to all his commanders. He gave it therefore as his advice, that a tent of state should be erected, wherein there should be placed a throne of gold, with all the ensigns of royalty thereon, before it an altar of the same metal, whereon each of the captains should offer incense, after which they should take their seats indiscriminately, and consult for the public safety. By this means he appeased the dissensions among the great, and inspired the common soldiers with enthusiastic bravery. *Antigonus* in the mean time, sent *Philotas* with letters to the army, promising the *silver shields* mighty rewards, if they would deliver up *Eumenes*. They read the letters, and debated upon them, of which *Eumenes* having some notice, he went into the assembly, and told them, that the *Macedonians* were not wont to consult, whether they should obey their prince, or deliver up his officers to traitors ; and that it less became them so to do, whom not *Antigonus*, but *Alexander*, had so eminently distinguished. This determined the soldiers at that time to reject the offers of *Antigonus*. *Eumenes* then marched into *Phœnicia*, that he might be near the sea. This province *Ptolemy* had seized ; wherefore *Eumenes* made no scruple of conquering it, saying, That all were his enemies who knew not their duty. But when *Antigonus* had defeated

the royal navy, and then marched against him in person, *Eumenes* thought it more expedient to retire into the higher provinces, which he did safely, notwithstanding that he passed over the rivers *Tigris* and *Euphrates* in sight of the enemy w.

The govern- *Eumenes* w^h wintered with his army on the frontiers of the
nors of the province of *Babylon*. *Pithon* and *Seleucus*, who were go-
upper pro- vernors, one of *Media* the other of the territory of *Babylon*,
vinces join sought by all means to debauch his soldiers. These attempts
him. were, however, still ineffectual, and *Eumenes* having passed
the river *Tigris* in spite of them, advanced into *Susiana*,
where he was immediately joined by *Peucestas*, *Polemon*,
Sybartius, *Stasander*, *Androbazus*, and *Eudamès*, with up-
wards of twenty thousand men and twenty elephants. The
first thing that happened after this junction, was a dispute a-
bout the command, to which every one of the governors
laid claim, and *Eumenes* was never thought of. At last they
were forced to come into his expedient of meeting in a tent.
This was done for the present; for every one of them hoped,
by caressing the soldiers, to carry his point in time; and in-
deed they all carried it in their turns, for the army saluted
every one of them general when they were eating at his cost.
But when *Antigonus* drew near, they called out for *Eumenes*,
saying openly, that, when fighting was the business, they
would have no general but him. This, however, occasioned
no disturbance, for the generals were as ready to submit to
him as the soldiers, none caring to charge themselves with the
weight of a command, where the least wrong step would
forfeit all their power and their lives into the bargain. *Eu-*
menes then led the army to the *Tigris*, drawing them up in
excellent order on the banks, where he waited for *Antigonus*.
That ambitious captain marched first to *Susa*, and finding
that castle held by *Xenophilus*, he left *Seleucus* with a corps
of troops to besiege it, and then marched on to fight *Eumenes*.
The climate was excessively hot, the soil dry and sandy, so
that his troops were prodigiously fatigued. At last he arrived
on the banks of the *Copares*, a very rapid river running into
the *Tigris* about eight miles from the camp of *Eumenes*. Here,
with a few flat-bottomed boats, he passed over six thousand
horse and two thousand foot, giving strict orders to the latter
to entrench themselves as soon as they were over. As for
the horse, they dispersed themselves for the conveniency of
forage. The foot had scarce formed themselves, and consid-
ered the situation of the place, before they found themselves

^w Diodor. ubi supra. Plut. in vit. Eumen.

in danger of being pushed into the river by their own horse, whom *Eumenes* had surprized, and entirely defeated. They covered them as well as they could, and received bravely the charge of *Eumenes* at the head of five thousand men, with whom he had passed the *Tigris*; but finding themselves unable to bear up against these fresh troops, they threw themselves in heaps into the boats, till they sunk, affording *Antigonus*, and the rest of his army, the melancholy spectacle of four thousand of their companions killed and drowned, and as many taken prisoners, themselves looking on. *Antigonus* was so effectually checked by this sudden blow, that he immediately retired, and left the army of the kings in possession of the field *.

THE design of *Antigonus* in retiring, was not to quit the war, but remove the scene of it to some part of *Asia*, where he might act with more advantage; with this view he determined to march into *Media*, to which there were two roads, the one safe and pleasant, the other through the country of the *Cossæans*, the same base and barbarous people, against whom *Alexander* made an expedition immediately after the death of *Hephestion*. *Pitbon*, knowing well the temper of these mountaineers, very prudently advised *Antigonus* rather to quiet them with a sum of money, than to attempt to pass through their territories by force; but that little suited the haughty disposition of him to whom the counsel was given. *Antigonus* thought it unworthy of himself, and of the great army he commanded, to pay these highlanders for a passage. He therefore sent *Nearchus* with the light-armed troops before in order to drive the *Cossæans* from their posts, and directed him, when he had so done, to line the roads with his men. *Antigonus* led the phalanx himself, *Pitbon* and a choice body of horse bringing up the rear. The army, however, paid dearly in their march for their rejecting *Pitbon's* advice. The *Cossæans* attacked them on all sides with equal bravery and resolution, so that for nine days together they sustained the greatest hardships; but at last coming down into *Media*, they were there so plentifully provided for, and, through the care of *Pitbon*, the cavalry so well remounted, and the soldiers so effectually indemnified for their losses, that the army resumed its wonted alacrity; whereupon *Antigonus* determined to penetrate into the higher countries, in order to displace those governors who had sided with *Eumenes* †.

* DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. PLUR. & CORN. NEROS. in vit. Eumen. † DIODOR. ubi supra.

Eumenes *marches in-
to the upper
provinces.* THE confederate lords, understanding that *Antigonus* again drew near them, were much divided in their counsels; some of them were for retiring to the sea-coasts, where, in case of any misfortune, they might receive aid from *Polyperchon*. The governors of the upper provinces, mindful of their private concerns were for marching back with the army, that they might secure their friends. *Eumenes* agreed in opinion with the former, yet sided against his own opinion with the latter, foreseeing that, if he had declared for marching into the maritime provinces, the army would necessarily have been divided, and thereby become too weak to effect any thing any where. His assent therefore having determined the question, they immediately marched into *Persis*, and, in twenty four days march, reached *Persepolis*. Here *Peucestas* made a grand feast for the army, and, having them now in his own province, he loaded them with such extravagant favours, that *Eumenes* began to suspect he aimed at somewhat more than he ought. As soon as he entertained these suspicions, he struck out an expedient for bringing the army back to their former temper without hurting *Peucestas*. He caused a letter to be writ in *Syrian* characters, in the name of *Orontes*, governor of *Armenia*, importing that the party of *Olympias* had killed *Cassander*, and that the power of the kings being thoroughly settled in *Macedon*, *Polyperchon* was about to pass with a great army into *Asia*. This letter being directed to *Peucestas*, he readily gave credit to it, and published it in the army; whereupon all the officers paid their court to *Eumenes*, and those were the forwardest who hated him most. *Eumenes* took all in good part, and, according to custom, borrowed money of those he feared, and thereby became master of their counsels. The news which *Peucestas* had received, occasioned more feasting, and *Eumenes*, contrary to his nature, was forced to drink hard, which threw him into a fever, out of which as he recovered, the generals received advice, that *Antigonus* drew near them. Immediately the army marched under the command of *Peucestas* and *Antigenes*, *Eumenes* being carried in the rear in a litter. But when they were in the midst of their march, the van of *Antigonus's* army appeared. *Peucestas* instantly gave directions for forming a line of battle, but the soldiers absolutely refused to move any way till *Eumenes* should appear. Hereupon he was brought in his litter with the curtains drawn back, and, after he had thanked the soldiers for their confidence in him, he made the necessary dispositions. When *Antigonus* drew near enough to perceive in what manner the confederate army was drawn up, he was exceedingly surpris-
ed,

ed, for he depended on the sickness of *Eumenes*. At last perceiving the litter passing through the lines, he burst out a laughing; and, turning to the officers who were near him, said, *It is not that army but you litter that bids us battle*. However, he ordered a retreat to be sounded, and contented himself with encamping in a very advantageous post ² (C).

WHILE the armies lay over-against each other, *Eumenes* received intelligence that *Antigonus* intended to decamp in the night, he thereupon presently guessed, that his design was to put his army into quarters of refreshment in the rich district of *Gabene*. To prevent this, and at the same time to gain a passage into that country, he instructed some soldiers to pretend they were deserters, whom he sent into the camp of *Antigonus*, where they reported that *Eumenes* intended to attack them in their trenches that very night. But while *Antigonus*'s troops were under arms, *Eumenes* marched for *Gabene*, which at length *Antigonus* suspected, and, having given proper orders to his foot, marched immediately after him with his horse, sending all his baggage to an adjacent city, that it might not incommode him. Freed from all incumbrances, pretty early in the morning, he, from the top of a hill, discerned *Eumenes* with his army marching below; whereupon he immediately disposed his horse, as if his infantry had

² Idem, *ibid*.

(C) *Antigonus*, a short time after this, finding the country where he lay excessively wasted, and that it would be very difficult for him to subsist, sent deputies to the confederate army, to solicit them, especially the governors of provinces, and the old *Macedonian* corps to desert *Eumenes*, and to join him, which at this time they rejected with the highest indignation. After the deputies were dismissed, *Eumenes* came into the assembly, and delivered himself in these words: "Once upon a time a lion, falling in love with a young damsel, demanded her in marriage of her father. The father made answer, that he looked on such an alliance as a great honour to his family, but stood in fear of his paws and teeth, lest, upon any trifling dispute that might happen between them after they were married, he might exercise them a little too hastily upon his daughter. To remove this objection, the amorous lion caused both his nails and teeth to be drawn immediately, whereupon the father took a cudgel, and soon got rid of his enemy." This, continued he, is the very thing aimed at by *Antigonus*, who makes you large promises, till he has made himself master of your forces, and then beware of his teeth and paws (9).

(9) *Plut. in vita Eumen. Diab. Nica! lib. xviii.*

been behind the hill, whereby he deceived *Eumenes*, who would otherwise have marched on. Whereas, believing the whole army of *Antigonus* to be at hand, he faced about, and disposed his troops in order of battle. By degrees the infantry of *Antigonus* came up, and, as they came up, formed behind the horse. The whole of *Eumenes*'s forces consisted of thirty five thousand foot, six thousand horse, and one hundred and fourteen elephants. In the army of *Antigonus* were twenty eight thousand foot, eight thousand five hundred horse, and sixty five elephants. *Antigonus* charged the troops under *Eumenes* with great bravery. The battle was most obstinately fought, and the victory won and lost several times by each party. At last, after a whole day's engagement, the stars began to appear, when *Antigonus* had visibly the worst, yet his officers could not prevail upon him to retire from the field of battle; on the contrary, he encamped there with the troops yet unbroken, and sent several persons well mounted to give notice to those who fled, that it would be their safest way to repair to his camp, which accordingly they did. He then buried his dead, which done, by forced marches he withdrew into *Media*, where he took up his winter-quarters. If *Eumenes* had been as absolute in the command of his army as *Antigonus* was, the latter would not have escaped so well, for *Eumenes* without doubt would have attacked him again, and, in all probability, would have totally routed him; for whereas *Antigonus* had almost eight thousand men killed and wounded, *Eumenes* did not lose in the whole quite fifteen hundred; but the divisions which reigned in the confederate army, and the insolence of the soldiers, hindered any thing more from being done, and even permitted *Antigonus* to inter the slain, whereby their victory was called in question. However, according to the modern rules of war, *Eumenes* was the conqueror, inasmuch as he carried his point, and actually brought his forces to winter in the rich country of *Gabene*, where they were five and twenty days march from the enemy^a.

Eumenes
last cam-
paign.
Year of
the Flood,
2584.
Before
Christ,

As soon as the army was in winter-quarters, and began to taste those advantages which the wisdom of their general had procured for them, they very ungratefully began to despise him, and to pay all their court to the generals who treated best, and, for the greater conveniency of receiving entertainments, spread themselves all over the country. *Antigonus* had his spies amongst them, and from them he quickly re-

315.

^a DIODOR. SICUL. PLUT. & CORN. NEPOS, *ibid*.

ceived intelligence of the bad situation of their affairs. As soon as *Antigonus* received these accounts, he resolved, notwithstanding it was the very depth of winter, to attempt surprising them; of which design he conceived the greater hopes, because he was informed that there lay a passage through the deserts, which, in nine or ten days time, would bring him to *Gabene*; tho' by the ordinary rout it was twenty five days march from his quarters. Full of this mighty project, he gave out his orders for the soldiers to provide themselves with such provision for ten days as required no dressing, hoping by this contrivance to avoid lighting fires. But this proved ineffectual, for, after five days march, he and his forces found the cold so intense, that, to preserve themselves from perishing, they were forced to make fires in the nights. Some shepherds, who were upon the hills surrounding these deserts, perceiving these fires, dispatched away messengers on dromedaries to carry advice to the confederate generals, who instantly called a council, wherein they shewed all the marks of terror and confusion, and, acknowledging the miserable situation of their affairs, by the troops being quartered at many days march distance, they neither proposed nor resolved on any method for defence. *Eumenes* observing their distress told them, that he would undertake to retard the march of the enemy for four or five days, if in the interim they would assemble the troops. This promise, which to them appeared impossible to be fulfilled, they readily laid hold of, and immediately transferred to *Eumenes* the command of the troops which lay in the neighbourhood of the place where they were. As soon as *Eumenes* could draw them together, he marched directly towards the enemy, and when he was near enough for them to see the fires in his camp, he extended his troops as much in front, as if the whole confederate army had been there, and caused as many or more fires to be lighted than would then have been necessary. When *Antigonus* perceived this, he concluded that *Eumenes*, having intelligence of his march, had led all his troops out of fresh quarters to meet him; he therefore quitted the road through the desert and turned through the ordinary one through towns and villages, that his soldiers might receive some refreshment, and not be exposed, after sustaining so great fatigues, to an unequal engagement with troops just come out of quarters. This was exactly what *Eumenes* foresaw, and consequently by that time *Antigonus* by the ordinary road arrived on the frontiers, the whole confederate army was assembled, and ready to give him battle, which *Antigonus* did not decline. In the private councils, held by the generals and governors of provinces,

vinces, it was unanimously determined to make use of *Eumenes* in the approaching battle, and then to rid themselves of him ; for they saw clearly in matters of moment, they neither considered each other, nor were considered by the army ; but his advice and his conduct only were relied on. *Eudamus* and *Phadimus*, two principal persons in the army, immediately gave *Eumenes* notice, not out of any good-will to him, for they hated him as much or more than any of the rest, but because he was very deeply in their debt. As soon as he was acquainted with this treacherous conspiracy, *Eumenes* retired to his tent, and in the first place put all his papers out of the way, that in case of the worst none of his friends might be prejudiced ; he then considered with himself whether it might not be possible for him to escape into *Cappadocia* ; but then reflecting that his escape would be abdicating his command, and giving up the cause of *Alexander's* family, he generously resolved to die, as he had lived, with the glory of never having done a base or unbecoming action. This resolution once taken, he came out and encouraged the soldiers, the major part of whom were well-affected to him, and saluted him with loud acclamations. *Eumenes* thanked them for those marks of their favour, and disposed all things for a battle, never divulging any part of the information he had received, though he could not help saying sometimes to his intimate friends, that he lived amongst wild beasts, by whom he expected some time or other to be torn in pieces. The battle was fought on the sea-shore, and *Eumenes* having the advantage in infantry, effectually routed the phalanx of *Antigonus* ; but his cavalry having the advantage, through the base treachery of *Peucestas*, *Antigonus*, who was alike present to himself in all circumstances, perceiving that the engagement had raised a mist of small white dust by the violent tossing of the sand, he made use of the obscurity of the air to wheel round the army of *Eumenes*, and to possess himself of their baggage, a contrivance which availed him more than a victory would have done. As soon as the forces of *Eumenes* were returned into their camp, and were acquainted with the loss of their baggage with the women and children, they were ready to mutiny. *Teutamus*, who commanded a battalion of the *silver-shields*, and who had long inclined to *Antigonus*, took this opportunity of sending to him, and demanding of him the booty he had lately taken. *Antigonus* returned him for answer, that he would willingly restore the *silver-shields*, the baggage, and all else that belonged to them, and would be ready to do them what farther favours they should request, provided they would do him one, which was to deliver up *Eumenes*, a stranger, a person once condemned by the Macedonians,

Macedonians, and who had since attained power enough to do them considerable mischiefs. The *silver-shields* immediately closed with this proposition, scandalous as it was, and gathering about their unsuspecting general, seized his sword, pinioned his arms behind him, and in this plight prepared to deliver him up who had so long protected them from their enemies. As soon as that illustrious person perceived what they were about, he most earnestly desired that he might have leave to speak to them, which when he had obtained, he in a very pathetic oration shewed them the folly and ill consequences of such a procedure, besides the disgrace that it would bring upon them; concluding with this petition, that since they were determined to part with their general to regain their lumber, they would have the goodness to put him to death with their own hands, and not to deliver him up to his and their old enemy *Antigonus*, whom under his command they had so often beaten. The rest of the army wept and lamented, but the *silver-shields* cried out, *Away with him! Let us hear none of his fine speeches, carry him to Antigonus, and bring us again our wives and children.* This being accordingly performed, *Antigonus*, in pursuance of his promise, delivered up the baggage with all the women and children. As to *Eumenes* when those who had him in custody demanded how he should be kept? *As you would keep an elephant or a lion*, answered their general. The fate of *Asia* was now decided, for *Eumenes* being given up, the governors submitted and made the best terms they could, suffering their troops to be incorporated into those of *Antigonus*. The only point which remained to be settled was the fate of the captive general. At first he was not only very strictly confined, but loaded with heavy irons; but after some time, *Antigonus* was prevailed on to command part of the irons to be taken off; to allow him a servant to wait on him, and to permit his friends to visit him. While things continued in this state, *Eumenes* would often say to those who came to him, *I wonder Antigonus protracts my affair thus, and that he has not courage enough to put me to death as an enemy, or by setting me free to make me his friend.* There was indeed a party in the army of *Antigonus*, at the head of whom was *Demetrius* his son, who would have had him set *Eumenes* free, supposing that this would have bound him to his interests. But the rest of his friends, and the bulk of the army, earnestly intreated him to put him to death, which, when the army was about to march, he accordingly did. However, he and all his troops assisted with great solemnity at his funeral, and after the body was burnt, he caused the ashes to be put up in a silver urn, and ordered them to be transmitted to his

wife and children in *Cappadocia*. *Hieronimus* the *Cardian*, his most intimate friend, was taken by *Antigonus* into his favour and councils. *Antigenes*, commander in chief of the *silver-shields*, was by his order put into a coffin, and burnt alive. *Eudamus*, *Celbanus*, and many others of the enemies of *Eumenes*, experienced a like fate ^b.

He resolves to change the govern- ments in all the provin- ces. *Antigonus* had now nothing in his head but the executing of his old scheme of making himself lord of *Asia*; in order to which he resolved to sacrifice all such as he suspected, all who had obstinately opposed him, and all who by the fickleness of their conduct had shewn they were not to be depended on by any party. In the first place he resolved to take off *Pithon*, who had done him such eminent service; but who while they were in winter quarters in *Media*, had been tampering with the soldiers. *Antigonus*, to carry on his design, brow-beat all such as found fault with *Pithon's* conduct, gave out to his friends that he intended to make him governor of all the upper provinces, and under this pretence drew him out of his own province of *Media*; but as soon as he got him into his hands, he called a council of war, wherein charging him with treason, those who had been formerly concerned with him were now out of fear most ready to give him up, so that he was presently convicted, and thereon instantly executed. He then appointed *Orontobates* a *Mede* governor of *Media*, but made *Hippostratus* general of the forces, which he left for the preservation of the province. Such of the governors as he found could not be dispossessed, he confirmed in their provinces. Last of all, he sent for *Sybirtius*, governor of *Arachosia*, in whom he confided. To this man he transferred the *silver-shields*, openly affirming, that they would serve him to awe the barbarous nations; but giving him privately to understand that it was his desire that they should be put out of the way as expeditiously as possible, as a race of seditious villains unworthy of returning to *Greece*. These things performed, he stripped *Peucestas* of the government of *Persia*, where he was prodigiously beloved, and appointed *Aclepiodorus* in his stead. All the money and rich curiosities which were in the treasury of *Susa* he seized to the value of fifteen thousand talents, and out of the spoils and the treasure he found in other places, he collected ten thousand talents more, with which prodigious mass of wealth, he doubted not to carry all his designs into execution. Being not a little encouraged also from this consideration, that by this time not only the famous captains, but

^b DIONOR. SICUL., PLUT. & CORN. NEPOS, ubi supra. JUSTIN. lib. xii cap. 2.

many of the inferior officers who had served under *Alexander*, were destroyed, and put out of his way.

As soon as the season of the year permitted, *Antigonus* Antigonus marched with all his army, and with the mighty treasures *marches to* he had collected, to *Babylon*, where *Seleucus* was governor. Babylon. This man had done the highest services to *Antigonus*, and among these some very late ones ; for through him the citadel of *Susa*, and all the wealth therein, had been delivered up to *Antigonus*. Upon this occasion too, he did all, or rather more, than could be expected ; for he feasted the whole army at his own expence, and seemed to be no less pleased with the success of *Antigonus* than he himself was. All this, however, could not secure him. The ambitious have no friends : All who pretend to serve them must be absolutely their creatures. When therefore *Seleucus* had done all that was in his power, *Antigonus* demanded of him an account of the revenues of the province, which plainly discovered that he looked on him as a mere dependant. *Seleucus*, however, was very far from making any servile submissions, or even seeking to temporize any longer with a man whom he esteemed no more than his equal. He told him the province of *Babylon* was conferred upon himself by the *Macedonians* as the reward of his services, and that therefore he did not conceive he was any more bound to give an account than he had a right to demand one. But when he had considered attentively the great power of *Antigonus*, and the small capacity he had of resisting him, he began to conceive that he was in no small danger, especially when he called to mind what had befallen *Eumenes*, *Pithon*, and *Peucestas* ; to secure himself therefore from such treatment as they met with, and to escape being either murdered or deposed, he with fifty horse instantly made his escape, in order to fly to *Ptolemy*. When this was first known to *Antigonus*, he rejoiced at it exceedingly, being extremely pleased, that by this means he had got the province to himself, without proceeding harshly with his old friend, and a man in high credit with the army, supposing that now he should dispose of every thing according to his pleasure. But when the *Chaldean* priests informed him that they by their *astrological rules* were certain, that if *Seleucus* escaped at present, he would be in process of time not only a formidable, but successful enemy, and that himself would fall in battle against him ; *Antigonus* took it much to heart, remembering how these people had before foretold the death of *Hephestion*, as well as that of *Alexander*. Terrified therefore with gloomy

apprehensions, he dispatched away some chosen squadrons of horse to seize on *Seleucus*; but this method was taken too late he had already reached the territories of *Ptolemy*, where he remained in perfect safety. The chagrin this accident gave *Antigonus* made him redouble his diligence in disposing of the rest of the provinces to his own advantage. He quickly found how necessary all his care was, for before he had well taken these precautions, *Seleucus* had raised him such a number of enemies, that, with all his mighty power, he had enough to do to defend himself. *Ptolemy*, *Lyſimachus*, *Cassander*, all leagued with *Seleucus*, in order to reduce the power of *Antigonus*, that they might themselves be secure in their possessions: for though *Alexander* the son of *Roxana* was still living yet *Cassander* imprisoned both him and his mother, and treated them only as private persons, of which though *Antigonus* might be secretly glad, yet conceiving rightly that the putting on a contrary character would be of service to his affairs, he openly inveighed against *Cassander's* conduct, and alledged, that he took up arms to vindicate the rights of the royal house; whereas in truth he was the first who openly invaded them by assuming sovereign power, though he did not indeed as yet take upon him the title of king^d.

Antigonus
seizes *Syria*
and *Phœ-*
nicia.

Year of
the Flood
2685.

Before

314.



As *Antigonus* immediately after the escape of *Seleucus* had marched into *Cilicia*, in order to refresh and recruit his army, so as soon as he was thoroughly informed of the confederacy set on foot against him, he determined to proceed first to hostilities, and to secure the provinces of *Syria* and *Phœnicia* at present in the hands of *Ptolemy*. He perfectly well discerned, that, in case of a war against so many princes, his being master at sea would be of the last importance; and he hoped by conquering these countries, not only to have the *Syrian* and *Phœnician* ports, but also their shipping, at his devotion. In the former design he succeeded, yet with great difficulty; but in the latter he was totally disappointed. *Joppa* and *Gaza* he reduced by force; as for *Tyre* it sustained a siege of many months; with respect to the shipping, *Ptolemy* foreseeing what would come to pass, had withdrawn them to *Egypt*. However, *Antigonus* persisted in his former resolution of being master of the sea; in order to which, he ordered vast quantities of timber to be cut down in mount *Libanus* and other places in his dominions, which being sent to the ports respectively nearest to the places where they were cut, he had a vast fleet immediately upon the stocks. The wisdom of his proceeding appeared evidently from an accident which

^d Dionex. Plur ubi supra.

happened

happened to him at the siege of *Tyre*, where while he lay with his army on the sea-coast, *Seleucus* with part of *Ptolemy's* fleet passed by in spite of him, which exceedingly dispirited his forces; but *Antigonus* restored their courage by assuring them that before the end of that summer he would have five hundred ships of war at sea, which would be more than sufficient to drive the enemy out of it; and this promise, by his great care and regular payment of all demands, he effectually performed. But as all human abilities are circumscribed, whence it becomes impossible for one man to attend to all things, while *Antigonus* was intent upon these important affairs, the army of *Cassander* made a great progress in the *Lesser Asia*.*

To remedy this evil, *Antigonus* marched thither with a great part of his army, leaving his son *Demetrius* with the rest to preserve the conquests he had made in *Syria* and *Phœnice*. That prince was not above twenty-two years old, but of abilities far beyond his years; he was brave and generous in the highest degree, well versed in war, and a great despi- *Antigonus*
repels Cai-
sander. ser of those arts and shifts by which cunning men pass for wise ones; he was kind to his friends, gentle to his enemies, and had an innate clemency, untinged with private designs or future prospects; if with all this his greatness had not supplied him with flatterers, who led him not to pollute, but to plunge himself into the grossest vices, he would have been the worthiest, as well as one of the most remarkable princes of the age in which he lived. His amiable qualities gained him the love of the army committed by his father to his charge, and he became very agreeable to the inhabitants of the provinces over which he presided for the space of a year, while his father made war upon *Cassander*, and so effectually humbled him, that he was content to make a peace on very indifferent terms, which, however, when he had better considered of it, he presently broke and joined again with *Ptolemy* and *Seleucus*, to give *Antigonus* all the trouble he could†.

THE diversions given by *Cassander* to the arms of *Antigonus* afforded *Ptolemy* an opportunity of making a descent in *Cæle-*
recovers
Syria. *Syria*, and afterwards in *Galicia*, out of which province he carried great spoils into *Egypt*. On his return thither, *Seleucus* instigated him to invade *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, shewing how detrimental a thing it was to his affairs for these provinces to remain in the hands of his enemies. *Ptolemy*, entering readily into the reason of the thing, began instantly to set on foot all the necessary

* DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. PLUT. in DEMETRIO JUSTIN. lib. xiv. † DIODOR. & PLUT. ubi supra.

preparations for a war in those parts. At last, when all things were in readiness, he entered *Syria* with a gallant army ; but he had advanced no farther than *Gaza*, when *Demetrius* put a stop to his progress by offering him battle ; a general engagement ensued, which was very obstinate and bloody ; it ended however, in the total overthrow of *Demetrius*, who had five thousand men slain, and eight thousand taken prisoners. Among the former was *Python*, whom his father had assigned him for his colleague ; he had been a principal officer in the army of *Alexander*, was a man of great abilities, and after the death of *Eumenes* had been received by *Antigonus* into the first place of his confidence and esteem. After this rout, *Demetrius* retired with the remains of his army to *Azotus*, from whence he sent deputies to *Ptolemy* to beg leave to bury his dead, which favour was not only granted him, but *Ptolemy* and *Seleucus* sent him back his royal pavillion, his whole equipage, and all the prisoners who had any dependence on his family. The rest of the prisoners were sent into *Egypt*. *Demetrius* finding it impossible for him to make head against the victorious army, abandoned *Phœnicia*, *Palestine*, and *Syria* to the victor. *Tyre* indeed made some resistance. *Andronicus* commanded therein, who not long before had taken it for *Antigonus*. He was a man of spirit, and therefore absolutely refused to part with a place of such importance tamely. The city therefore was invested, but in a little time the garison mutinied, and *Andronicus* was forced to give it up to *Ptolemy*, who therewith recovered all that *Antigonus* had taken from him. *Seleucus* took this opportunity of requesting his friend to comply with the promise he had made him, of furnishing him with a body of troops for the recovery of the province of *Babylon*. *Ptolemy* very readily agreed to it, and assigned him a thousand foot and three hundred horse, with which inconsiderable assistance, *Seleucus* not only possessed himself of *Babylon*, but also of *Media* and *Susiana*, after having defeated *Nicanor*, who was governor of the former province for *Antigonus*. While *Seleucus* went on thus triumphantly, *Ptolemy* had a very unlucky accident ; he had sent *Cilles* his general with a considerable army to drive *Demetrius* out of *Upper-Syria*, where he with the remains of his army still continued. This *Cilles*, being a bold improvident man, highly contemned in himself an enemy so often beaten ; for *Demetrius* had been driven from post to post after the battle of *Gaza*, without being able to make any considerable stand, which was the reason that *Cilles* doubted not but he would now retire as fast as he should press upon him ; *Demetrius* having intelligence of this, resolved to repair the false step he had made at

†

Gaza,

Gaza, by a quick proceeding here ; he therefore sent a small party of horse to view the camp of *Cilles*, and being informed that all things there were in a very careless condition, he instantly determined with himself to fall upon them ; which resolution he executed with such celerity, that he totally defeated the enemy, and took *Cilles* himself with seven thousand men prisoners. This action, as it contributed much to the glory of *Demetrius*, and to the interest of his father *Antigonus*, so it gave the former an opportunity of returning that civility which *Ptolemy* had done him after the battle of *Gaza*, in restoring the principal prisoners then taken. *Demetrius* therefore immediately sent back *Cilles* and all his friends to the camp of *Ptolemy*, with the same compliment which had formerly been made to himself ; that he fought not so much for interest as for glory. As soon as *Antigonus*, who was at that time in *Phrygia*, received advice of this victory, he instantly passed mount *Taurus*, and marched with all imaginable speed to join his son, which having once performed, they marched with all their forces against *Ptolemy*, who clearly perceiving that he should not be able to resist so numerous an army, flushed with victory, demolished most of the cities which were fortified in the provinces he had conquered, and then retired into *Egypt* with an immense load of spoil, and a vast number of people, not carried prisoners against their will, but who voluntarily followed his fortunes. Thus the provinces of *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, and *Judea*, returned again to their old master ^s.

Antigonus, elated with this high run of fortune, conceived in his mind a desire of subduing the *Nabathæans* or *Arabs*, makes war inhabiting the deserts bordering on *Judea*. Against these he dispatched his general *Athenæus*, who at first proceeded very warily in his expedition ; for having with him but four thousand foot and six hundred horse, he knew that in attacking so numerous a people, conduct would be of greater use than courage. He had intelligence that most of the *Arabs* were gone to a mart or fair, where the *Syrians* and they bartered their commodities, and that on this account their chief city *Petra*, where they left their wives and children, and their wealth, was but slenderly guarded. Upon this he marched with his forces three days and three nights at an incredible rate ; for, if the numbers are right in *Diodorus*, they must have gone sixty miles in twenty four hours. This expedition effectually answered their end, for they invited the place to

Antigonus
makes war
on the
Arabs.
Year of
the
Flood,
2688.
Before
Christ,
311

^s DIONOR. SICUT ubi supra. P. C. R. in Demetrio.

fore the *Arabs* had the least intelligence ; and having cut the guards to pieces, plundered the city, carried away a prodigious booty, besides five hundred talents in ready money ; they then marched back again about twenty miles, when, through excessive fatigue, they were constrained to halt ; and lying in a careless manner, the *Arabs*, who had by this time intelligence of what had happened, followed them with such expedition, that surrounding their camp, they put all therein to the sword, sixty horse excepted, who made their escape at the beginning of the attack. The *Arabs* were not satisfied with this ; they sent immediately deputies to *Antigonus* to complain of the injury offered them by *Athenæus*, and to shew the necessity they were under of treating him and his troops as they did. *Antigonus*, knowing that it was not in his power to revenge what had happened at present, sent them for answer, That *Athenæus* had made this expedition of his own head, and that he was very well pleased at what had befallen him. The *Arabs*, who knew how to dissemble as well as he, feigned to be perfectly well satisfied of the truth of what he said ; but, in the mean time, they posted advanced guards, at all the avenues into their country, and placed men in all their watch-towers to prevent their being surprized again in the same manner. Their suspicions and precautions were perfectly just ; for *Antigonus*, as soon as he had recruited his army, sent his son *Demetrius*, with four thousand light-armed foot and as many horse, to revenge the death of *Athenæus*. The young prince at the head of his forces passed in three days time through the desert ; but when he arrived at the city of *Petra*, he found it well garisoned, and that the country being thoroughly alarmed, all the cattle, and whatever else was worth taking away, had been long since secured. However, he caused it to be invested, and afterwards formally besieged the place ; the garison, however, made a glorious defence, and refused to hear of any terms, declaring that if they could have borne slavery, they needed not have retired, as it were, out of the world, and placed all hopes of safety in the strength of a fortress and their own valour. *Demetrius* therefore finding that this would be a work of time, and knowing that his retreat would be attended with great hazard, gave the besieged to understand, that provided they sent deputies to appease his father *Antigonus*, made himself certain presents, and sent refreshments to his army, he would be content to leave them. With these propositions they immediately complied, and *Demetrius* thereupon marched back to the lake of *Asphaltus*, of which he caused an exact description

description to be made, as also some computation to be framed of the profit of the bitumen taken thence, and of the quantity of balm gathered from the famous plantation not far from that place, so much admired, and prized under the name of *balm of Gilead*. These things performed, he returned to his father, and gave him an account of his proceedings. *Antigonus* was very little pleased with the peace he had concluded with the *Nabathæans*; but he highly applauded his son's discoveries, especially on account of the profit he hoped to make of the bitumen and balm. He appointed therefore *Hieronimus* the *Cardian* one of the friends of *Eumenes*, and now his own, to superintend those he sent to the lake to collect all the bitumen they could find, and to carry it to a place assigned, in order to be sold for the use of *Antigonus*. *Hieronimus*, who was now a man in years, executed this commission with all the prudence and fidelity imaginable, neither did he meet with any interruption from the *Arabs*, till such time as they had collected the bitumen and were carrying it away. Then with six thousand men they came down, and surrounded those who were employed in the work, and having cut most of them to pieces, carried the bitumen clear off. *Hieronimus* himself escaped, and thus ended all attempts upon the *Arabians* ^b.

As soon as *Antigonus* had received advice of the mighty progress made by *Seleucus* in the east, he determined to send away his son *Demetrius* with an army to oppose him, which accordingly he did; this army consisted of five thousand *Macedonian* foot, ten thousand mercenaries, and four thousand horse, with whom the prince immediately marched towards *Babylon*. *Seleucus* was at this time in *Media*, intent on settling his affairs in the upper provinces, and *Patrocles*, whom he had left president of *Babylon*, perceiving that his forces would not be able to resist the army of *Demetrius*, he first of all compelled the citizens of *Babylon* to abandon the place, and to retire, some into the deserts, some into *Susiana*, and some to fly much farther; he then withdrew himself and his troops into such fastnesses as he thought would effectually enable them to defend themselves. When therefore *Demetrius* entered *Babylon*, he to his great amazement found it deserted, except the castles in which there were good garisons, both of which he besieged; one he quickly reduced, and gave the spoil thereof to his soldiers; but the other holding out till the time was expired, which his father had allotted him for this

^b DIODOR. ubi supra. PLUT. in Demetrio.

expedition, *Demetrius* left five thousand foot, and a thousand horse under the command of *Archelaus* to carry on the siege, and with the rest of his forces marched away, suffering his soldiers to live, as he retired, at discretion; whereby the hearts of the people were so estranged from himself and his father, that the *Babylonians* were ever after as firmly attached to *Seleucus*, as if he had been their natural prince (D).

(D) In this part of our work we make use of two authors, viz. *Diodorus* and *Plutarch*, who differ from each other very often; it is therefore but reasonable that we should acquaint our readers where, and upon what reasons we prefer one to the other, and this we shall do in few words. *Diodorus* had in view the writing a complete body of history, and therefore he is very exact in his chronology, and very nice in his descriptions; with respect to both, using the best authorities that were to be had in his days. *Plutarch* intended his lives chiefly as a moral performance, and therefore he is more careful in marking out of characters, than in accurately digesting facts. On this account, in the order of time, and in the description of sieges and battles, we mostly follow *Diodorus*; but as to personal circumstances, and what was either said or done by the kings themselves, we take *Plutarch* for our guide. On this occasion it may not be amiss to mention a particular fact, wherein these historians do not agree, and wherein we ourselves have taken the liberty to differ from a very judicious writer of our own nation. *Diodorus* informs us, that when *Demetrius* quitted *Babylon*, he left behind him *Archelaus*, with five thousand foot and a thousand horse, to besiege one of the castles, the other of which he told us *Demetrius* had taken and spoiled (10). *Plutarch* in his account of this transaction affirms, that *Demetrius* put a garison of seven thousand men into the castle which he had reduced, but he says nothing of his leaving an army behind him (11). Dean *Prideaux* joins these facts together, and makes *Demetrius* leave a garison of seven thousand men, and an army of six (12). It is expressly said by *Diodorus*, that his whole army consisted but of nineteen thousand men; it seems to us therefore improbable, that he should leave thirteen thousand behind him, and especially when we consider, that *Plutarch* says in so many words, he led back the gross of his army. If we might have leave to offer a conjecture, we think it not impossible, that *Archelaus*, when he found he could not take the other castle, repaired and garisoned that which had been taken, with his corps of between six and seven thousand men. This reconciles both the stories, offers violence to neither, and is perfectly consistent with the rules of good sense, and of war.

(10) *Diodor. Sicul. lib. xix.*

(11) *Plutarch in Demetrio, &*

in Apophthegm Reg.

(12) *Connection of the Old with the New Testament, P. 1. Book viii.*

Demetrius, marching with his army into the *Lesser Asia*, found the city of *Halicarnassus* besieged by *Ptolemy*; whereupon he took such measures as obliged that prince to raise his siege, whereby he acquired great reputation, and did his father eminent service; for immediately upon this, the confederate princes entered into a treaty with *Antigonus*, whereby it was agreed, that *Cassander* should hold *Macedonia*, *Lyfimachus* *Thrace*, *Ptolemy* *Egypt* and its dependencies, and *Antigonus* all *Asia*; with a proviso, that the *Grecian* cities should every-where be free. In this treaty it was also mentioned, that these provinces were held in trust only for *Alexander Ægus*, the son of *Alexander the Great* by *Roxana*, who had now held the regal title seven years alone, that is, from the time his colleague *Aridæus* or *Philip* was murdered by *Olympias*. But very soon after this peace was made, *Cassander*, who had before put to death the mother of *Alexander*, caused his wife and son, now about fourteen years of age, to be privately slain also by the keeper of the castle, wherein they were confined. From this time therefore those who had been before governors of provinces were now sovereigns, and we might here very well commence the reign of *Antigonus* and his son *Demetrius* in *Asia*; but inasmuch as they did not assume the title of kings till some time afterwards, we are inclinable to follow the example of *Ptolemy*, who notwithstanding the death of *Alexander Ægus*, reckons still by the years of his reign, till *Ptolemy Soter* assumed the regal title as well as authority. But to proceed; this peace was broke almost as soon as it was made, under pretence that *Antigonus* had put garisons into some of the *Greek* cities. *Ptolemy* then invaded *Cilicia*, and took several cities, while the rest of his confederates attacked *Antigonus* elsewhere, all with very indifferent success. *Demetrius* was sent by his father into *Cilicia* to recover the cities there lost, which he effectually performed; but in the mean time, *Ptolemy* reduced the greatest part of the island of *Cyprus*, which was of great advantage to him. Soon after he made a descent into the *Lesser Asia*, where he made various conquests, as also in the *Archipelago*; he likewise entered into a treaty with *Cleopatra*, sister to *Alexander the Great*, who resided at *Sardis*, and who in her turn had been solicited by *Cassander*, *Antigonus*, and *Lyfimachus*, to marriage, but in vain. Yet now either out of regard to *Ptolemy*, who was every-where applauded for an excellent prince, or out of pique to *Antigonus*, on account of her being very strictly looked after, she began to listen to the propositions made her, and actually attempted to make her escape to *Ptolemy's* camp. The gover-

nor of *Sardis*, having intelligence of this, caused her and the ladies who were with her to be arrested, as also the women attending on her person; and to those, in pursuance of the orders of *Antigonus*, he gave directions that they should put her to death, which accordingly they did. When *Antigonus* received advice of this, he absolutely disclaimed all knowledge of the fact; and to make his innocence appear the clearer, he ordered the heads of the women concerned to be struck off, and buried *Cleopatra* with great solemnity. Happy for him, if with her he could have buried the odium, which, in spite of all his artful contrivances, her death brought upon him ! !

Demetrius
defeats
Ptolemy
in a sea-
fight.
Year of
the Flood,
2693.
Before
Christ,
306.

AN eager thirst of glory put *Demetrius* the son of *Antigonus* on an expedition into *Greece*: his pretence was the setting the *Græcian* cities free; his real intent to aggrandize his father and himself by lessening the power of *Cassander*, who had garisoned many of those cities. We shall not here meddle with that war, because we have elsewhere given a very full account of it *; we shall content ourselves with saying, that he performed very well all he promised, and as he dispossessed *Cassander* of the cities, so he put no garisons into them himself, but left them intirely at liberty, and, according to his father's commands, prepared to carry on the war against *Ptolemy*. In the first place he landed in *Caria*; then he sailed into *Cilicia*, and having there recruited his army to fifteen thousand foot, and five hundred horse, and got together a fleet of upwards of one hundred and fifty sail of long ships, besides transports, he made a descent on *Cyprus*. As soon as he had landed his troops, he, like a wise commander, drew his vessels ashore, and took such precautions for their safety as were necessary, and then besieged the cities of *Urania* and *Carpasia*, and took them. After this success he advanced towards *Salamis*, the capital city, wherein *Menelaus* the brother of *Ptolemy* commanded. This man was not only a bold and vigilant, but also a very enterprizing officer. He resolved to fight before he was shut up, that he might have some trial of the invader's forces, and also diminish them a little before they undertook a siege. With this view having collected twelve thousand foot and eight hundred horse, he presented himself to *Demetrius*, as he was marching to *Salamis* in order of battle. This young captain, no less fond of fighting than he, immediately engaged and routed his

* DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. PRUT. in Demetrio. JUSTIN. lib. xiv. * See Vol. VI. p. 205.

forces, killing a thousand on the spot, and taking three thousand prisoners, whereupon *Menelaus* fled with the rest into *Salamis*, and prepared to make an obstinate defence. *Demetrius* instantly invested the city, and, as he piqued himself particularly on being a great engineer, carried on his attacks with much skill and wonderful vigour, insomuch, that *Salamis* was on the point of falling into his hands, when *Ptolemy* being informed of its condition, came in person to save it. He arrived with his fleet at *Citium* about twenty miles from *Salamis*, and immediately sent to desire his brother to send sixty ships which lay in the harbour to join his fleet; but that was found impracticable, for *Demetrius* on the first intelligence had equipped his fleet, and blocked up the mouth of the haven therewith. *Ptolemy*, notwithstanding this disappointment, weighed anchor and stood for *Salamis*, having with him one hundred and forty ships of war, and ten thousand men on board two hundred transports. *Demetrius* had but a hundred and eight ships of war, besides ten which were left to guard the mouth of the haven; however, he resolved not to shun an engagement. By way of precaution, he drew his cavalry down to the strand, that they might cover any vessels compelled to run ashore, and receive such as might be driven to swim for safety. The battle was very obstinate and bloody: *Ptolemy* broke that wing against which he fought in person; but *Demetrius*, chiefly through his own courage and skill in naval affairs, broke through the centre, and entirely defeated his enemies fleet. Just as the fight was over, and *Demetrius* returning in triumph, the sixty sail of ships broke out of the haven of *Salamis*, but were constrained to sail back again for fear of *Demetrius*. This was reputed the most glorious action of his life; for here he took forty ships of war, and sunk fourscore; he also took a hundred transports, with eight thousand soldiers on board, which proved of the last consequence to him, for he incorporated most of them into his army. The largest ship in the fleet he caused to be fitted up after the best manner possible, in order to send in it certain lords to carry the news of his victory to *Antigonus*, which, however, he delayed, till *Salamis* surrendered, whereby his prisoners were increased to seventeen thousand; among whom were *Menelaus* the brother, and *Leontiscus* the son of *Ptolemy*, both of whom he immediately discharged, and sent home to *Egypt*, with all their friends and dependants, desiring them to acquaint *Ptolemy* that he had not forgot the kindness done him in *Cilicia*. While *Demetrius* was settling his affairs in *Cyprus*, the messengers on board the galleon sailed to the coasts of *Syria*; and *Ariglademus*, who was the chief

chief of them, went on shore, and with great parade informed *Antigonus* of the complete victory gained by his son. It was upon this occasion that the old man conceiving it of no longer use, laid aside his modesty, and took the title of king, putting a crown upon his head, and sending another to his son with a letter of congratulation, thus addressed, *To the excellent majesty of king Demetrius*. As soon as this was known in *Egypt*, the people, to shew their love for *Ptolemy*, compelled him to accept the same title ; upon which *Lyfimachus* also assumed it, as did likewise *Seleucus* ; and *Cassander* suffered it to be given him, though he did not make use of it in any of his writings ^k.

State of
Antigo-
nus's
court.

It may seem strange that so politic, as well as so ambitious a prince as *Antigonus* was, should thus associate his son in the empire, and permit him not only to wear the title of king, but to share also in the administration ; but if we consider attentively this transaction, we shall agree, that in this he was more happy, than either in his titles, or in his kingdoms. For *Demetrius* was not only dutiful and loyal to his father, but had so warm an affection for his person, that he was, in the strictest sense of the word, *Antigonus's* best friend. As all degrees of bliss are either heightened or lessened by comparison, so the happiness of *Antigonus* in this respect appeared with the brighter lustre on account of the family dissensions in the courts of his several rivals ; of which he was so sensible, that having given audience one day to the ambassadors of *Cassander*, *Ptolemy*, and *Lyfimachus*, and they being withdrawn, he ordered them to be called back, because his son *Demetrius* coming in warm from hunting, went into his father's apartment, kissed him, and then sat down with his javelins in his hand. When the ambassadors demanded what his pleasure was, *Tell your masters*, said *Antigonus*, *besides what I before mentioned to you, upon what terms my son and I live*. The sense the father had of the son's inviolable attachment to him, made him so readily compliment him with the regal dignity ; we shall see this old politician mistaken in many instances, but never in this, in which so many fathers have erred. But these events we reserve for the following section ^l.

^k DIODOR. PLUT. JUSTIN. ubi supra.
JUSTIN. ubi supra.

^l DIODOR. PLUT.

S E C T VII.

The History of the reign of Antigonus, and his son Demetrius, in Asia.

AS we are for the future to speak of *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* as kings, it is fit that we should open this section with some account of their family. *Antigonus* was the son of *Philip* a nobleman; he espoused *Stratonice* the daughter of *Correus*, a lady of remarkable beauty; by her he had two sons, *Demetrius* and *Philip*, the former named after his uncle, the latter after his grand-father. We have seen, after what manner he rose from being an officer in *Alexander's* army, to be lord of many of the fairest provinces of which his empire was composed; but hitherto we have spoke but slightly of the manner in which he ruled them. Ambition was his capital vice, and indeed it led him into a multitude of very bad actions; he had, however, several great qualities, and some good ones. In the midst of his prosperity, he was wiser than his master. For when *Hermadatus* a Greek poet, not contented with making him a god, stiled him also the offspring of the sun, *I can't tell how that is*, said *Antigonus*; but he that empties my close-stool, never said any thing of my celestial origin. At another time when he was complimented upon his recovery from sickness, *This disease*, said he, *was sent to put me in mind, that being a mortal, I should not grasp at any thing above a mortal.* In his disposition he was rough and boisterous, and as he was a great soldier, so he trusted too much to arms; for though by them he acquired large territories, yet he could not keep them so easily as *Ptolemy* and *Seleucus* did their dominions, who made use of beneficence and clemency as the main pillars of their government. Of this *Antigonus*, when he grew old, became sensible; and therefore when he was told that men wondered his government grew milder, as he grew in years, *It is*, said he, *because I would keep through good-will what I got by force.* When his necessities required it, he would sometimes fleece his subjects severely, and when he was put in mind that *Alexander* did not so, *True*, said he, *for Alexander reaped Asia, and I do but glean.* In private matters he was strictly just: *Marস্য* as his brother would have had him heard a cause, in which he was party, in his chamber. *No, my dear brother*, answered *Antigonus*, *I will hear it in the open court of justice, because I must do justice.* After all, his chief felicity was the

The character of Antigonus
Year of the Flood,
2695.
Before Christ,
304.

manner in which he lived in his family; where, as he loved his wife and children, his wife and children really loved him: as for his second son, he died young, but not till he had performed things worthy of his descent; and there is a saying of his father's with respect to him mentioned by *Plutarch*, which shews at once the good sense and good humour of *Antigonus*. It happened on a march, that *Philip* was lodged at the house of a widow, who had three fair daughters; his father being informed of it, called for the quartermaster; *Hark ye, friend* said he, *pray deliver my son out of these straits*. Thus much, as to the character of *Antigonus*; with regard to that of *Demetrius*, we have already spoken copiously in the foregoing section, and in the *Athenian* history. The father was now in the zenith of his glory, and the son in the very prime of his age; we need not wonder therefore at their so readily accepting the alluring honours of the kingly state^a.

The Egyptian expedition.

To adorn the crowns they had put on, an expedition into *Egypt* was immediately resolved on, not with a design of carrying war into the enemy's country, or of frightening *Ptolemy* so much as to oblige him to accept of peace, but with a view to drive him intirely out of his dominions, that they might be annexed to those possessed by *Antigonus* already. The mighty land-army raised for this purpose was commanded by *Antigonus* himself; the fleet which was to accompany it had *Demetrius* for its admiral; both fleet and army were suitable to the design itself, and those by whom they were conducted; the former consisted of a hundred and fifty stout gallies, and a hundred smaller vessels; the latter of eighteen thousand foot, eight thousand horse, and fourscore and three elephants. The general rendezvous of the land-forces was at *Antigonia*, a new city built by *Antigonus* in *Syria*; the fleet anchored on the coast; the kings expressed an earnest desire to be gone, but the ablest seamen in the fleet were very desirous of remaining where they were till the setting of the *Pleiades*, dreading the ill weather, which till then is frequent on the coast of *Egypt*; but *Antigonus* would not be detained; he therefore caused provisions of all sorts for ten days to be provided for his army, and having got together camels and other beasts of burthen sufficient, as he thought, to transport these necessaries and their baggage, he began his march through the deserts, which lie between *Gaza* and *Egypt*; in his passage his army was miserably fatigued, and the spirits of the people excessively broke. At last, having coasted

^a Diodor. Sicul. lib. xv. Plut. Apophthegm. Reg.

mount *Cassius*, he perceived his fleet lying at anchor; but in a very indifferent state, many ships lost, more driven back to *Gaza*, and all the rest sorely shattered by the storm they had sustained. *Demetrius* intended to have sailed up one of the mouths of the *Nile*; but *Ptolemy* had so effectually secured these, and had disposed his troops on the coasts so judiciously, that no impression could be made; and if *Antigonus* had not supplied those on board with water and provisions, they must have perished in sight of the shore. This was a melancholy beginning; however, *Antigonus* marched on, hoping to rectify all things by his success in a battle; but *Ptolemy* was in no such haste; he had fortified all the fords of the *Nile*, and had considerable bodies of troops in these posts. He had besides an army of observation, with which he held *Antigonus* at bay, while in the interim he offered by proclamation every common soldier two *minæ*, (about six pounds five shillings *English*) and to every officer a talent, or one hundred and eighty-eight pounds, if they would come over to him. He had practised the same thing when *Perdiccas* invaded *Egypt*, and he had the same success now as then; for numbers deserted to him; and if *Antigonus* had not posted some choice troops on the road, the greatest part of his army would have gone over; the rather, because they were terrified with the dreadful punishments inflicted on those who were seized as they were going off. At last tumults arising, *Antigonus* saw plainly that it would not be for his interest to remain any longer there; wherefore, to avoid farther mischiefs, he retired with the army, as *Demetrius* sailed back with the fleet towards *Syria*. To repair the credit of their arms, the kings immediately resolved on a new expedition, which was the reduction of the island of *Rhodes*: For this some pretence was wanting; it was therefore demanded of the *Rhodians*, that they should enter into a close alliance with *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* against all their enemies; this, as it was foreseen, they refused, because, carrying on a great trade with *Egypt*, it was impossible for them to break with *Ptolemy*; however, fear engaged them to offer all that was in their power, which, however, *Demetrius* refused; and, making a descent, besieged the capital of the island, which cost him a great deal of trouble to no purpose, except that he gained here the reputation of the greatest engineer of his time, in consequence of his contriving such machines as had never been seen before, and that he likewise gave a new instance of his generosity and clemency. For, whereas the *Rhodians* having taken a vessel, on board of

which were some rich hangings for his tent, as also certain letters from his wife *Philla*, sent all to *Ptolemy*; yet, when they afterwards intreated *Demetrius* to spare the celebrated picture of their patron *Jalysus*, which had cost *Protogenes* seven years, and was esteemed his master-piece; that prince answered, I would sooner destroy the statues of my father, than offer the least injury to so exquisite a piece. As for *Protogenes* himself he worked as usual in his house in the suburbs, and when *Demetrius* sent for him, and asked him, How he came to be so fearless? *I know, Sir*, said the painter, *that you make war against the Rhodians, but not against the sciences*: Whereupon the king smiling, assigned him a guard. The siege of *Rhodes* had lasted long, and the spirits of *Demetrius's* soldiers were almost exhausted, when, happily for him, embassadors from *Athens* arrived to implore his assistance against *Cassander*; this gave him a pretence to make peace with the *Rhodians* on these terms, that they should serve *Antigonus* against all his enemies except *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*. Then *Demetrius*, sailing with three hundred and thirty gallies, and a great army on board, steered for *Attica*, where he landed, having constrained *Cassander* to retire towards *Macedon*; but when he came near *Thermopylae*, *Demetrius* fell upon his rear, and gave him so rude a shock, that his troops seemed rather to fly, than to march, through *Thessaly* afterwards. Upon this a corps of six thousand *Macedonians* left in *Greece* revolted to the victor, and *Demetrius* returned in triumph to the sea-coast of *Pelopannesus*. This extraordinary flow of success bore down before it almost all the virtues of *Demetrius*; for he began now to exceed *Alexander* in vanity, stiling himself *king of kings*, drinking the healths of *Seleucus*, *Cassander*, *Lyfimachus*, and *Ptolemy*, as great officers of his state and household. In debauchery he sunk far below the dignity of human nature, indulging himself not only in sensual pleasures, but in a vice which ought to want a name; he likewise deviated into gross impiety, that never-failing road to ruin; and, forgetting his father's former moderation, would needs be stiled a *god*, and the younger brother of *Minerva*. It may indeed be said in his excuse, that he had kept his senses, if the wits of *Athens* had not seduced him; however it was, from this time forwards his affairs declined, and though sometimes the prospect cleared, yet the storm which now began to rise did not blow over, till it had wrought his as well as his father's ruin^b.

^b DIONOR. SICUL. ubi supra. PLUT. in Demetrio.

Cassander,



Cassander, fearing that *Demetrius* would pursue the blow *Anew con-*
 he had already given him, and, after compelling him to leave *federacy a-*
Greece, follow him into *Macedonia*, sent deputies to *Antigo-* *gainst An-*
nus in *Syria*, in order to treat of a peace; but *Antigonus* *Antigonus.*
 would hear of no other terms than his submitting himself and *Year of*
 his dominions to his pleasure, so that these negotiations came *the Flood,*
 to nothing, and *Cassander* was forced to send to his old *2697.*
 confederates, in order to engage them in a new alliance against *Before*
 this formidable conqueror; they readily listened to his propo- *Christ,*
 sal, for they perfectly well discerned, that when once *Mace-* *302.*
donia was subdued, *Antigonus* would fall upon them next. To
 prevent this, they entered into a treaty with *Cassander*; and
Lyfimachus, having obtained from him a part of his army,
 resolved to pass over into *Asia*, and fall upon *Phrygia*, *Lydia*,
 and other provinces; which accordingly he did, and proceed-
 ed with such success, that *Antigonus* was not a little alarmed
 when acquainted therewith, as he was celebrating shews and
 gymnastic sports at his new city of *Antigonia*. He did not,
 however, lose his courage when he was made acquainted
 with this formidable confederacy; on the contrary, he behav-
 ed himself with more alacrity and spirit than could have been
 expected from a man of his years, and in his condition; for
 he was now upwards of eighty, and excessively corpulent. His
 ambition, however, was still so strong, that he could not
 help saying publicly, *That he would scatter the confederates,*
as easily as boys do birds among the corn, by throwing a stone
amongst them. In order to make good his words, he began
 to draw together his forces immediately; and, as soon as he
 had assembled a sufficient army, he crossed mount *Taurus*,
 and came down into *Cilicia*, where, having taken a consi-
 derable sum out of the treasury of *Quinda*, he made use of it
 to recruit his troops, which were soon in a condition not on-
 ly to recover the places that had been lost, but even to offer
Lyfimachus battle. That crafty old captain did not, however,
 press on an engagement, but, on the contrary, kept on the
 defensive, knowing well, that if he lost a battle, he lost
 all; but that *Antigonus* in such a case had many provinces to
 retire to. *Lyfimachus* therefore proposed an accommodation,
 but *Antigonus* would hearken to nothing; so the winter was
 spun out in preparations on both sides, and early in the spring
Selaucus, with his own and *Ptolemy's* forces, began his march,
 in order to join *Lyfimachus*; of which, when *Antigonus* had
 notice, he instantly sent to recal *Demetrius* out of *Greece*,
 beginning now to foresee, that he should have enough to do
 to defend himself against so many and so potent adversaries.
Demetrius, as soon as he had received his father's commands,
 entered

entered into a provisional treaty with *Cassander* for preserving the peace and freedom of *Greece*. We call this treaty provisional, because it was not to remain in force, if *Antigonus* refused to ratify it; the design of both parties being to gain time, and an opportunity of attending their other affairs by acceding to this treaty, which gave liberty to *Greece*. On the conclusion of it, *Demetrius* found not only himself at liberty to return, but his forces also, there being now no necessity of leaving an army, as he had first designed, in *Peloponnesus* &c.

The fatal
battle of
Ipsus
Year of
the Flood,
2 78.
Before
Christ,
301

WHEN the season of the year permitted, *Demetrius* transported his forces into *Asia*; and, having recovered *Ephesus* from *Lyfimachus*, marched strait to join his father. By this time *Seleucus* was at hand, and the news of his approach did not come sooner than that of *Ptolemy's* irruption into *Phœnicia*, *Judea*, and *Cælo-Syria*, where he carried all before him, and, in a short time, reduced all those provinces, excepting only the cities of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, which, being strongly garrisoned, held out for *Antigonus*; but after these rapid conquests, *Ptolemy*, who had set down before the last-mentioned city on a flying report, that *Antigonus* had beaten *Seleucus* and *Lyfimachus*, raised his siege, and retired hastily into *Egypt*. By this time the two grand armies in *Phrygia* were ready to engage; that of *Antigonus* consisted of seventy thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and seventy five elephants. The forces of *Seleucus* and *Lyfimachus* consisted of sixty four thousand foot, ten thousand five hundred horse, four hundred elephants, and one hundred and twenty chariots of war. Now it was, that *Antigonus* varied a little from his usual manner of behaviour; for instead of appearing, as he was wont to do, with a frank and open countenance, he shewed himself very thoughtful and melancholy, was frequently silent; and whereas he formerly never consulted with any body, but gave out his orders with extraordinary vivacity, he was now very slow in his resolutions, consulted much with *Demetrius*; and once, as he was reviewing his troops, recommended him to the officers as his successor. These things were thought to shew, that his usual confidence had forsaken him: The morning of the battle, as he was coming out of his tent, he fell down and bruised himself; upon which rising up as well as he could, immortal gods, said he, grant me victory, if it be your will; but if not, let me fall in battle, and not survive my fading glory. When the armies were disposed in order of battle, *Demetrius*, having the command of the best part of his fa-

DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. PLUT. in Demetrio. JUSTIN.
lib. xv. c. 4.

ther's horse, charged so fiercely on the cavalry of *Seleucus* commanded by his son *Antiochus*, that he quickly broke and put them to flight; but pursuing them too far, he thereby lost all; for *Seleucus* immediately interposed his elephants in such a manner, that *Demetrius* could never rejoin his infantry; and, having done this, *Seleucus* marched with his foot to attack *Antigonus*, where he fought in person. The brave old man, on this occasion, behaved with great wisdom; but *Seleucus*, making a shew of charging him in flank, *Antigonus* was forced to alter his disposition; which gave opportunity to many traitors in his army to go over to the enemy; which they did, thereby creating such a confusion, that his forces were quickly broke, and himself, at the head of a very few, left to sustain the shock. When the enemy were about to charge him, one, who was near him, cried out, *Sir, consider what you do; they are coming down upon you. Let them come*, said *Antigonus*; *Demetrius will come to our assistance*. But, while he cast his eyes about in vain for his son, a shower of arrows deprived him of life, and he fell from his horse upon the ground, having only one servant that staid by his body. This was the fatal battle of *Ipsus*, so called from a town and river of *Phrygia*, near which it was fought. And thus fell the empire of *Antigonus* with himself, when he had borne the regal title about four years, and was as many above fourscore ^d.

Demetrius, with the poor remains of his army, which were *Demetrius* no more than five thousand foot and four thousand horse, re- Poliorce- tired to *Ephesus*; and even doubting whether he should be tes suc- safe there, he shortly quitted that place, and retired towards ceeds. the sea. Many were of opinion, when he first entered that city, that he would have plundered the famous temple of *Diana*, in order to raise money to restore his affairs; but he did nothing of this sort, placing his chief hope in the loyalty of the *Athenians*, and therefore made all the haste he could thither, where he had left the best part of his plate, with his queen *Deidamia* and her retinue. But here his hopes miserably failed him, for the *Athenians* sent away his queen, and forbid him to enter their city. He, dissembling his resentment, very gladly received from them his ships, and, after visiting *Peloponnesus*, sailed away for the *Chersonese*, where landing, he committed great devastations in the territories of *Lyfimachus*; at which the confederate princes were not at all displeased, for they liked this ally of theirs no better than *Demetrius*, and feared him much more. In the midst

^d DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. PLUT. ubi supra. ARRIAN. in Syriacis.

of his distresses a strange accident happened in the favour of *Demetrius*. *Seleucus* having heard wonderful things of the beauty of *Stratonice* the daughter of *Demetrius* and *Philla*, the widow of *Craterus* and sister of *Cassander*, he sent to *Demetrius* to demand her in marriage. This extraordinary turn of fortune did not a little amaze *Demetrius* himself, who joyfully transported his daughter in his royal fleet to meet *Seleucus*. As he sailed along he was frequently constrained to put on shore for refreshment, which, amongst other places, he did in *Cilicia*, a province assigned by the princes to *Plistarchus* the brother of *Cassander*, who conceiving this in no other light than that of an invasion, immediately posted away to *Cassander*, to complain of the injury done him ; of which when *Demetrius* was informed, he thought *Plistarchus* could do no more, if he carried matters a little farther ; wherefore he ventured to seize the treasury at *Quinda*, and took from thence two hundred talents, which had been left by his father. Arriving on the coast of *Syria*, he was first met by his wife *Philla*, and then coming to the city of *Rossus*, he there found *Seleucus*, who immediately espoused *Stratonice* ; and, in honour of the nuptials, nobly entertained *Demetrius* on shore ; accepting also in his turn an invitation from his father-in-law, he was nobly feasted on board the royal galley, after which they parted. *Demetrius* sailing back again, made a new descent on *Cilicia*, and got intire possession of it ; whereupon he sent his wife *Philla* to excuse him to her brother *Cassander* ; and his other wife *Deidamia* dying of a cold she had caught at sea, he, by the interposition of *Seleucus*, espoused *Ptolemaida* the daughter of *Ptolemy*, which gave his affairs a new aspect. This fair weather, however, did not last long ; for *Seleucus*, unsatisfied with the many provinces he possessed, would needs have *Cilicia*, for which he offered *Demetrius* a sum of money. This he refused ; upon which *Seleucus* demanded *Tyre* and *Sidon*, threatening, if they were not given up, he would take them by force. To which *Demetrius* answered, that if he had lost ever so many battles, every one of them as fatal as that of *Ipsus*, he would never part with cities in so tame a manner ; and immediately gave orders for augmenting the garisons, and filling the magazines in the cities demanded. In the meantime he resolved himself to pass over into *Attica*, to be revenged for the affront which the *Athenians* had offered him immediately after the battle of *Ipsus*. In this expedition he was so roughly handled by a storm, that when he landed his troops in *Europe*, they were able to undertake nothing. He, how-

ever,

ever, soon after besieged the city of *Messene*, where he received an arrow in his jaw, which not only disfigured his face, but by the accidents attending the cure, threatened his life; yet he continued his siege, and afterwards his army increasing, he formed the blockade of *Athens*, which he reduced, and strongly garisoned. After this he made war against *Sparta*; whereupon *Archidamus* marched at the head of all the forces of *Lacedæmon*, as far as the city of *Man-tinæa*, that, as long as was possible, the war might be kept out of his own country; but his success was not answerable to his prudence and courage; for he was here defeated by *Demetrius*, and afterwards beaten by him again within sight of *Sparta*; yet such was the inconstancy of this prince's fortune, that he either was beaten, or reaped no benefit from his victories; for, immediately after this battle, came news, that *Lyfimachus* had conquered all he possessed in *Asia*; and that *Ptolemy*, after reducing the greatest part of the isle of *Cyprus*, had besieged the city of *Salamis*, in which were the mother and children of *Demetrius*; so that he had now no leisure to prosecute the war against *Sparta*. Before the sense of these mischiefs had long tormented the king's breast, a new and stranger scene opened, which turned all his thoughts another way.

Cassander king of *Macedon* left behind him two sons, *Antipater* and *Alexander*, both pretending title to the kingdom; but the former, having married the daughter of *Lyfimachus*, absolutely refused to grant any thing to the latter, who thereupon called in *Pyrrhus* and *Demetrius* to his assistance. *Pyrrhus* came first, and made such an impression, that *Antipater* gladly compounded the matter with his brother, and allotted him half the kingdom, from which *Pyrrhus*, however, lopped a piece for his share; which proceeding giving *Alexander* to believe, that, when *Demetrius* arrived, he would take another portion of his kingdom, he made all the haste he could to meet him, and at the interview thanked him for the assistance he brought, but assured him that he had no need of it; whereupon *Demetrius* prepared to return, which, however, *Alexander* meant not that he should do, having formed a scheme to murder him at supper. This *Demetrius* prevented by going away suddenly; yet, when they came to *Larissa* in *Thessaly*, *Alexander* began to practise again; for *Demetrius* having invited him to an entertainment, he

Demetrius becomes king of Macedonia.
Year of the Flood, 2705.
Before Christ, 291.

* DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. PLUT. in Demet. JUSTIN. l. iv. c. 1.

went thither without guards, that *Demetrius* might have no pretence for bringing any with him; but his design being guessed at, *Demetrius* ordered him, and those who were with him, to be killed after supper; which command when his guards began to execute, one of *Alexander's* friends cried out, *You have been too quick for us by a day.* The *Macedonian* army, when they received the news of the death of their king, were not a little surprised, supposing that *Demetrius* would take this opportunity of attacking and cutting them to pieces; which, however, he was so far from doing, that he sent to desire leave to justify himself as to the death of *Alexander*, which he did in a formal harangue. This had such an effect on the *Macedonians*, that they immediately saluted *Demetrius* king; and thus, when his affairs were most desperate, he acquired that kingdom, for which so many princes had struggled, not only by the free consent of the people, but also with some colour of right; for tho' *Antipater* the son of *Cassander* was living, yet the *Macedonians* might well hold him unworthy of a crown, who had imbrued his hands in the blood of his own mother, the daughter of *Philip* of *Macedon* and sister of *Alexander*. Setting him aside, *Demetrius*, in right of his wife, was the next heir; and the sight of his son *Antigonus*, who was the grandson of old *Antipater*, influenced the *Macedonians* not a little, for they remembered how happily they had lived under his administration, and in what continual broils they had been ever since. The rest of the princes did not seem much displeased with an event which had fixed a crown on the head of the son of *Antigonus* at none of their expence. As for *Lysimachus*, while *Demetrius* and *Pyrrhus* were agreed, he thought it his interest to be well with both. *Ptolemy* having recovered *Cyprus*, dismissed the family of *Demetrius*, not only without injury, but with much respect, and with many magnificent presents. In the court of *Seleucus*, a surprising change had happened, which yet was beneficial to *Demetrius*; for *Stratonice* was married to *Antiochus* her son-in-law. Thus all things at present contributed to leave *Demetrius* at his ease, excepting his own temper only, which, now he had no enemy left, inclined him to pick quarrels with his friends. But of these things in another place. In this chapter we are to consider him as a king in *Asia*, and therefore we shall proceed to the last attempt made by him for the recovery of his father's kingdom †.

† DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. PLUT. ubi supra. JUSTIN. l. xvi c. 2.

WHEN he had reigned about six years in *Macedon*, part-^{He endeavours the recovery of his father's kingdom.}ly to gratify his own ambition, and partly to employ the restless *Macedonians*, he began to make preparations for the conquest of *Asia*. In order to this, he set an army on foot of ninety eight thousand foot and twelve thousand horse. He likewise put a fleet of five hundred gallies upon the stocks, at *Pella*, *Chalcis*, *Corinth*, and *Athens*. Several of these gallies had fourteen, fifteen, and sixteen benches of oars; and they were all built by the particular contrivance of *Demetrius* himself, whose skill in this respect was not only admired by such as knew nothing more of ships than what their bulk and beauty dictated to their sight, but by the ablest artificers, who, without his directions were incapable of constructing such vessels, as, with all the pomp of royal ships, had also all the strength, and all the conveniencies of ordinary ships of war. The noise of these preparations awakened *Lyfimachus*, *Seleucus*, and *Ptolemy*; they therefore entered into a strict league against him, and, according to their old maxim in the days of *Antigonus*, determined to begin the war first. With this view they invited *Pyrrhus* king of *Epirus* to enter into the confederacy, which he readily did, tho' he had learned the trade of war under *Demetrius*, who had taught him ingratitude too, for *Demetrius* had practised upon him first. This point once settled, *Ptolemy* sailed with a puissant fleet to invade *Greece*, at the same time that *Lyfimachus* with a mighty army invaded *Macedon*. *Demetrius*, surprized with these quick proceedings, which came a little too soon for the state his affairs were in, levied, in as short a time as he was able, a considerable army, and marched therewith to oppose *Lyfimachus*, dispatching at the same time his son *Antigonus* with another army to provide for the safety of *Greece*. When *Demetrius* was arrived within a short march of the enemy, he received advice, that *Pyrrhus* had entered *Macedon* on the other side, and had penetrated as far as *Beræa*; upon which the *Macedonians* began to mutiny, and *Demetrius* saw plainly, that they had an inclination to desert to *Lyfimachus*. This made him apprehend that he had slipped in his politics, when he ventured to lead a *Macedonian* army against their old commander. To amend this therefore he made a short turn, and marched away directly to fight *Pyrrhus*, against whom, as a foreigner, he doubted not his troops would behave well; but in this he made a greater mistake than before; for no sooner he came near the enemy than his army began to desert in small parties. By degrees the *Macedonians* grew bolder, and went so far as to

say openly in the camp, that the crown ought to belong to him, who most resembled *Alexander*; that in *Demetrius* indeed they saw his vanity, luxury, and pride, but that in *Pyrrhus*, against whom they were to fight, all the virtues of *Alexander* were conspicuous. When these notions had circulated among them a little while, the whole camp was in a tumult, and things at last issued in this, that some of the modestest and best meaning of the soldiers advised *Demetrius* to withdraw in time, and secure his person. Upon this he retired to his tent, laid aside his royal robes, and, in the habit of a private soldier, fled away without attendance to *Cassandra* ⁸.

He is expelled from Macedon.

IN this city he found his wife *Philla*, who, when she was informed of what had happened, overcome with grief, and ashamed to behold a daughter of *Antipater* at the lowest ebb of distress in *Macedon*, took poison, and so ended her days. *Demetrius*, in his worst fortunes, had always hopes; wherefore quitting *Macedon*, he withdrew into *Greece*, where having drawn together some of his friends, he began to form an army, which increasing by degrees, he marched to *Thebes*, and there assumed again the regal habit, and, as the first essay of his authority, restored the democratic authority in the city where he lived. As for the *Athenians*, as soon as they heard of his distress, without any other motive than mere ingratitude, they contrived to insult him, which provoked him so far, as to engage him to lead his new-raised army immediately to besiege their city. In this siege he had such success, that the *Athenians* were constrained to deprecate his vengeance by a solemn deputation, at the head of which was an eminent philosopher. *Demetrius*, who had always a tenderness for *Athens*, suffered himself to be persuaded to pardon even this new outrage; so that this expedition being at an end, he, of a sudden took it into his head to hazard another, which was for the recovery of *Caria* and *Lydia* from *Lyfimachus*. All his forces amounted to but eleven thousand men, and nothing could be more romantic than to hope, with so inconsiderable an army, to conquer a great part of *Asia*; however, he had necessity on his side, and a considerable body of desperate men to enforce whatever measures he thought fit to take. When he arrived at *Miletus*, he was met by *Eurydice* the sister of his wife *Philla*. She brought with her a new wife for him. *Ptolemaida*, to whom he had been long ago contracted. The marriage was consummated at *Sardis*, which he presently took. Part of the forces of *Lyfimachus*

⁸ PLUT. in Demet. JUSTIN. l. xvi. c. 2.

revolting

revolting to him, and bringing with them a great sum of money, enabled him to recruit his army effectually. All this, however, signified nothing; for *Agathocles* the son of *Lysimachus*, coming against him with a very great army, and managing his command with great prudence, brought *Demetrius* into deep distress; for though the troops of the latter had the advantage in all the skirmishes which happened between them and the forces of *Agathocles*, yet by avoiding an engagement, and making a proper use of his advantage in numbers, this young prince compelled *Demetrius* to retire into *Phrygia*, whither he followed him, and reduced his army to a starving condition. *Demetrius*, shifting quarters often, at length passed the river *Lytus*, which being very rapid, many of his soldiers were drowned. This, with the other misfortunes they had endured, exasperated the army to such a degree, that they openly complained; and one day when *Demetrius* came out of his tent, he found these lines, which are a *Parody* on the beginning of the *Oedipus* of *Sophocles*, fixed over his door,

*Thou son of blind Antigonus,
Where are we?——*

To add to these distresses, the plague broke out in his army, by which, in a very short time, he lost eight thousand men. With the poor remainder he retired to *Tarjus*, a city belonging to *Seleucus*, where he ordered his soldiers to observe exact discipline, till at last want forced them to dispense with all orders. Then it was that he wrote to *Seleucus* in terms the most moving. He represented the grandeur from which he was fallen, the misery to which he was reduced, and the small hopes he had left. *Seleucus*, taking this matter into consideration, sent orders to the governors of provinces, to furnish *Demetrius* with whatever was requisite for him, not as a private man, but as a king; as also with provisions for his army. This was done through the inclinations, and with a beneficence worthy of the king himself. But *Patrocles*, the prime minister of *Seleucus*, was of quite another sentiment; he continually whispered in his master's ear, that, of all the princes of his time, *Demetrius* was the most enterprizing; that the more he was distressed, the more ready he must be to make any new attempt hope or despair might suggest to him; and that to afford support to such a person, was to nurse a wild beast in his bosom. By degrees the minister's art overcame his master's clemency; so that, when *Demetrius* least expected it, *Seleucus* advanced with a powerful army towards *Cilicia*, whereupon that unhappy prince

prince was forced to take shelter in mount *Taurus*, from whence he sent deputies to *Seleucus*, requesting him, that he would permit him the liberty to attempt, by force of arms, to repair his broken fortunes against the barbarous nations, there to establish a kingdom, where he might pass the remainder of his life in quiet and repose, and not in that rigorous season of the year, for it was now the middle of the winter, expose him to the fury of his implacable enemies in this distress, but to allow him a competent time and maintenance for his small army, till the weather should permit him to depart. But *Seleucus*, who, by this time, was become excessively jealous of him, sent him word, that he would allow him to remain where he was but two months; and that, even in consideration of this favour, he expected that he should deliver as hostages his principal commanders. *Demetrius*, perceiving himself taken like a beast in a toil, flew with vindictive rage on his cruel persecutors, and had the good luck to get the better of them in many encounters; particularly when he was beset with armed chariots, by his personal valour, he engaged his soldiers to break through them, and thereby opened a passage into *Syria*; so that things taking a new turn, *Lyfimachus* thought it would be favourably received, if he made *Seleucus* an offer of his assistance; but that cautious prince liked no such assistance; he therefore thanked *Lyfimachus*, and declined his favour; however, he spun out the war with *Demetrius*, not caring to trust the fortune of that prince, which often, from a very miserable state, had suddenly raised him to great prosperity. Even at this time *Demetrius* was in a better condition than could have been expected; and his forces, as they had been always victorious under his conduct, so they were very tractable and obedient in hopes that his good fortune would put it in his power to reward them. But while his mind was big with a thousand projects, *Demetrius* was seized with a malignant fever, which, in a short time, took from him his senses, so that for forty days he was able to give no orders. At the end of this space he recovered his senses, and in some measure his strength; but, to his great affliction, he found his army miserably mouldered away, and those he had left very desirous of getting into fresh quarters; a thing they had small reason to hope, and which yet he promised them, and, by dint of his great skill in military affairs, performed; for making a sudden and swift march towards *Cilicia*, he turned short in the night, and passing mount *Amantus*, left *Seleucus* and his army far behind him. Thus his wearied army had once more some time given them for refreshment.

refreshment. *Seleucus*, fearing he might recruit where he was, marched towards him, and encamped at no great distance. Of this when *Demetrius* was informed, he resolved to attack him that very night ; and, if his measures had not been betrayed, would have taken him in his bed ; as it was, he had but just time to mount, yet *Demetrius* perceiving that his design was discovered, would not hazard his forces, but retired. *Seleucus* resolving to make use of this opportunity, pressed him close, and at last compelled him to fight in a very disadvantageous situation. However, *Demetrius* having divided his forces into two bodies, he, at the head of one, charged the troops of *Seleucus* so briskly, that they were in great confusion, till *Seleucus* himself dismounting, led up his infantry, which obliging *Demetrius* to form his forces afresh, *Seleucus*, as soon as they made a line, advanced to their front, and putting up the vizor of his helmet that he might be known, he exhorted them to lay down their arms, telling them, that it was for their sakes he avoided coming to extremities so long ; whereupon those perfidious men shouted aloud, *Long live king Seleucus*, deserting in a moment their old master, and the victory he had almost obtained. *Demetrius*, in this distress retired, with a few who were about him, into a thick wood. At first he had thoughts of retiring to the sea, and going on board his fleet ; but when he considered how few people he had about him, he laid aside this design as impracticable. The next day his bosom-friend, *Sofigenes*, arriving, and having with him four hundred pieces of gold, *Demetrius* resumed his former design, and, as soon as it grew dark, sallied from the wood, in order to push forward ; but it appearing by the fires lighted on every side, that the avenues were all secured by the enemy, the king was forced to retire back to his wood. In this retreat some of the inconsiderable band of horse who were with him deserted ; whereby the rest were so intimidated, that they began to talk of delivering up *Demetrius* to *Seleucus*, in order to preserve themselves ; which when that unhappy prince overheard, he drew out his sword, and would have run himself through the body, had not some who were near him interposed and prevented him. Then those who had most interest with him took an opportunity of shewing the impossibility of his getting out of the province ; and that therefore it would be prudence in him for once to submit to fortune, and surrender to *Seleucus*. *Demetrius* having weighed this proposition duly, conceived it would be better to make that an act of choice, which was most likely would at length be brought about by necessity, and thereupon

thereupon dispatched away deputies, to inform *Seleucus*, that he was ready to yield himself into his hands. Until these deputies returned, he remained still in his dark retreat in the wood ^a.

Demetrius
yields him-
self to Se-
leucus.

WHEN *Seleucus* was informed of the resolution which *Demetrius* had taken, he was exceedingly pleased, and having given the necessary directions for the reception of a person, who besides the high dignity he had held, stood in so near a relation to himself, could not help, even in the presence of his whole court, breaking out into these words: *It is not the fortune of Demetrius which hath thus provided for his safety, but mine, which hath been watchful for my glory. I thank her more for this, than for all the favours she has done me, because I esteem an act of clemency more honourable than any victory.* The many noble and generous things said by *Seleucus* in this high flow of fortune, inclined many of his courtiers to believe, that *Demetrius*, from being himself a king, would become the chief favourite of a king. In order therefore to secure their own interests, they immediately determined to go and pay their court to him, as soon as he should come into the quarters of *Seleucus*. *Apollonides*, who had been formerly a courtier in the palace of *Antigonus*, was sent to receive *Demetrius*, and when he had brought him to the village assigned, almost the whole court of *Seleucus* went to pay their compliments to his father-in-law. When the ministers about *Seleucus*, who hated *Demetrius*, perceived this, they instantly put him in mind of the dangerous consequences which might attend his nobles and commanders entering into familiarity with a person of such a dexterous address, and such surprising intrepidity. These insinuations had the effect desired by those who made them, insomuch, that while *Demetrius* was entertaining his old acquaintance and new friends, *Pausanias*, with a guard of a thousand horse, came to conduct him, not as he hoped, to the presence of *Seleucus*, but a castle in a demy-island, where he remained a prisoner. *Seleucus*, when he had provided for his own security, did all that could be thought of to make confinement easy to *Demetrius*. He ordered him royal entertainment within doors, a fine stable of horses, and the use of a noble park without. To give him a relish of these pleasures, hopes were cherished, and promises of liberty intermixed, which were all made to depend on the coming of *Antiochus* and *Stratonice*, to whom the conditions, on which this freedom was to be obtained, were re-

^a PLUT. in Demet.

ferred.

ferred. All other arts were practised to amuse *Demetrius*, and to divert his cares. At first he suffered himself to be deluded, and hoped, that after a time *Seleucus* would see him ; but when he found this protracted, and that excuse succeeded excuse, he penetrated the design of his politic son-in-law, and without giving in to vain expectations, fought by all methods to make his time as little tedious to him as might be. Hunting was for a while his chief diversion ; but, by degrees, he quitted it to give himself up to feasting and carousing, that, in wine and pleasant conversation, the memory of past greatness and present sorrows might be drowned ; so hard a thing it is for those who pretend to fight for repose to enjoy it, when they acquire it either in consequence of their victories, or thro' the mere bounty of providence ; and so much wiser is it to moderate our desires, than to place all hopes in their gratification.

It is the sentiment of some historians, that *Demetrius* acted *The firm-* meanly, first in yielding himself up prisoner ; and secondly, *ness of* in surviving so long the loss of his glory ; but if we examine *Demetrius* this matter to the bottom, we shall find, that these censures *in his mis-* are very rash, and that there is no part of *Demetrius's* life *fortunes.* less liable to reproach than the first part of his imprisonment. He had shewn in his former actions, that he was not afraid of death, and, in the first transport of his despair, he fought to have fallen by his own sword. That he supported life afterwards, was the effect of reason, and a very laudable resignation to the conduct of providence, as appears from the last public act he did, which, without comparison, was the noblest of his whole life. As soon as he was imprisoned, he wrote a letter to his son *Antigonus*, commending to him the care of his concerns in *Greece*, exhorting him to govern his subjects justly, to act always with moderation, and to look upon himself as dead ; conjuring him never to part with any of the cities, or to give up any thing to *Seleucus* to procure his liberty, and never to give credit to any letter written with his hand, or sealed with his seal, after this. We must surely look upon this as a most authentic proof of true courage ; and, after this, we may safely alledge his bearing with life as another proof of it ; for having acquitted himself to his family and his people, he might certainly indulge hope to himself. As to his giving way to luxury at the last, and spending his time in banquets and drinking-matches, we ought to pity him, and profit by his example. He found by fatal experience, that mirth and wine were no cures for grief ; for while by them he sought to still his concern, the struggle between resentment and a desire of concealing it, added to his high living, induced a dis-

temper, which, when he had been a prisoner three years, carried him off in the fifty-fourth year of his age. Thus died this active prince, who had so often been at the top, and so frequently at the bottom of fortune's wheel. His death delivered *Seleucus* from all apprehensions, and not only him, but others; for his great accomplishments, his singular address, his taking presence, and above all, his extraordinary military skill, made him always formidable, though his forces were ever so weak, and the places in his possession ever so few¹.

His pomp-
ous funeral
Year of
the Flood,
2716.
Before
Christ,
283.

WHILE *Demetrius* lay in prison, many princes and states, moved with the distress of so great a prince, sued to *Seleucus* for his liberty. *Lyfimachus* only was base enough to offer him a vast sum of money to put him to death; which, with the highest indignation, *Seleucus* refused, affirming, that neither envy nor any antient antipathy inclined him to confine *Demetrius*, but only a regard to his own safety, and a just attention to reasons of state. As *Demetrius* had rendered himself very remarkable for his filial piety towards his father, so his son *Antigonus* manifested as laudable an affection towards him; for notwithstanding the letter his father had wrote him might, in the opinion of the world, have freed him from all censure, yet did he offer *Seleucus*, not only all that he held in *Greece*, but his own person in hostage, for his father's liberty; but this was refused. However, *Antigonus* continued earnestly to solicit it by the most earnest and passionate letters as long as *Demetrius* lived, going in deep mourning during that space, and never once partaking of any feasts or diversions while his father was in prison. As soon as he understood that his father's ashes were coming from *Syria*, he sailed with a noble fleet to the *Archipelago* to meet them. He then deposited them in an urn of gold, which, when he entered the harbour of *Corinth*, he placed in the poop of the royal galley, set his crown upon it, and covered it with a canopy of purple, himself standing by clad in deep mourning, and his eyes red with tears. Most of the cities of *Greece* sent chaplets to crown the urn, and deputations of their prime citizens to assist at the funeral. All the trophies of honour were left at *Corinth*, where the ceremony was performed; but the urn itself was transported to *Demetria*, a city to which the late king had given his name, which had been built under his direction, and peopled, by his command, out of the villages in the neighbourhood of *Iolchos*. Thus in his death, he was

¹ PLUT. ubi supra. JUSTIN. l. xvi.

more happy than in his life ; for all concurred in honouring the memory of those virtues which were no longer dreadful to them, and which had heretofore filled them with apprehensions, on account of the restless ambition, which, while he was living, accompanied them in the breast of the possessor, and which was held unextinguishable but by death ^k.

By the demise of *Demetrius*, the empire which his father erected in *Asia* determined, and therefore we have nothing more to add to this section, excepting a short account of the posterity which *Demetrius* left behind him. He was a prince much addicted to women, and as, like other princes, he indulged this vice by keeping many concubines, so, like the *Macedonian* kings, he scrupled not marrying several wives. The first was *Philla* the daughter of *Antipater*. She was the widow of *Craterus*, and somewhat older than agreed with the age of her husband ; however, *Antigonus* having shewed him what benefits would accrue to his family by the match, *Demetrius* was easily prevailed on to espouse her. By this lady he had *Antigonus* and *Stratonice* ; the former his successor in his *European* dominions, the latter queen of *Asia*, being the wife first of *Seleucus*, and after of his son *Antiochus*. *Demetrius* married for his second wife *Eurydice*, an *Athenian* lady, said to be descended from *Miltiades*. She too was a widow, having been first married to *Ophillas*, tyrant of *Cyrene*. She was extraordinary handsome, and her being an *Athenian* made her the more agreeable to *Demetrius*, who mightily affected that city. By this lady, some writers affirm, he had a son, named *Coriabus* ; but of this there is great doubt. About the time he was chosen captain general of *Greece* at *Corinth*, he married *Deidamia*, the daughter of *Æacidas* king of *Epirus*, and sister of *Pyrrhus*. She too was a lady celebrated for her beauty, and who very affectionately accompanied him in all his expeditions, till, through the fatigue of travelling, which suited ill with the delicacy of her constitution, she died. By this third wife he had a son named *Alexander*, who died in *Egypt*. His fourth wife was *Ptolemaida* the daughter of *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*. Her he married from motives of interest, and had by her a son named *Demetrius*, who afterwards reigned in *Cyrene*. All these wives were alive at once ; and it is said, that *Demetrius* carried himself very obligingly to them all ; but he was passionately fond of a strumpet, named *Lamia*, a woman of great art, and who touched the late to the greatest perfection. She was, however, much older than any of his

*Account of
his marriages
and
posterity.*

^k PLUT. in Demet CORN. M. r. de reg. l. c. 3.

wives, even than *Philla*; so that the satyrists of those times pretended she had enchanted the king. It is said, he once designed to have married *Cratesipolis* the widow of *Alexander* the son of *Polysperchon*, a woman more famous for her charms than her virtue; but going to make her a visit while he besieged *Megara*, he very narrowly missed being taken prisoner by one of *Cassander's* parties, being forced to change coats with a soldier in order to make his escape, which effectually took away his regard for that lady. By a *Sclavonian* concubine he had a son, whom he called *Demetrius*: And these are all his descendants of which [we have any account in history. As to his dominions they remained to *Antigonus*, of whose life and actions we shall give an exact account in the succeeding section, having already communicated to the reader all that, with propriety, could be brought within the compass of this¹.

S E C T. VIII.

The history of the kingdom of Macedon, from the death of Alexander the Great, to the conquest thereof by the Romans.

The state of Macedon at the king's decease.

THE kingdom of *Macedon*, at the time of the decease of *Alexander*, was governed by *Antipater*, yet *Craterus* was appointed him for a successor; and the general opinion is, that *Antipater*, who was directed to come with a fresh *Macedonian* army to *Babylon*, would have been disgraced, if not put to death, on account of the many complaints made against him. If this were so, the death of *Alexander* prevented that of *Antipater*, and left him possessed of his government². In writing therefore the history of *Macedon* from the demise of *Alexander*, we must begin with *Antipater* and his administration. He was a person noble by birth, of great natural abilities, heightened by an excellent education. He was the friend as well as disciple of *Aristotle*, learned, and a lover of learning; magnificent in his actions, but plain in his dress and behaviour, never varying his habit in all the time of his government, but appearing like a private person when he gave laws to kings. In few words, he had either the greatest virtues of any man of his age, or was the greatest

¹ PLUT. in vit. Demet. & Pyrrh. DIODOR. l. xix. xx. JUSTIN. l. xvii. ² ARRIAN. l. vii. CURT. l. x. JUSTIN. l. xiii c. 5. hypocrite

hypocrite in it. The former, however, seems to us to be his true character, the lustre of his good qualities being too strong to be eclipsed by the vapours of *Athenian* envy, which affected the heads of many historians, some of whose writings have lasted to our times ^b. *Philip* of *Macedon*, whose great talent was judging well of men and things, made choice of *Antipater* as his minister, and relied on him as his friend. *I have slept soundly*, said he, *for Antipater was waking*. This sentence affords us a stronger description of his abilities and fidelity, than an orator could convey in twenty pages. *Alexander* intrusted him, not only with the care of his hereditary kingdom, and the command of a great army therein, but also with the custody of *Greece*. If in this charge he had been either negligent or careless, *Alexander's* victories would have signified nothing; for the *Macedonians* would have been for returning home, as soon as ever they had heard any ill news from thence. He had, it is true, many quarrels with *Olympias*, who was a high-spirited woman, and very desirous of meddling in state affairs. *Alexander* himself approved his conduct so far, as to say on account of his mother's letters, *That he had paid dearly for the months he lay in her womb* ^c. It is certain, that she was no less angry with *Hephestion*, the most faithful friend, as well as the chief favourite, of his master. What he thought of her character, appears from a fragment of one of his letters to her, wherein he wrote thus; *Forbear your unjust reproaches; but, if you will not forbear, I care not, since Alexander must judge of all* ^d. When the news of *Parmenio's* death arrived in *Macedonia*, *Antipater* is recorded to have said, *If Parmenio conspired against Alexander, who can we trust? If he did not conspire, what shall we do?* ^e If it were not for the only chasm in *Arrian's* history, we should be able to speak more fully as to the credit *Antipater* stood in with his master at the time of his decease. As it is, we know, that it was *Arrian's* opinion, that the best historians had recorded nothing which testified the king's having any dislike to his old minister ^f. What remains of the letters of *Alexander* shews, that he kept a regular correspondence with *Antipater*, and that he gave him public marks of his esteem. There is one fragment of a letter from *Antipater* to his master, which is the noblest testimony of his extraordinary firmness and strict regard to truth. *Demetrius* had fallen under *Alexander's* displeasure, and he had written in severe terms of

^b DIONOR. l. xviii. PLUT. in vit. Alex. ARRIAN. l. vii. ^d PLUT. in vit. Alex. ^e Id. in Apophthegm. regum. ARRIAN. l. vii.

him to *Antipater* himself ; yet when *Antipater* acquainted him with the death of *Aristotle*, he gave a noble character of that philosopher, which he closed with these words: *Besides the marvellous talents wherewith the mind of that truly great man was adorned, this was peculiar to him, that he acquired the good-will of every man who knew him*^a. Having now sufficiently shewn who and what *Antipater* was, let us proceed to the history of his administration after the death of *Alexander*.

The
Greeks be-
gin the La-
mian war.
Year of
the Flood,
2678.
Before
Christ,
321.

THE *Grecians*, even in the life-time of *Alexander*, endured very unwillingly that superiority which he exercised over them ; and tho' nothing could be more gentle than the government of *Antipater* with respect to *Greece*, yet he was exceedingly hated, because he obliged them to be quiet. One of the last actions of *Alexander's* life blew the embers of sedition into a flame. He had, by an edict, directed all the cities of *Greece* to recal their exiles ; which edict, when it was published at the *olympic* games, occasioned great confusion. Many of the cities were afraid, that when the exiles returned, they would change the government ; most of them doubted their own safety in case the edict took effect, and all of them held this peremptory decree to be a total abolition of their liberty. Immediately therefore they began to levy soldiers, and to prepare for war. In these transactions the *Athenians* were extremely busy, yet they did not publicly declare themselves, till they were assured that *Alexander* was dead. Then they kept no measures ; they laid out the money, which *Harpalus* had stolen from *Alexander*, and left in their city, to hire forces^b. They exclaimed against the *Macedonians*, as a barbarous and tyrannical nation, and appointed *Leosthenes* general of their forces raised for delivering *Greece*. This man was the disciple of *Demosthenes*, and seems to have meant his country better than he was able to serve it. He was full of an enthusiastic passion for democracy, and this prompted him to talk in a very high strain in the assembly. *Phocion*, who judged better of the state of *Athens*, could not help saying to him on this occasion, *Young man, your speeches are like the cypress tree, lofty and well spread, but they bear no fruit*^c. This gentleman, however, drew together a noble army, with which he advanced towards *Theffaly*, which was the most judicious step taken in the war.

Antipater
marched
against
them.

Antipater, as soon as he was thoroughly informed of the march of the *Athenian* forces, sent over into *Asia*, to desire the assistance of the governors there. In the interim he

^a PLUT. in paral. Coriolan. cum Alcibiad.
SECVL. XVIII. ^b PLUT. in val. Phocion

^c DIONOR

marched

marched with thirteen thousand foot and six thousand horse, in order to secure *Thessaly*. He appointed *Gillas* to preside in *Macedon* during his absence, and directed him to raise forces with all imaginable diligence ; for the large draughts which *Alexander* had made rendered this a work not easily performed. A fleet of a hundred and ten galleys was likewise fitted out, under the command of *Clytus*, who, as a seaman, had served with great reputation under the late king. When *Antipater* came down into *Thessaly*, he found the inhabitants of that country still in the *Macedonian* interest, and received from them a very considerable reinforcement of horse ; yet, according to the practice of their ancestors, they acted deceitfully, and, when he wanted them most, went over to the enemy. *Leosthenes* was in possession of the *Pylæ*, or streights leading into *Greece*, where he waited for *Antipater*, who, with the small army he had, did not fail to give him battle, wherein numbers, and the skill of the mercenaries serving under *Leosthenes*, gained him the victory. *Antipater*, with the remains of his army, retired to *Lamia*, a city of some strength, and not far distant from the field of battle. This he seized, and fortified in such a manner, that tho' the victorious army attempted to storm it, yet they were unsuccessful; so that *Leosthenes* was constrained to undertake a regular siege, whereby, when he had reduced *Antipater* to great straits, himself, advancing too near the wall, was slain by a stone ; whereupon *Antiphilus* was created general in his stead. While things were in this condition, *Leonatus* arrived from *Asia* with a great army, and advanced to succour *Antipater*. *Antiphilus*, as soon as he was apprized of this, raised the siege, burnt his tents, and marched to fight the new-comers, tho' they were no less than twenty-two thousand foot and two thousand five hundred horse, most of them veterans. The battle was hard fought, and continued long ; but, through the valour of the *Thessalian* horse and the death of *Leonatus*, the *Greeks* carried the victory, and the *Macedonian* phalanx was compelled to retire into the rocky hills, where the horse could not follow them. These victories exceedingly raised the spirits of the confederates, and made them despise their enemies so much, that many of them returned home, which afterwards proved fatal to the common cause ^k.

Antipater, while he was shut up in *Lamia*, sent deputies *Thecon-* to *Athens*, to negotiate peace ; but the *Athenians* refused him *cluston of* any other terms than surrendering at discretion, and leaving *this war* ;

^k DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Phocion. & Demosthen. JUSTIN. l. xiii. c. 5.

all things to their disposal. The siege being now raised, *Antipater*, with incredible diligence, marched to the place where the remains of *Leonatus's* army was encamped, and having joined them, held the enemy in play, tho' he was not able to offer them battle. When he found the confederates pressed hard upon him, and that their chief strength consisted in their superiority of horse, he chose such a rout, as, for the most part, hindered the horse from acting; and when they might have acted with effect, he devised this method for avoiding an engagement; he directed the light-armed foot to mount, not only all the carriage-horses, but likewise all the mules and asses belonging to the army, and placing these behind the squadrons of horse which he had, the *Thessalians* concluded, that he had been reinforced with a great body of cavalry, and therefore contented themselves with observing them at a distance. At length *Craterus* arrived with a great body of forces under his command; however, he yielded the command to *Antipater* on their junction at the river *Peneus*, where there were now assembled forty thousand foot, three thousand archers, and five thousand horse. The *Greeks* had twenty-five thousand foot and three thousand five hundred horse, with which they ventured a battle. In this the *Thessalian* cavalry were at first victorious; which *Antipater* observing, he would not sustain his horse, but suffered the *Thessalians* to break them intirely. While these continued the pursuit, he, with the phalanx, bore down upon the *Grecian* foot, and defeated them with great slaughter. The *Macedonian* horse formed behind their victorious battalions, and the *Thessalians* fearing they should be surrounded, retired hastily, in order to join their foot. After this defeat, *Antipater* held a council of war, wherein it was put to the vote, whether they should continue in the field, or think of treating. It was carried for the latter, and deputies were instantly sent to *Antipater*; but the *Grecian* generals were exceedingly surprised to hear on their return, that the *Macedonian* would treat separately with the cities, or not at all; which proposition they rejected¹.

Peace
granted to
the Athe-
nians.

Antipater and *Craterus*, perceiving that the confederate army was too weak to give them battle, began to besiege the cities in the neighbourhood, and having reduced many of them, treated the inhabitants with much severity. This so affrighted the states confederated with the *Athenians*, that they immediately made peace on the best terms they could. The *Athenians* and *Ætolians* alone stood out; upon which *Antipater* and

¹ DIODOR. SICUL ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Demosthen.

Craterus advanced towards *Athens*. The citizens of that famous place found themselves now in no condition to resist him, their fleet, which they had fitted out at a vast expence, under the command of *Eetion*, having been twice defeated by *Clytus*. In this distress the *Peloponnesians* might have succoured and preserved them; but, either through jealousy or a panic fear, they remained motionless, and left the *Athenians* to their fate. In this distress they turned their eyes on *Phocion*, and demanded his advice. To what end, said he, *Athenians*, should I advise you? If you had not rejected my counsels, you had not been this day in this distress. They then called upon *Demades*, who had always been in the *Macedonian* interest. He proposed a decree, by which *Demosthenes* was condemned to death; but he was already fled. He then desired, that deputies might be sent to *Antipater*, himself and *Phocion* being of the number. When they arrived, *Antipater* would hear of no other terms than those offered to him at *Lamia*, viz. that they should yield themselves intirely to his mercy and suffer their affairs to be settled at his pleasure. With these hard terms they were constrained to comply. *Phocion* besought *Antipater* that peace might be concluded where he then was, i. e. in *Bæotia*, which *Craterus* said was unreasonable, since their army must subsist all that time in the country of their friends, whereas nothing hindered their living at discretion in *Attica* (A). To this

Antipater

(A) *Xenocrates* was a very eminent philosopher, the disciple and successor of *Plato*, alike remarkable for his wisdom in words, and for the probity of his actions. Many years before this he had been sent ambassador to *Antipater* in *Macedonia*, to intreat him to set at liberty some *Athenian* prisoners. On his arrival, before he had his audience, *Antipater* invited him to an entertainment. *Xenocrates* answered him in these verses of *Homer*, (spoken by *Ulysses* to *Circe*, when she pressed him to eat of the dainties set before him :

*Ill fits it me, whose friends are sunk to beasts,
To quaff thy bowls, or riot in thy feasts.
Me wouldst thou please, for them thy cares employ,
And them to me restore, and me to joy (1).*

Antipater was so well pleased with his presence of mind, and happy application of these verses, that, without more ado, he set the *Athenians* free. On this occasion he did not behave so obligingly,

(1) *Od. l. x.*

Antipater replied, that he was in the right ; yet, said he, let us grant this, because it is asked by *Phocion*. When the *Athenians* had consented to submit themselves to his pleasure, *Antipater* granted them the following terms ; that the ancient way of raising taxes in the city should be restored ; that they should receive a garison into the fort *Munichia*, and maintain it at their own charge ; that they should pay the expence of the war ; and that they should deliver up the orators *Hyperides* and *Demosthenes*. *Phocion* earnestly begged the city might be excused from the garison. *I would willingly grant this also to your friendship*, said *Antipater*, *but I know it is not either convenient for you or for me*. By which he meant, that, without a garison, the *Athenians* would never be kept either in dependence on the *Macedonians*, or at quiet among themselves. In consequence of this treaty, the popular government in *Athens* was abrogated, and such only permitted a share therein as had competent estates ; upon which *twenty-two thousand* of the inhabitants retired from the city, and had estates assigned them in the territories of *Macedon*, where they settled, and lived very happily. As for the rest of the *Athenians*, they were constrained to return to *Solon's* model of government, and, in short, were compelled by *Antipater*, much against their will, to be rich and quiet. With the same equity and moderation he settled the rest of the *Grecian* states, who, at first, grudged his power, and

for knowing that *Xenocrates* was warmly affected to the democracy, he passed him by, when he kindly saluted all the rest of the deputies ; which when the philosopher observed, he could not help saying, *Antipater* does well thus to distinguish me from the rest, as if before *Xenocrates* only he was ashamed of the injustice he is about to do the *Athenians*. When the government was afterwards settled, *Phocion* would willingly have had *Xenocrates* accept the freedom of the city, which he refused : *I will not*, said he, *submit myself to an administration which I do not like, and the establishment which I oppose* (2). Afterwards growing so poor that he could not pay his tribute, the *Athenians*, with shameless ingratitude, condemned him to be sold for a slave, which was accordingly done. *Demetrius* the *Phalerean* bought him, restoring him to his liberty, and paying his price into the public treasury. He was a great writer, for we have the titles of above sixty treatises which he composed. He died at fourscore and two, falling in the night with his head into a basin of water, whereby he was suffocated (3).

(2) *Plut. in vit. Phocion*
erat.

(3) *Diogen. Laert. in vit. Xeno-*

complained heavily of the infringments made on their liberty ; but, by degrees, they became better satisfied, and at last honoured him as the *father* and *protector* of *Greece*. On his return to *Macedon*, he and his son-in-law *Craterus*, who had just married his daughter *Philla*, turned their arms against the *Ætolians*, who alone refused to be comprehended in the peace, and kept a considerable army in the field. These, with much trouble, they reduced in the winter to great straits ; but while they were preparing for the sieges of their principal cities, *Antigonus* arrived from *Asia*, with an account of *Perdiccas's* designs, insisting particularly on his slighting *Nicæa* the daughter of *Antipater*, and on his ordering *Cynane* the sister of *Alexander* to be put to death. *Antipater* and *Craterus* instantly made peace with the *Ætolians*, that they might be at leisure to attend to their own concerns, and prevent *Perdiccas* from becoming their sovereign, under colour of being protector of the kings. With this view they entered into a league with *Ptolemy*, and began to assemble an army in order to pass into *Asia* ^m.

WHEN all things were ready, and the season of the year permitted, *Antipater* and *Craterus* transported their forces into *Asia*, leaving the care of *Macedon* and *Greece* to *Polyperchon*. On their arrival in *Asia*, *Antipater* resolved to march with part of the forces into *Cilicia*, that he might be able to assist *Ptolemy*, in case *Perdiccas* was too hard for him ; and *Craterus* with the other moiety marched against *Eumenes*. *Antipater*, not long after this division of their forces, received the melancholy news of the defeat and death of his son-in-law, whereby his favourite daughter *Philla* was left a widow ⁿ. It is said this lady was endowed by nature with such extraordinary qualities, that her father, who was otherwise a very close man, yet was wont to consult her even while she was a girl. Her conduct in the time of both her husbands was extremely remarkable, for she spent her whole time in acts of beneficence ; she had the wives and daughters of the officers of the army continually about her. As her own behaviour was very exact, she kept a strict eye upon theirs, at the same time she relieved their wants, gave portions to their daughters, and was their patroness in all their affairs. The death of her husband *Craterus* did not greatly affect *Antipater's* interest ; for *Perdiccas* being shortly

Antipater and Craterus pass over into Asia.

^m ARRIAN. apud Phot. cod. xcii. DIODOR. SICUL. l. xviii. JUSTIN. l. xiii. PLUT. in Demosthen. & Phocion. " PLUT. in vit. Eumen. DIODOR. ubi supra.

after slain in *Egypt*, he was sent for to the army in *Syria*, where *Aridæus* and *Pithon* abdicating their offices as protectors of the kings, *Antipater* succeeded by common consent. At first *Eurydice* the wife of *Philip* created him a great deal of trouble, and even endangered his life; but, by degrees, he got over this, and not only conciliated the affection of the soldiers, but acquired also the esteem of *Eurydice* herself. In fine, after he had settled all things in *Asia* in the best method possible, and had left his son *Cassander* to be a check upon *Antigonus*, he set out with the kings to return to *Macedonia*, the army being perfectly well satisfied with his conduct, and the friends of the royal family hoping all things from his protection °.

The Ætolians invade Thessaly.

WHILE he and *Craterus* were in *Asia*, the *Ætolians*, who had secretly entered into a league with *Perdiccas*, broke into the territories of *Macedon* with a great army, and committed excessive depredations, in revenge for what they had suffered the winter before. *Polycles* commanded in those parts for *Antipater*, and had with him a considerable body of troops. He, in attempting to repel the *Ætolians*, was drawn by them to an engagement, wherein his army was routed, and himself slain. The *Ætolians*, while they were consulting how to prosecute this victory, received advice, that the *Acarnanians* had entered their country, and had begun to commit horrible devastations therein. To expel these invaders the *Ætolians* marched home; but they left the forces of their confederates in *Thessaly*, under the command of *Menon*, an officer of great skill and courage. *Polysperchon*, who, as we observed, commanded in *Macedon* in the absence of *Antipater*, immediately took advantage of this division, and, while the *Ætolians* were busy in expelling their domestic enemies, he, by forced marches, came down into *Thessaly*, and, before *Menon* could be properly supported, fell upon him and his troops, and cut them to pieces. By this blow the power of the *Ætolians* was intirely broken, and the peace of *Macedon* restored ^p.

The Athenians seek to be eased of their garison.

Antipater, on his return, brought with him the kings into *Macedon*, and treated them there with all imaginable respect. The *Athenians* were very earnest with *Phocion*, whose interest with *Antipater* they knew to be great, to obtain of him the dismission of their garison; but *Phocion*, who saw clearly that this garison was more useful to the public than to

° ARRIAN. ubi supra. DIODOR. ubi supra.
SICUL. ubi supra. JERIN. ubi supra.

^p DIODOR.

Antipater, declined the commission ; yet the recalling many of the exiles, and other good things he both asked and obtained of *Antipater*, with whom he had indeed a very great interest. *Menillus*, who commanded in the fort, and was both a generous and a good-natured man, offered *Phocion*, who had but a small estate, a sum of money. *My circumstances*, answered the patriot, *are neither worse than they were, nor are you greater than Alexander the son of Philip, from whom I refused to accept the same favour.* And when he was once requested to do somewhat that was wrong in his opinion, for the service of the *Macedonians*, *Antipater*, said he, *cannot have me for his friend and his flatterer.* This the *Macedonian* chief knew as well as he ; for it was a common saying with him, *That he had two friends at Athens, one who would take nothing, and another who never thought he had enough*⁹. The former was *Phocion*, the latter *Demades*, an orator of some reputation, and who had been all his life in the interest of *Macedon*. It was this man on whom the *Athenians* cast their eyes, when *Phocion* absolutely refused to have any thing to do with the affair of the garison ; and in an ill hour for himself and his family *Demades* undertook it, having, for the greater honour, his son *Demias* joined with him in commission^r.

NOT long after his return to *Macedon*, *Antipater* was *The death* attacked by a dangerous disease, which added to his years, *of Anti-* for he was now fourscore, left him little hopes of life. He *pater.* behaved himself in the last moments of his life with the same firmness, and the same regard to his reputation, which he had shewn in all the actions of his life. His great offices of *protector* and *governor* of *Macedon* he bequeathed to *Poly-sperchon*, the eldest of *Alexander's* captains at hand, and of whom *Antipater* had a much better opinion than he deserved. His eldest son *Cassander* *Antipater* appointed to be a *chiliarch* or *colonel* of a thousand men, a command in those times infinitely more considerable than now^s. A little before his death, *Demades* had audience of *Antipater*, and was kindly received ; however, as to the garison, nothing was determined ; but at the request of *Phocion*, signified by letter, the *Athenians* had a further day given them for the payment of their subsidies. Thus, full of years and glory in a time of full peace and serenity, procured chiefly by his own wisdom and prudence, *Antipater* expired ; of whom, had we

⁹ PLUT. in vit. Phocion.^r DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.^s DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.

nothing else to say, what *Tacitus* observed of *Galba* might properly be applied to him, and sufficiently distinguish his character to posterity; *Non in domo successorem quaesivit, sed in republica. In the choice of a successor he regarded not his family, but the commonweal* (B).

Demades
and his son
slain.

BEFORE *Antipater* was well dead, *Cassander* in his name sent for *Demades* the *Athenian* ambassador, who with his son *Demias* readily came, and began to expostulate on the busi-

† *TACIT. Hist. lib. i. c. 15.*

(B) We have no where the reasons assigned us, why *Antipater* excluded his son *Cassander* from the administration, but they are not hard to be guessed. First, he was his son, and in all probability the father thought it unworthy of him to aggrandize his own family at the expence of his master's. Secondly, *Polysperchon's* age, experience, and his late exploit against the *Ætolians* might induce *Antipater* to think he would prove a worthy guardian of the kings. There might be a third reason, which was *Cassander's* ambition, and his having a private intrigue with *Eurydice* the wife of king *Philip*, who had as good or a better right to the crown than her husband, which might make the good old man less careful of his son's interest than otherwise he would have been. However it was, he shewed his love for his country, not only in his impartiality, but also in the advice he gave to him whom he designed his successor. On no account, said he, suffer a woman to have any concerns in the affairs of state; their abilities are by no means suited to such arduous concerns; for being slaves to their passions, to indulge them they throw all things into confusion (4). This was understood to point at *Olympias*, who during his administration had dwelt in *Epirus*. It is true, he had great reason to dislike her, as well on account of the trouble she had given him, as out of regard to his beloved master *Philip*, whose second wife she had murdered, and whose child by her she broiled between two copper plates; even in *Epirus*, she affected to govern all things, and therefore her son *Alexander* commended her for going thither, because, said he, the *Macedonians* would never bear the government of a woman. Yet it may be, *Antipater's* counsel was general, which was more becoming him, and no less founded on fact; for besides the trouble he had had through *Olympias*, *Cleopatra* the sister of *Alexander* had afforded him no small disquiet, and *Eurydice* had once put him in the utmost danger of his life (5); he might well therefore have no great opinion of women's intermeddling with state affairs. We shall shortly see how deeply the *Macedonians* suffered from the neglect of *Antipater's* maxim.

(4) *Diodor. Sicul. lib. xviii.*

(5) *Arrian. ap. Plot. Jaf.*

ness of the garison. *Cassander*, giving little heed to what he said, ordered his son to be put to death in his presence, and when he had given him a little time to feel the affliction of a father, he first loaded him with bitter reproaches, and then caused him also to be slain. The reason of this extraordinary proceeding was, that, among the papers of *Perdiccas*, there had been found a letter written to him by *Demades*, pressing *Perdiccas* to make haste into Greece; the affairs of which hung at present, he said, on an old rotten thread; so he was pleased to characterize *Antipater*, from whom he had begged, and from whom he had received so much. It is but just we should inform the reader that authors vary about this fact; *Diodorus* says, that *Demades* was put to death by *Antipater*. *Plutarch* and other authors ascribe his punishment to *Cassander*: Some also say, the letter was written to *Antigonus*, and not to *Perdiccas*; but this is improbable, and therefore, having well considered its circumstances, we have stated the fact as it appears to us. Cruel without doubt it was, yet it cannot be denied, that *Demades*, who was a venal orator, and who scrupled not to employ his eloquence against the interest of his country, met with no worse fate than he deserved^u.

Polyperchon was now at the head of affairs, governor general of *Macedon*, and protector of the kings; which high offices he derived from the good opinion which *Antipater* had conceived of him. He was a man of indifferent parts, more capable of following directions, than of giving them, one extremely formal in his manner of transacting business, being conversant in nothing but forms. In a word, he was far from being honest, steady, or wise, and yet a great pretender to probity, fortitude, and policy. He had a son named *Alexander*, more active, and of better abilities, though not a grain more virtuous than himself. The first step he took in his government was to call a general council; as the first step taken in that council was to set aside *Antipater's* dying counsel, by recalling *Olympias*, which they not only did, but put *Alexander* the son of *Roxana* under her care, at least they promised so to do, hoping that the majesty of the mother of *Alexander* would add a lustre to their administration. A measure, which, considered in one light, seems just and honourable; but in another shews, that *Polyperchon* and his council were sensible of some imbecillity in themselves. The queen, however, who knew she was safe in *Epirus*, and knew not what might befall her in *Macedon*, made no great haste, but took time to consider the matter herself, and to consult with

Projects of the new administration in Macedon.

^u DIODOR. ubi supra. PLUT. in vita Phocion.

her friends. However, she communicated her thoughts upon all occasions to *Polyperchon*, and so held immediately a considerable share in the administration. *Cassander* was little thought of in these proceedings; and it appeared plainly, that the new government had very little regard for the friends of the old one, which of consequence created a multitude of malecontents, and afforded colour for certain subsequent transactions, which otherwise would have been of too dark a hue to have borne the light. For as great politicians have a faculty of making all events contribute to their ends, so there are a tribe of wrong-headed statesmen, who obstinately pursue those tracks which lead directly from the ends at which they aim; such were *Polyperchon* and his council w.

*The views
of Cassan-
der.*

As soon as *Cassander* considered the state in which he stood, he saw, or at least he thought he saw, reason to be displeased with his father's disposition of affairs. He formed a just idea of *Polyperchon's* character, and drew from thence very dismal apprehensions of what might befall himself, his family, and their dependants. Besides, his ambition prompted him to attempt the recovery of that command, of which his father's will had deprived him, and at the same time it opened his eyes to methods by which it might be obtained. These things having a while revolved in his own breast, he engaged some of his friends to accompany him into the country under colour of diverting themselves with hunting; but in truth to confer with them on his design. When they were at a distance from court he opened to them his project, having first strongly possessed them with the common danger they were all in from the propensity of *Polyperchon* to *Olympias*, the antient and implacable enemy of *Antipater* and all his friends. He then shewed them, that *Antigonus*, *Ptolemy*, and *Lysimachus* would, from their respective interests, become the enemies of *Polyperchon*, because, as protector of the kings, he would claim a superiority over them; from whence he inferred they would be friends to themselves, if they declared against *Polyperchon*. It is uncertain, whether at first he communicated his intention of absolutely supplanting the protector, or whether he pretended only to aspire to such a degree of power as might enable him to protect himself, his family, and their friends; however it was, his discourses procured him a multitude of creatures, who readily obeyed his dictates, and took such steps as he directed them; and if things began to go well at home, they went still better abroad, for *Antigonus*, and the rest of the princes, promised

w DIONOR. ubi supra. PLUT. in vita Demet. JUSTIN. l. xiv
hunc

him their utmost assistance as soon as it was asked, in consequence, as they pretended, of their extraordinary love for his father ; but, in truth, because they hated *Polyperchon*, and were desirous to prevent his looking abroad, by finding him troublesome scenes enow at home *.

WHILE *Cassander* was busied in carrying his schemes into *Polyperchon's* execution, *Polyperchon* held another grand council, wherein it was resolved to displace all the governors appointed by *Antipater* in *Greece*, and to set up the democracy where-ever it had been abolished. In order to carry this scheme into execution, a very gracious proclamation was drawn, and sent to *Athens*, and to the rest of the cities. It remains entire in *Diodorus*, and will be an everlasting monument of the genius of *Polyperchon* and his ministers. The body of the edict is full of royal authority, and extraordinary stretches of power, yet the preamble and conclusion declare its intention to be the restoring liberty to the *Greeks*, and at the same time the old regency is loaded with grievous accusations. This edict produced, what in all probability it was intended to produce, confusions every-where ; for the people, under colour of its authority, would no longer obey their magistrates, and the magistrates were no where well inclined to trust themselves to the government of the people. But the point of dismissing governors, which was the main thing the edict was calculated for, it could not produce, for the governors were least of all willing to submit to the execution of a decree by which they were to be cashiered ; they therefore demurred at first, and at last applied to *Cassander*. In this nice conjuncture all eyes were upon *Athens*, for as it was the most considerable garison, so if *Nicanor*, who commanded there, had immediately evacuated the fort, it would have gone a great way towards the carrying the edict into execution elsewhere. But he at first expressed a sort of dissidence as to the authority of *Polyperchon*, and afterwards, when he received letters from *Olympias*, he spun out negotiations with the *Athenians*, till he had thoroughly recruited his garison ; and then, instead of quitting *Munichia*, he unexpectedly forced on *Pyraeus*. The *Athenians*, provoked by this usage, which they were not able to revenge upon *Nicanor*, turned their fury on their own citizens, and instantly proscribed *Phocion*, with several other persons of distinction, who had conferred with *Nicanor*, tho' they were not culpable in the least. These unhappy persons retired for shelter to *Alexander* the son of

* *Diodor.* ubi supra. *Justin.* ubi supra. *Plut.* in *Demet.* & *Phocion*.

Polysperchon, who had then entered *Attica* with an army. As he drew near *Athens*, the citizens also sent deputies to press him immediately to besiege *Nicanor*, in order to restore them their forts. But *Alexander* had by this time other notions in his head; he knew the *Athenians* too well to think of trusting them, and therefore he began to enter into a treaty with *Nicanor*, not for his evacuating the forts, but for his coming over to his father *Polysperchon*, in keeping them for him, in which, however, he succeeded not. By this time *Polysperchon* himself was at hand with a great army, having with him king *Aridæus* or *Philip*. To him his son *Alexander* sent *Phocion*, and his friends, with letters of recommendation, *Dinarchus* the *Corinthian*, *Polysperchon*'s old and intimate friend, going with them. At their heels came deputies from *Athens*, charging them with treason against the state. *Polysperchon* was at first extremely perplexed how he should behave himself on this occasion. His son had engaged his faith to the exiles, but himself conceived that his interest would be best promoted by his siding with the *Athenians*; fickle in his sentiments, and sanguine in all his measures, he no sooner conceived this, than he ordered his old acquaintance *Dinarchus* to be first tortured, and then put to death, and, after affording *Phocion* and his friends a pretended hearing, at which the foolish king attempted to strike *Phocion* through with his lance, the exiles were condemned, and then transmitted to *Athens*, where the people were giddy enough to mistake for a mark of liberty their being made the executioners of a sentence pronounced in another court. In short, *Phocion* was murdered, and *Polysperchon* highly cried up; but in the mean time *Nicanor* maintained himself in *Munichia* and in the *Pyræus*, and advice came, that *Cassander*, who was fled to *Antigonus*, had been furnished by him with considerable assistance, and was on the very point of embarking for *Athens* †.

Cassander
prevails in
Greece.
Year of
the Flood,
2681.
Before
Christ,
318.

It was among the number of the great slips in policy made by the new administration in *Macedon*, that after so openly attacking the dependants of *Antipater*, and taking *Olympias* into a share of the administration, they yet suffered *Cassander* to withdraw, which he did as soon as he had settled matters at home, and went immediately to the court of *Antigonus*; there he was received with high honours, and had mighty promises made to him, part of which were fulfilled, not for his sake, but that a war might be kindled in *Greece* while *Antigonus* totally subdued *Asia*. The forces lent *Cassander* were

† DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. PLUT. in *Phocion*.

not great, but to a man of his spirit any assistance was considerable. As soon therefore as he had received them, he sailed for *Athens*, and entering the *Pyræus* with his small fleet, was received by *Nicanor*. *Polyperchon* instantly resolved to shut up his competitor in that city, and to put a short end to the war by its reduction. For this purpose he assembled a great army, with which he marched to *Athens*; but forgetting that *Attica* was never over-fruitful, he found himself in a short time so distressed for provisions, that he was constrained to abandon his design, and therefore leaving his son *Alexander* with a competent army to observe the motions of *Cassander*, he with the major part of his forces marched into *Peloponnesus*, where he knew *Cassander* had many friends. When he entered *Peloponnesus* he had recourse once more to his edicts, whereby such as had born offices in the cities under the administration of *Antipater* were roundly condemned to banishment or death, merely for having born offices. This decree the people in most places put in execution, so that discord, slaughter, and confusion, was effectually spread all about. The *Megalopolitans* only had wit enough to avoid these dissentions, and the magistrates and people agreeing, they retained their old government, and dwelt in peace. This was high treason in the sight of *Polyperchon*; he said they had contravened his edict, that they were associates with *Cassander*, and that for these reasons they ought to be made a public example of as common enemies to the *Greeks*. When the *Megalopolitans* heard this, they withdrew all their effects out of the country, fortified their city, and having mustered their fighting men, found their number to be fifteen thousand; and confiding in their own strength, determined to abide a siege. *Polyperchon*, to make good his threats, came with the king and all his army before the city, having with him also a great number of elephants. The first thing he did was to cause the wall to be undermined, which his engineers performed so effectually, that when the besieged least expected it, three towers with all the wall between them fell down. *Polyperchon* then led his army to the assault, which proved very obstinate and bloody; but in the end the *Megalopolitans* repulsed the besiegers, and while their men were fighting, the women and children threw up an intrenchment of earth and rubbish within the breach. *Polyperchon* determined to attack the place a second time, and to make use of his elephants, the news of which terrified the citizens exceedingly. It happened there was amongst them one *Damides*, who had served under *Alexander*; this man undertook for the elephants,

which put his countrymen again in heart. The method he used was this ; he took broad pieces of strong plank, into each of which he struck several iron spikes, these he fixed in the ground within the breach, and covered them lightly with rubbish ; then he drew up the citizens, not in front, but in flank on each side of the breach, and so attended the enemy. *Polyperchon's* troops advanced in excellent order, having the elephants before them ; these being forced by their riders upon the breach, stuck their feet upon the spikes, and were unable to proceed further. The citizens galling them and their riders with stones and darts, many of the beasts fell down, and the rest, growing unruly, turned upon their own men, and trod them under foot. The army seeing this refused to storm the place, so that *Polyperchon*, leaving a corps of horse and foot to block up the city, marched away with much disgrace. In the interim, *Clytus* the admiral had beat *Nicanor*, whom *Cassander* had sent from *Athens* with his fleet ; but after this, lying carelessly at *Byzantium*, *Antigonus* privately sent over light-armed troops in barks, and then having refitted *Nicanor's* fleet, commanded him to attack *Clytus* again, and be assured of victory. This he accordingly did, and, to his great surprize, found him already attacked from the shore, so that he easily and intirely defeated them, *Clytus* himself being killed, not in the fight indeed, but afterwards by the soldiers of *Lyfimachus*. When this news came to *Polyperchon*, he resolved to march back into *Macedon*, for he saw clearly that *Cassander* would be too many for him in *Greece* ².

Nicanor
slain by
Cassander.

Nicanor, after the great victory he had obtained, returned to *Athens* in triumph, and resumed his government : Soon after the *Athenians* were reconciled to *Cassander*, who greatly esteemed *Nicanor* for the service he had done him. But when he was privately informed that he intended to set up for himself, and saw that he made a difficulty of admitting him into the forts, he posted some soldiers in an empty house in the night, and having invited *Nicanor* thither to confer with him, surprized and put him to death. *Cassander* then treated the *Athenians* with much candor and generosity : He appointed *Demetrius* the *Phalcrean*, a person of the highest quality, the greatest abilities, and the utmost moderation, their governor ; under whom the city and citizens received greater advantages than under any former government before, or even in the days of their greatest freedom. This important place secured, *Cassander* applied himself to the settling the rest of *Greece* ³.

² DIODOR. SICUL. & PLUT. ubi supra.

³ Universal History, Vol. VI. p. 264 DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.

ABOUT this time *Olympias* prepared for her return into *Olympias Macedonia*, concerning which, as we have elsewhere observ- *returns to*
ed, she wrote to *Eumenes*. He in his answer advised her in *Macedon*,
the first place not to be too hasty in her resolution, and in *and acts*
the next to forget all the injuries she had received, and to *with the*
behave herself mildly to every body, in case she thought fit to *utmost*
return. Both these cautions she neglected; for, without *cruelty.*
waiting till the war was ended, she with some *Epirots*, whom
her brother sent to escort her, went to join *Polyperchon*,
when she knew he was returning into *Macedon*; and as soon
as she came there, she discovered such a haughty and over-
bearing spirit, as struck even those who wished her well with
amazement. As for *Eurydice* the wife of *Philip*, she rightly
conceived that *Olympias* would never be at peace, as long as
her husband lived and enjoyed the regal title. She therefore
wrote to *Cassander*, beseeching him with all diligence
to come to her assistance, and likewise sent letters to *Polyper-*
chon, requiring him in the king's name to deliver up the ar-
my to *Cassander*. At the same time she neglected not taking
more effectual methods for the security of her own and king
Philip's person. She had observed, that the *Macedonians* lov-
ed him, and that they had a great respect for her. She like-
wise depended on the interest of *Antipater's* family, and there-
fore she had recourse to all the arts of persuasion, in order to
raise a force sufficient to defend herself and her friends, till
Cassander should arrive. This point, as she imagined, she
accomplished with great ease. The *Macedonians* readily arm-
ed at her request, and in a very small space she drew together
more than seemed sufficient to guard her. When therefore
Olympias advanced with *Polyperchon* and his army, she, like
a courageous lady, led out her's. Thus a civil war was kin-
dled in *Macedon* by two heroines, each willing to put her own
and the kingdom's fate on the hazard of a battle. But when
the armies drew near each other, the soldiers, who should
have fought for *Eurydice*, struck with the awful majesty of
Olympias, the widow of *Philip* and the mother of *Alexander*,
went over to her immediately, and thereby put an end to the
dispute. *Olympias* had it now in her power to have settled
all things, if she had remembered the advice of *Eumenes*. Her
passions, which were not of the mildest sort, had always go-
verned her, and governed her now. King *Philip* and his
wife *Eurydice* she imprisoned in a room so small, that they
could scarce turn themselves in it, and caused them to be fed
with very ordinary provisions through a hole. *Nicanor* the
son of *Antipater* she put to death, and with him no less than
an hundred persons, his relations and friends; she then caused
the

the tomb of his brother *Iollas* to be broke open, and his remains to be thrown into the public street. Perceiving that the people were not over pleased with these proceedings, and that they began to commiserate the condition of king *Philip* and his wife, she resolved to have them both dispatched. In order to this, certain *Thracians* armed with poignards entered the place of their confinement, and with numberless wounds laid the king dead upon the floor. Then a messenger presented *Eurydice* with a dagger, a rope, and a cup of poison, telling her, that *Olympias* left it to her choice by which she would die; *I pray the gods*, said she, *that Olympias may have the like present made her*; she then tore her linen, bound up the bleeding wounds of her husband, and covered his body; after which, without any womanish complaining, she strangled herself with her own garter. Thus, when he had reigned about seven years, *Aridæus* lost his life through her who in his childhood had deprived him of his wits; and *Eurydice*, the hereditary heiress of the *Macedonian* crown, was murdered by her who was mother to the murderer of her father. In the days of *Philip* this sort of policy was not understood: He married his own daughter to *Amyntas* his elder brother's son, and from this match sprung *Eurydice*. *Alexander*, to leave all safe behind him when he went into *Asia*, caused *Amyntas* to be murdered, and *Perdiccas* began his regency with the murder of *Cynane* the wife of *Amyntas*. However, *Roxana* and her young son *Alexander* found a protectress in *Olympias*, who took upon herself the administration as guardian to her grand-child ^b.

^a *Ender* *Cassander*, as soon as he received the letters of *Eurydice*, and immediately after them the ill news of what had happened in *Macedon*, prepared instantly for his return into his own country, leaving the *Greeks* for a time to take care of themselves. When he came to the streights of *Thermopylæ*, he found the *Thessalians* all in arms to oppose his passage. Revenge being more powerful with him than glory, he contrived not how to fight the enemy, but how to escape them; wherefore collecting all the ships, barks, and boats, which were to be found in the neighbouring cities, he imbarqued his forces on board them, and safely transported them into *Thessaly*. Thence marching into *Macedonia*, he determined to leave half his forces under the command of *Callas*, to hold *Polyperchon* in play, while himself pursued and shut up *Olympias*. His design succeeded perfectly well, for *Callas* effectually baffled *Polyperchon*, and *Olympias* with strange imprudence shut up herself. For she, after all her cruelties, relied entirely on the love of

^b DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. JUSTIN. lib. xiv. c. 5.

the *Macedonians*, and, having once prevailed by the majesty of her appearance, was more sollicitous about forming a court than an army, of which, however, she had some appearance, and also the elephants with her. Going in progress to the principal cities, she carried with her her daughter *Roxana*, her grandson *Alexander*, her niece *Deidamia*, *Thejtalonica* the sister of *Alexander*, and many other persons of great quality, with whom, on the news of *Cassander's* approach, she shut herself up in the city of *Pydna*, a sea-port strongly fortified. *Cassander* quickly appeared before the place, and invested it by land, at the same time that he shut up the port by sea. The besieged were very soon in want of provisions, yet, encouraged by the presence of so many great personages, they held out obstinately; *Olympias* assuring them, that her brother *Æacidas* was coming out of *Epirus* with a great army to her assistance, which was true. *Cassander* had advice thereof as early as she, and he provided very effectually against it. He sent troops to block up the passages from *Epirus*, which when the troops of king *Æacidas* found, they began to doubt the success of the war, and, which was more, their own safety. They therefore resolved on a course, which to them appeared short and salutary; they mutinied, deposed their king, and submitted themselves to *Cassander*. *Olympias* had now none to depend on but *Polysperchon*; out of whose power *Callas* had put it to render her much assistance; for, by throwing about manifestoes, reflecting on the cruelty of her administration, he had debauched the greatest part of *Polysperchon's* soldiers; so that, instead of being able to succour his mistress, he had much ado to defend himself. In the city of *Pydna* the court fed on horse-flesh, the soldiers on their dead companions, and the elephants on saw-dust. In this miserable situation numbers deserted to *Cassander*, who treated all with lenity who were not concerned in the late murders. *Olympias* at last wrote to *Polysperchon*, requesting him to send her a bark of fifty oars to convey her away in the night. The bearer of this letter fell into the hands of *Cassander*, who commanded him to proceed in his journey, and not to mention his being taken. At the time appointed *Polysperchon* sent the galley, and gave notice of it to *Olympias*; but *Cassander*, knowing also when it would arrive, seized it. *Olympias* not finding the vessel as she expected, gave up all hopes, and, without waiting any longer, surrendered the place and her person to *Cassander*. This determined the fate of *Macedonia*; for *Pella* the capital presently surrendered; and *Aristonus*, who with a body of troops lay in *Amphipolis*, at the command of *Olympias*, yielded the city to *Cassander*, and

and was immediately afterwards killed by some whom he had injured while he commanded there. Now it was that the last scene of the old queen's life came on : She was accused before the assembly of the *Macedonians* by the relations of the persons she had slain, and, without being heard in her defence, was condemned to die. *Cassander* upon this sent to advise her to make her escape to *Athens*, offering her a ship and equipage safely to transport her thither ; but she refused to fly ; and said, she was ready to answer before the *Macedonians* for all she had done. *Cassander* did not care to trust to this, so he sent a band of two hundred soldiers to put her to death. These, when they came into her presence, drew back, and were afraid to execute their orders ; but the kindred of those she had murdered being with them, fell upon her, and cut her throat. She died with great resolution ; but it is said, that *Cassander* suffered her body to lie some time above ground, probably to revenge the injury she had offered to the ashes of his brother. It is likewise alledged, that he did not advise her to fly out of pity, but that he might have an opportunity of putting her to death as a person self-condemned, who fled from justice. Immediately after her decease, he sent *Roxana* and her son *Alexander* to *Amphipolis*, where they were made prisoners ; he likewise deprived the boy of his companions who had been bred up with him, and ordered that for the future he should be treated as a private person. Thus the line of *Alexander* was set aside in *Macedon*, and his son and his successor imprisoned in the very city where his army rendezvoused, when he marched to conquer *Asia* ^c.

Cassander
assumes the
govern-
ment in
Macedon.

Cassander having now provided for his safety, turned all his thoughts to the settlement of the kingdom. In the first place, he married *Theffalonica* the daughter of *Philip* of *Macedon*, who had fallen into his hands at the surrender of *Pydna*. He next caused the bodies of *Philip* and *Eurydice*, together with that of *Cynane* her mother, to be taken up ; and having conveyed them with mighty pomp to *Ægis*, he caused them there to be interred in the royal sepulchres, instituting funeral games in honour of the dead. He then built a new city in *Pallene*, which he called by his own name, *Cassandria*, and peopled it from the *Chersonese* ; inviting also the remnant of the *Olynthians* to settle therein, adding to this place so large and fair a territory, that it quickly grew to be the greatest city in *Macedonia* ; he also re-edified many cities, and shewed evidently a disposition to restore peace and plenty to his native

^c DIONOR. SIC. ubi supra PLUT. in vit Demet JUSTIN ubi supra.

country. *Epirus* he governed by *Lyciscus* his lieutenant, which was the more extraordinary, because from the days of *Pyrrhus* to this time the government had been hereditary, and the *Epirots* had never presumed to treat their kings with contempt. As to *Æacidas*, he fled to *Polyperchon*, and with him, when things were grown desperate in *Macedon*, retired into *Greece*; and at length to the *Ætolians*, the implacable enemies of all *Antipater's* family ^d.

Cassander, when he had tolerably settled the peace of *Ma-* *Returns*
cedon, resolved to return into *Greece*, in order to drive thence *into*
Polyperchon, his son *Alexander*, and the rest of his enemies. *Greece*.
This resolution once taken, he raised a fine army, and there-
with marched down into *Thessaly*, where he found the *Pylæ*
shut up by the *Ætolians*. However, he forced the pass, and
came down with his forces into *Bæotia*, and proceeded to the
ruins of *Thebes*. The sight of them put him in mind of the
power and splendor of that antient city, and these thoughts
easily led him to the project of restoring it. With this view
he recalled all the *Thebans* who were scattered throughout
Greece: He requested also the rest of the *Bæotians* to assist
him in so good a work, which not only they, but all the cities
of *Greece*, readily did, so that in a short space the walls were
finished, and the principal streets rebuilt. The sight of this
inspired the *Thebans* with such zeal, that they sent into all
countries to recall their friends and relations. Thus, af-
ter more than twenty years, *Thebes*, which had been with
great cruelty razed by the *Macedonians*, was now rebuilt by
them. This design executed, *Cassander* passed on to *Pelopon-*
nesus, out of which *Alexander* vainly thought to have shut
him by a wall built cross the isthmus. But *Cassander* trans-
ported his army in flat-bottomed boats, and partly by force,
partly by treaty, reduced most of the cities, and having left
a body of troops under the command of *Molychus* to guard
the isthmus, he returned back into *Macedon*.

THE power of *Antigonus* was about this time become for- *Where An-*
midable to all the successors of *Alexander*, wherefore they, as *tigonus*
in their own defence, united, in order to reduce his power; *stirs up a*
but as all of them in their turns had been under great obliga- *war a*
tions to him, they sent their ambassadors to compliment him *gainst him.*
on his subduing of *Eumenes*, and to expostulate with him on
their grievances. *Antigonus* heard the rest with some patience;
but when the minister of *Cassander* came to make his demands,
he thundered out an answer, *As for Lysimachus and Ptolemy*,
said he, *they were always persons eminently distinguished; let*

^d DIODOR. PLUT & JUST. ubi supra.

who is Cassander? it cannot surely be that vagabond, who was here t'other day imploring my assistance, on account of the love I bore his father? He then assembled his army, and approaching the Macedonian phalanx, entered into a detail of Cassander's late proceedings: *He has, says he, countrymen, murdered the mother of our late sovereign, and at this time holds in prison his wife and son; let him therefore be decreed a public enemy, unless he restores them to liberty, and leave it to me to prosecute this traitor as he deserves.* The army to be sure decreed as Antigonus directed, and, in consequence of their decree, he immediately solicited the Greek cities to drive out Cassander's garisons; to perform which, they did not want so much the will, as the power. However, such troubles were now stirred up in Peloponnesus as made Cassander's presence absolutely necessary; whereupon, leaving Macedonia after another brush with the Ætolians, Cassander came first into Bœotia, and afterwards to the isthmus, then entering Peloponnesus, he resettled his affairs as well as he could. Alexander the son of Polysperchon had for some time taken shelter in the court of Antigonus, where he had fair words and a tolerable subsistence given him, and that was all. But now Antigonus found out that his case was the hardest, and at the same time the most equitable, in the world; and therefore, out of mere regard to justice, he furnished him with five hundred talents, and sent him with some ships and men into Peloponnesus, where he quickly raised forces, and began to make a figure. Cassander knowing well the capacity of the man, and verily believing he had enemies enow already, sent Perpi-laus to tell him, that Antigonus had an excellent faculty at setting people together by the ears, without caring what became of them afterwards; that five hundred talents was a considerable sum, which he would do well to keep in his pocket; that as for the command of Peloponnesus, he need not seek it by force, for Cassander was willing to put it into his hands, provided he would renounce his league with Antigonus, who never intended him half so much good. Alexander, having considered this proposition, found it too good to be rejected; wherefore he accepted from Cassander the office of captain general of Peloponnesus; quitted the party of Antigonus, and began to settle his province; which, however, he did not live to effect, for while he was endeavouring to suppress Aristodemus, whom Antigonus had made general in his stead, one Alexion, a Sicyonian, treacherously murdered him. His wife Cratesipolis took upon her the command of his army, and having beaten the Sicyonians in a field battle, besieged and took their city, crucified thirty of the most turbulent upon their

their own walls and then assumed the sovereignty, which she managed with great prudence, clemency, and justice, being alike courted and feared by all the contending parties. Thus something like a settlement was established in *Peloponnesus*.

Cassander, observing that the *Ætolians* were always inclined to take advantage of his affairs, by attacking him at such time as he had other enemies on his hands, resolved to make use of the leisure he now had, to put it out of the power of these people to treat him in this manner for the future. With this view he marched with an army to the confines of *Ætolia*, yet with no great success, for the *Ætolians* were so well aware of his intention, that they provided effectually for their own security, so as to prevent his making any impression upon them; yet *Cassander*, who was a person of great capacity, resolved not to lose all the pains he had taken; when therefore he discovered that the *Ætolians* could not be reduced by force, he contrived to leave a bridle in their mouths, which should hinder their performing any great exploits for the future. With this view he entered into a negociation with their old enemies the *Acarnanians*, whom he took pains to convince, that the disadvantages they were under arose from their living in so many scattered towns, whereby the *Ætolians* had constant opportunities of despoiling them, and by which argument he persuaded them to enlarge the three cities of *Stratopolis*, *Saurion*, and *Agrinium*, and to quit their villages. Then leaving his general *Lyciscus* in those parts, he marched away to reduce other places.

Glaucias was at this time king of the *Illyrians*, in whom were united two very different qualities, ambition and the love of justice. When his neighbour *Æacidas* king of *Epirus* was banished by his subjects, this prince took upon him to preserve his infant son *Pyrrhus*, without any other view than that of performing a generous action. This immediately embroiled him with *Cassander*, and in consequence of these broils, *Glaucias* drew the cities of *Apollonia* and *Epidamnium* into alliance with him. Against these cities at this time *Cassander* moved, and in a short space reduced them, after which he passed the river *Hebrus*, and fought the *Illyrian* army under the command of *Glaucias*, which had been raised for the relief of the before-mentioned cities. After this engagement peace was made between these princes upon these terms, that *Cassander* should not invade any part of *Illyria*, and that *Glaucias* should neither attack him or any of his confederates. But while the *Macedonian* was victorious here, his allies the

After-
wards on
the Illyri-
ans.

^c Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra.

^d Id. ibid.

^e Id. ibid.

^f Id. ibid.

Acaruanians suffered deeply for taking his advice, for the *Ætolians*, before it was thoroughly fortified, invested the city of *Agrinium*, and then proceeded to a formal siege. The besieged, finding that they were not able to hold out, capitulated on these terms; that they should be at liberty to retire where-ever they thought fit. But, in breach of this capitulation, the *Ætolians* most perfidiously attacked them upon their march, and put almost every man of them to the sword. A cruel and unjustifiable act, for which they afterwards paid very dear^g.

Cassander
invades
Asia.

ON his return into *Macedonia*, *Cassander* projected a descent in *Asia*, in order to prevent *Antigonus* from making any attempts in *Greece*. These forces marched into *Caria*, where one *Ptolemy* commanded for *Antigonus*. It so happened, that while the troops were in winter quarters, the father of this *Ptolemy* died, at which his son seemed to be under deep concern; and, in order to express it effectually, prepared for his funeral, that it might be celebrated with the utmost magnificence. *Cassander's* generals being informed of this immediately detached *Eupolemus*, one of their number, with eight thousand foot and two thousand horse, to lie in ambuscade, in order to cut off *Ptolemy* when he should return to his quarters; but he receiving early intelligence of this design, not only prevented it, but also turned it upon the contrivers: For returning when they least expected it, he in the middle of the night surprized the forces of *Eupolemus*, defeated them intirely, and made that general himself prisoner^h.

Falls also
on the
Ætolians.

THE next year *Cassander* sent a puissant army under the command of *Philip* to fall upon the *Ætolians*. This general entered *Acaruania*, and, having effectually succoured his allies, began to harass the frontiers of *Ætolia*, when on a sudden he received advice, that *Æacidus* had not only entered *Epirus*, but by the consent of the people had re-ascended the throne. *Philip* upon this immediately entered *Epirus*, and finding *Æacidus* there at the head of an army, he attacked and defeated him, taking prisoners fifty of the principal persons who had been concerned in the restoration of the king, whom he sent away to *Cassander*, and then turned again to prosecute the war against the *Ætolians*, who were by this time ready to meet him in the field; for *Æacidus* himself with the remains of his broken troops had joined their army, and had thereby made it more numerous than that of *Philip*. A battle shortly ensued, wherein the *Macedonians* were victors, *Æacidus* king

^g JUSTIN. lib. xv. c. i. DIODOR. ubi supra.

^h Id. ibid.

of *Epirus* being slain. Afterwards *Philip* so persecuted the *Ætoliens*, that they were forced to forsake their cities, and fly for refuge to the mountains, whither also he pursued them, till he was stopped by the severity of the season. In *Asia* things went not so well, whereupon *Cassander* resolved to put an end to the war on that side, and by a treaty with *Antigonus* undertook to restore the *Greek* cities their liberty, and for the future to be his fast friend; for his sincere performance of which, he gave up his brother *Agathonas* for a hostage; however, he quickly repented of this treaty, and having taken care to get his brother rescued from those who should have kept him, he began the war afresh; which exceedingly provoked *Antigonus*, who sent an army into *Greece* to restore freedom unto the cities. This compelled *Cassander* to march thither also, whereupon *Antigonus* made a quick march into *Propontis*, with a design to have invaded *Macedon*. This effectually recalled *Cassander*, who marched back with all imaginable expedition. This retreat of his out of *Greece* hurt his affairs there, and at the same time did him no good in *Macedon*. For *Antigonus*, finding it impossible for him to persuade the *Byzantines* to concur with him in his designs, he was constrained to abandon all thoughts of entering the territories of *Cassander*. He received, however, little pleasure from this news; for upon the heels of it he received advice, that the country about *Apollonia* and *Epidamnus* had submitted again to *Glaucias*, and that the *Epirots* were inclined to revolt, to which were added advices of a like nature from *Athens*, where, though the people had never been so well governed as by *Demetrius Phalareus*, yet they hated him for the sake of his authority, and were inclined to deliver up the city to *Antigonus*. To these evils *Cassander* applied the best remedies the situation of his affairs would allow¹.

It was not long before *Epirus* was all in confusion. *Alce-Cassander* *tas*, who had been banished by his father, was recalled by the orders people, and made king. Against him *Lysiscus*, *Cassander's* *Roxana* general, marched with his army, and engaged his forces several times with different success. At length *Cassander* himself came in to make an end of the war, which finding more difficult than he had imagined, he clapped up a peace with *Alcetas*, and left him in quiet possession of his kingdom, which, however, he enjoyed not long; for the *Epirots*, conceiving him to rule tyrannically, murdered him and his children. All this time *Cassander* was engaged in a war with *Glaucias*, in which, however, he had very indifferent success; and at last,

¹ Id. *ibid*.

finding that he could not reduce *Apollonia* and *Epidamnus*, he returned into *Macedon*, where he did abundance of popular acts, and took all imaginable pains to conciliate the minds of the people. By this time all the commanders of *Alexander* were grown weary of the wars in which they had engaged with each other, and therefore unanimously desiring peace, it was easily concluded. The terms of it were, that they should hold all the provinces, of which at the time of its conclusion each of them was possessed, in propriety ; that the *Greek* cities should be left absolutely free, and that they should be friends and allies of each other. Immediately upon this peace *Cassander* resolved with himself to dispatch out of his way *Alexander* the son of *Roxana* and his mother ; for though he enjoyed the kingdom of *Macedon* at that time, as much as he could expect to do after the young man was dead, yet he was in continual fear, lest the *Macedonians*, who were a restless unruly people, should on a sudden grow dissatisfied with his government, and set at liberty the son of his master. While these doubts and fears distracted his mind, the *Macedonians* discovered an inclination to do what he suspected ; discouraging openly of *Cassander's* usurpation, and alledging, that it was now high time for *Alexander* to take upon himself the administration of his father's kingdom. This was enough to hurry on the ambitious *Cassander* to the fatal expedient he had projected. He therefore sent for *Glaucias*, whom he had made governor of the castle; where he kept *Roxana* and her son, and directed him to put them both to death, commanding also, that they should be interred privately, and their deaths for some time concealed. This he did to try the temper of the *Macedonians*; and that uncertain reports might keep them from taking any settled resolution. His policy met with all the success he could desire, and much more than he could reasonably hope. The *Macedonians* murmured a little, but, not knowing who they should have recourse to for a chief, durst not rebel^k.

Cassander gains Peloponnesus. *Cassander*, that he might find the subjects some other topics than his government to discourse of, engaged in a war against the *Autariates*, in favour of the king of *Pæonia*. Having subdued the first-mentioned people, he transplanted them to the number of twenty thousand from their native country into the neighbourhood of mount *Orbelus*, where he assigned them lands. About this time *Ptolemy*, one of the generals of *Antigonus*, who commanded in *Peloponnesus*, went over with

^k DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xix. JUSTIN. ubi supra. PLUT. in Demetrio.

his whole army to *Cassander*, and received from him the same commission which he had from his former master. This was a most extraordinary piece of treachery, for *Ptolemy*, was not only the officer of *Antigonus*, but his nephew, so that he violated at once the ties of gratitude and nature. However, his treason did not remain long unpunished: *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt* coming with a fleet upon the coast, sent for this other *Ptolemy* to come and visit him. On his arrival the king treated him not only with civility, but with kindness and respect. This he repaid with endeavouring to corrupt the soldiers *Ptolemy* had with him; his head being full of mighty projects for his own interest, to accomplish which he resolved to stick at nothing. When the king found this out, he first caused him to be imprisoned, and afterwards ordered him to be dispatched by a dose of hemlock; which, whatever he might pretend, *Cassander* was glad of; for he could never trust a man who had betrayed his uncle, and had endeavoured to seduce the troops of a prince who had received him like a friend. But without question, he was sorry that king *Ptolemy* had incorporated the army, which the other *Ptolemy* had commanded, into his own, because this was a loss, which fell heavy upon himself, and not easily to be repaired. His thoughts, however, were quickly diverted by the appearance of another storm¹.

Polysperchon, who had hitherto lived in *Ætolia*, rather as a banished man, than as one who pretended to the government of *Macedon*, of a sudden appeared more formidable than ever. He had engaged *Barsina* and her son *Hercules* to leave *Asia* and come over to *Greece*; where he received them with great honours, proclaimed *Hercules* king, and by the help of the *Ætolians* raised money, and an army of twenty thousand men. *Cassander* assembled an army as soon as he received the news, and marched away to meet the enemy. When the armies were near each other on the frontiers of *Ætolia*, *Cassander* sent one of his private agents to *Polysperchon* to put him in mind, that if the king was restored, himself would be but a servant, though to him he owed his restoration; whereas, if he put him out of the way, he should be declared generalissimo of *Peloponnesus*, and be acknowledged by *Cassander* for his coadjutor. These promises had the same effect upon *Polysperchon*, as they had formerly on his son; he therefore accepted them, and at an entertainment, to which he invited, and afterwards forced, the king to come, most barbarously murdered him. This being performed,

¹ DIODOR. ubi supra.

Cassander, according to his promise, delivered him four thousand *Macedonian* foot and five hundred horse; owned him for his coadjutor, and left him to take possession of *Peloponnesus*, which, however, was not so easily effected as he imagined; for the *Bæotians*, joining with the *Peloponnesians*, raised a formidable army, so that he was after all forced to winter in *Phocis*; from this time forward, knowing nothing but trouble and disquiet, the just reward of his flagitious actions ^m.


Cassander
after much
ill fortune
recovers
Greece.

Cassander, having now removed out of his way all obstacles, well hoped that he should enjoy the kingdom, he had bought at so dear a price, in peace; but in this he was exceedingly mistaken, for the *Grecians* immediately began to plot against him, and knowing that it was *Antigonus's* interest rather to have them free than the subjects of *Cassander*, they applied to him for assistance. This occasioned the famous expedition of *Demetrius*, which we have so often mentioned, wherein he expelled *Demetrius* the *Phalerean*; in shew restored the *Grecians* to liberty, but in truth reduced them under the subjection of his father. Extravagant were the honours paid by the *Athenians* to the victor, and as extravagant the rage they expressed against *Cassander* and his party; that great captain and politician withdrew from a country where he was so generally hated, and chose rather to trust time, than fortune and his enemies; and when he found disasters still crowding upon him, he contented himself with leaving garisons in the cities he still possessed, and withdrew the gros of his army into *Macedon*. After the check which *Demetrius* received before *Rhodes*, the *Athenians* deserted him, and affected to resume their antient grandeur, pretending for the future to prescribe laws, instead of receiving them. Not long after *Demetrius* came again into *Greece*, and having taken *Sicyon* from *Ptolemy*, and the strong castle of *Corinth* from *Cassander*, the rest of the cities surrendered without resistance, and their garisons were immediately incorporated into the army of *Antigonus*. In this distress *Cassander*, conceiving himself to be in the utmost danger of ruin, resolved, if it were possible, to make peace with *Antigonus*, and to that end dispatched embassadors to *Demetrius*, as also to his father, but in vain. These princes were so elate on account of the victories they had lately obtained, that they would not listen to any terms of accommodation, but proudly

^m DIONOR. ubi supra. JUSTIN. lib. xv. PLUT. de Verecund.

insisted on *Cassander's* submitting himself and his dominions intirely to their pleasure. He, when he found peace was not to be had, determined to make his last effort in war. To this end he sent ministers to *Ptolemy* and *Lyfimachus*, instructing them to shew those princes, that if once *Macedonia* fell into the hands of *Antigonus*, they might be sure *Thrace* and *Egypt* would quickly follow. For he would be then able to act against them on all sides; and to the force of all *Asia* would add the weight of all *Greece*. This had its desired effect, they came immediately into the war, and resolved to act offensively against *Antigonus* ⁿ.

WHEN the operations of this war came to be considered, *Cassander*, who knew his stake would be the first drawn, laid down such a scheme as ail the rest came readily into. He sent a considerable part of his forces to join *Lyfimachus*, under whose command they were to pass into *Asia*, whither *Cassander* had transported another corps under the command of *Perpelaus*. With the rest of his army *Cassander* marched in person towards *Thessaly*, in order, if possible, to resettle his affairs in *Greece*. *Demetrius* immediately marched to meet him, and the armies encamped in sight of each other; that of *Demetrius* consisted of fifteen hundred horse, eight thousand *Macedonian* foot, five and twenty thousand auxiliary foot, fifteen thousand mercenaries, and about eight thousand retainers to the camp who were, however, disposed into battalions; in all fifty six thousand men. *Cassander* had but two thousand horse and twenty nine thousand foot: With these he kept the field, protected most of his garisons, and held the war in suspense, till such time as *Antigonus* sent orders to his son to come speedily over into *Asia*; whereupon a provisional treaty was made by *Demetrius* with *Cassander*, which was to subsist or to be made void, according as it was approved or disapproved by *Antigonus*. However, it answered the ends of both; for *Demetrius* had thereby an opportunity given him of withdrawing all his forces out of *Greece*, and after he was gone, *Cassander*, notwithstanding the treaty, by force, by persuasion, and by bribes, got possession of many of the cities. Yet he did not so closely attend his own business, but that he kept his eye also on the concerns of his confederates. To their assistance *Cassander* sent his brother *Plistarchus* with twelve thousand men, in order to ballance in some measure the forces carried over by *Demetrius* to his father. His policy was good, as in most cases it was; but

The war ended.
Year of the Flood, 2698.
Before Christ, 301.


ⁿ DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xx. PLUT. in Demetrio.

Plistarchus had very ill success, for his army being wasted by famine, sickness, hardships, shipwrecks, and desertions, he at last, with a handful of men, joined *Lyfimachus*, who, with the mighty forces brought by *Seleucus*, was grown strong enough to offer *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* battle; which shortly after ensued, and was the famous battle of *Ipsus*, where *Antigonus* lost his life and empire.

The death
of Cassan-
der.

Year of
the Flood,

2702.

Before

Christ,

297.



ON the death of *Antigonus*, the princes confederated against him divided his dominions amongst them, whereby *Cassander* recovered all that he had lately lost; however, he was not intirely freed from all apprehensions; for on the one hand, *Demetrius* the son of *Antigonus* had still some territories in *Greece*, and was a prince who never conceived his title at all affected by the impressions made by force on his possessions. The hopes of *Demetrius* therefore filled *Cassander* with fears: On the other hand, *Cassander* had a nearer enemy, of whose power he was very justly jealous; this was *Pyrrhus* king of *Epirus*, whom he had hated, and persecuted from his very cradle. This prince, then a little helpless infant, was at the time the *Epirots* revolted from his father, who would have led them into *Macedonia* to the relief of *Olympias*, conveyed with much difficulty into the dominions of *Glaucias* king of *Illyria*; that king was not a little confounded at this accident; pity moved him for the child, but he was afraid of incurring the hate of *Cassander*. Those who had the care of little *Pyrrhus*, perceiving the confusion the king was in, laid the boy at his feet. The child getting hold of the king's robes raised himself up upon his feet, and with his hands grasped the king's knees. Upon which, *Glaucias* taking him in his arms professed, that he would defend him at the hazard of his life and his dominions; and then delivered him to his queen to be educated with his own children. This was the source of *Cassander's* quarrel with *Glaucias*, against whom, as often as his affairs permitted, he employed force; and when he was constrained to turn his arms another way, he practised on him by negotiation, offering him two hundred talents, besides other great advantages, if he would deliver the young *Pyrrhus* into his hands. But *Glaucias* could neither be beaten nor flattered into so base a design; but when he was twelve years old, restored *Pyrrhus* by an army to the possession of the throne of his ancestors. From thence about five years afterwards, he was driven by his rebellious subjects. He then fled to *Demetrius*, who had married his sister *Deidamia*, and was in point of interest the irreconcilable enemy of *Cassander*. After the battle of *Ipsus*, he came over into *Greece*, and performed

formed many great exploits in favour of his brother-in-law ; when his subjects growing weary of a sudden of *Neoptolemus*, a king of their own setting up, recalled and restored him ; when, to prevent further disputes, he associated *Neoptolemus* with him in the kingdom ; but afterwards slew him for having framed a conspiracy to poison him °. This *Pyrrhus*, though ill at ease in his own kingdom, *Cassander* was mightily afraid of ; however, he strengthened the frontiers of his own dominions, re-edified such cities as were run to decay, and built new ones, where the situation of places invited. Thus near *Therma* he raised the noble city of *Theſſalonica*, which he so called in honour of his wife, and which after became the most considerable place in *Macedon*. He likewise endeavoured by all other means to fix the love of his subjects to his family, being with very just reason afraid of the inconstancy of the *Macedonians*. But while he was thus employed, he was seized with a dropſy, which brought him by slow degrees to his end ; and some say, that at last his body, as it corrupted, breeding lice, he became alike offensive to himself, and to all who were obliged to approach him. His death happened after he had held the government of *Macedon* nineteen years ; and had ruled it three years with the title of king, which he received readily from others, but took not himself ; he was a man of consummate prudence in peace and in war, but of detestable ambition. He is said to have hated *Alexander* personally ; to have remembered him with fear and spight, and to have suffered his malice against him to instigate the utter extirpation of his family (C). By *Theſſalonica*, the daughter

° PLUT. in Demet. & in Pyrrho.

(C) We learn from *Plutarch* the following circumstances as to the hatred which *Cassander* bore *Alexander*, and the causes thereof. It happened, when *Cassander* was just arrived from *Greece*, and was full of that freedom in which he had been educated, the first time he saw the *Barbarians* adore the king, he was surprised at the novelty of the thing, and could not forbear laughing out aloud at it ; which so incensed *Alexander*, that he took him by the hair with both hands, and violently knocked his head against the wall. Another time *Cassander* would have said something in defence of *Antipater* to those who accused him ; but *Alexander* interrupting him, *What is it you say ? Do you think people, if they have received no injury, would come such a journey only to calumniate your father ?* To which when *Cassander* replied, *That this very thing was a great evidence of their calumny, for the farther they are come the farther they are got from those proofs that could confute them, and clear the innocent.*

X x 2

Alexander

daughter of *Philip* of *Macedon*, he had three sons, *Philip*, *Antipater*, and *Alexander*; the eldest of these, viz. *Philip*, succeeded him, but died shortly after of a consumption, whereby a way was opened to a long and fatal controversy about the kingdom ^P.

Antipater
and Alex-
ander
kings of
Macedon.

Antipater, on the demise of his brother *Philip*, caused himself to be declared king; but herein he found himself opposed by his brother *Alexander*, who was supported in his pretensions by some of the *Macedonian* lords, and secretly, as *Antipater* conceived, by the queen his mother. The first step therefore that he took, to secure himself against *Alexander* was, to take away the life of *Thessalonica*, which, if he did not with his own hands, he permitted to be done in his presence, though she besought him, by the breasts that had given him suck, to spare her. A fact beyond all example cruel. After this, by the assistance of *Lyfimachus* his father-in-law, he for some time maintained himself in the possession of the kingdom. But *Alexander*, persisting in the competition, and vehemently desiring to revenge his mother's death, invited *Pyrrhus* king of *Epirus*, and also *Demetrius* the son of *Antigonos*, to his assistance. *Pyrrhus* came first with a potent army, and did him such service, that for it he demanded and received all the maritime coast of *Macedonia*, together with *Ambracia*, *Acarnania*, and *Amphilochia*. He then applied himself to conquer the rest of the kingdom, that *Alexander* might have no occasion to repent of his bargain; upon which *Antipater* and his wife *Eurydice* strongly solicited *Lyfimachus* to assist them. His affairs were at that time in such disorder, that he could not in prudence spare any part of his forces; however, knowing that *Ptolemy* had a mighty influence over *Pyrrhus*, and that his requests had the force of laws, he forged a letter from him to *Pyrrhus*, desiring him, on the pay-

^P JUSTIN. lib. xv. PLUT. in Demet.

Alexander smiled at this, and said, *Those are some of Aristotle's sophisms which will serve equally on both sides; but, added he, both you and your father shall be severely punished, if it appears that the complainants have received the least injustice at your hands.* This menace made such a deep impression of fear on *Cassander's* mind, that long after, when he was king of *Macedonia* and master of all *Greece*, as he was walking one day at *Delpbi*, and looking on the statues, at the sight of that of *Alexander*, he was suddenly struck with horror, and shook all over, his eyes rolled, his head grew dizzy, and he had much ado to recover himself (6).

(6) *Plutarch. in vit. Alexand.*

ment

ment of three hundred talents, to leave *Antipater* half the kingdom. This deceit *Pyrrhus* easily detected ; for whereas *Ptolemy* was wont to address his letters thus : *The father to the son greeting*, this letter ran, king *Ptolemy* to king *Pyrrhus* health ; however, it did the business as well as if it had been a true letter, for he, perceiving that money might be had, struck up an agreement between the two brothers, to which, however, he would not swear, because one of the three victims died as it was led to the altar at the time of the performance of this solemnity ; whence the soothsayer predicted, that one of the kings would shortly die. Immediately after this agreement, whereby two kings seemed to be established in *Macedon*, *Demetrius* arrived on its frontiers, in order to have assisted *Alexander*. The young prince, knowing how largely he had paid *Pyrrhus*, was afraid of having more protectors upon his hands ; wherefore he passed away to meet *Demetrius*, in order to inform him of what had happened, and to decline his aid, which he no longer wanted. In the former chapter we have shewn the issue of this business, how *Alexander* was slain, and how *Demetrius* gained the kingdom. Here, however, it may not be amiss to observe, that it is in a manner impossible to know the truth as to *Alexander's* death ; that is, whether *Demetrius* slew him on account of his having conspired against himself, or whether he invented that story to colour the murder of the young king. The authority of *Plutarch* is on all sides of the question in the life of *Demetrius* ; he affirms, that *Alexander* intended to have slain him, and that he prevented it by a day ; in another place he, in general terms, relates this accident as an act of treachery in *Demetrius* ⁹ ; yet elsewhere, he particularly ascribes the death of *Alexander* to his modesty, in not refusing to visit *Demetrius* when he invited him, for fear he should seem to distrust him^r. However it was, *Alexander* was slain, and *Demetrius* with his forces and his own compelled *Antipater* to leave him sole master of the kingdom, who thereupon fled to the court of his father-in-law *Lyfimachus*, hoping by his assistance to be restored. But there were two reasons why *Lyfimachus*, if he had been better inclined to him than he was, could not have yielded him any great help. The first, that he was engaged in foreign wars : The second, that there were great dissensions in his family. To this we may add, that he was afraid of uniting *Demetrius* and *Pyrrhus* ; whereas he well hoped, that if they were left to themselves, they would quickly fall out, which he intimated to his son-in-law,

⁹ PLUTARCH, in vita Pyrrh.

De Vitaecond.

and

and exhorted him to be patient. *Antipater* and *Eurydice*, however, could not comprehend the force of this reasoning, and therefore they clamoured loudly against what they called his neglect of his children. *Lyfimachus*, who was a fierce and arbitrary prince, thought fit thereupon to imprison them both, and a-while after directed *Antipater* to be put to death in prison. Thus the whole race of *Cassander* was exterminated almost as soon as he was dead^c.

Demetrius
becomes
king of
Macedo-
nia.
Year of
the Flood,
2705.
Before
Christ,
294.

Demetrius, from being in very low and desperate circumstances was now become more potent than *Cassander* had been; for, with the kingdom of *Macedon*, he held *Thessaly*, the best part of *Peloponnesus*, and the two great cities of *Megara* and *Athens*. He thereupon resolved to make himself master of all *Greece*; in order to which he turned his arms first against the *Bæotians*, who, on his coming, were inclined to submit to him; but *Cleonymus* the *Spartan* engaged them to stand out, which occasioned the siege of *Thebes*, of which *Pisis* a *Thespian* was governor. When *Cleonymus* saw the prodigious engines which *Demetrius* made use of, he was so frightened, that he would have had the *Thebans* immediately to surrender, which *Pisis* refused, and made a very gallant defence, till *Cleonymus* withdrew himself, which so intimidated the people, that he was forced to give up the city. *Demetrius* dealt very gently with the *Thebans*, appointed *Hieronimus*, the good old friend of *Eumenes*, governor of *Bæotia*; and, sending for his prisoner *Pisis*, he highly commended his valour, and then sent him to govern his countrymen the *Thespians*. The king then returned into *Macedon*, where he was guilty of a very mean act; for hearing that *Lyfimachus* was taken prisoner by the king of the *Getae*, he immediately advanced with a great army to the frontiers of *Thrace*, hoping to subdue his dominions in his absence. But before he was able to make any impression, *Lyfimachus* was restored to liberty, and *Demetrius* recalled by the defection of the *Bæotians*, whom he had so lately subdued. *Antigonus* his son had, on the first advice of the revolt, led the forces left with him against them, and, having routed them in battle, shut up the remains of their army in *Thebes*, to which he laid siege. Thither *Demetrius* came with the gross of his army out of *Macedon*; but he had not been there long before he received news of an irruption made by *Pyrrhus* into *Thessaly*, upon which he marched to oppose him, and left his son *Antigonus* to carry on the siege. Before *Demetrius* arrived in that country, *Pyrrhus* was withdrawn; he therefore contented himself with the leaving ten thousand foot and a thou-

^c JUSTIN lib. xvi. cap. 1. PLUT. in Demet. & Pyrrh.

sand horse for the guard of *Theffaly*, and then returned with the rest of his army to *Thebes*. *Antigonus*, who had continued the siege all this while, perceiving that, through the obstinate defence which was made by the besieged, numbers of his men were slain, could not help one day speaking to his father in this manner: *I beseech you, Sir, to consider what reason there is you should expose so many of your valiant soldiers to continual danger, when —* Ay, sweet Sir, interrupted *Demetrius*, *what reason have you to afflict yourself? Don't you know, that the more there are killed here, the fewer you will have to provide for?* This he said in his passion; but when he was in a cooler temper, he alledged the ingratitude of the *Thebans* as the true cause of his persisting in the siege, in which he exposed his person as much as the meanest soldier, till in one of the attacks he received a stroke of a javelin quite through his neck, whereby his life was extremely indangered. However, he refused to stir, till at length the *Thebans*, quite tired out, were constrained to surrender at discretion. Then it was, that they expected a desolation as general as that which happened thirty years before, when *Alexander* destroyed their city. But it proved quite otherwise; *Demetrius* ordered thirteen persons, who were principally concerned in the revolt, to be put to death, and received all the rest of the citizens into his favour. He afterwards celebrated the festival of the *Pythian Apollo* at *Athens*, because the *Ætolians* had shut up the passages to *Delphi*, so that he could not go thither¹.

WHEN *Demetrius* returned into *Macedonia*, he discovered such a restless uneasy temper in his subjects, that he was constrained to think of employing them in some war, to prevent their making an ill use of peace. With this view he marched against the *Ætolians*, but, before he could come to an engagement, he had advice that *Pyrrhus* was about to invade *Macedon*. To oppose him he marched in person, and left *Pantauchus* to command the forces he thought sufficient to bridle the *Ætolians*. *Demetrius* and *Pyrrhus* both missed their intentions: The former, passing by the latter without knowing it, entered *Epirus* without opposition, wasting and plundering the country where-ever he came, till he had satiated the avarice of his soldiers, and, as he conceived, had fully revenged himself for what *Pyrrhus* had done in *Theffaly*. In the mean time *Pyrrhus* engaged *Pantauchus*, the general of *Demetrius*, whom, on a challenge given, he encountered hand to hand, and, after an obstinate combat, wounded and dismount-

The ill conduct of Demetrius loses him the affections of his people.

¹ PLUT. in vita Demet. PAUSAN. in Bœoticis.

ed him. The battle also ended in his favour, wherein, after cutting to pieces a multitude of *Macedonians*, he took five thousand prisoners. This loss was in itself a great mortification to *Demetrius*, but in its consequences was far more detrimental than he either foresaw, or than the thing itself seemed to indicate. Upon the return of *Demetrius*, *Pyrrhus* retired hastily into his own dominions: but from the time that the *Macedonians* had beheld this prince fighting hand to hand with their general, they continually talked of him as a prodigy of valour, and amongst other praises this was perpetually in their mouths; that the other kings resembled *Alexander* in his robes, his quick tone of voice, and the turn of his neck; but that in *Pyrrhus* they saw his vivacity in fight, and his courteous behaviour towards his soldiers. At first perhaps *Demetrius* did not mind this, or, it may be, was never made acquainted with it. Certain it is, that his conduct tended strongly to alienate the minds of his subjects: In his garb he was vain to excess; his robes seemed fitter for a stage than a court; his head was enriched with the novelty of a double diadem; and his very shoes shone not only with gold, but with precious stones. In short the garment of his, which was left unfinished, and wherein he intended to have had the whole universe displayed, remained for ages after a monument of his pride, and of the modesty of his successors, who neither wore it, or so much as suffered it to be finished. His conduct was absurd and extravagant; he spent his time in revelling with women and parasites, wasted away immense sums of money, and set the nobility of *Macedon* a most scandalous example. His behaviour also was remarkably altered; for, instead of that kind and obliging deportment, by which he had formerly attached the minds of all men to his person, he grew humourfome at least, if not morose, affecting to treat every body with disdain, and to put on such airs of insolence as were insupportable. He suffered the *Athenian* ambassadors to wait two years before he gave them audience, and one day when he had graciously condescended to receive all the petitions that were offered him, at his return to his palace he opened his robe, and suffered them all to fall into the river *Alia*. This effectually lost him the hearts of the *Macedonians*, who from that day forward wished for another master. Some small time after he fell sick of a fever at *Pella*, induced by hard drinking, and while he struggled with the violence of the distemper, *Pyrrhus* entered his dominions with an army, and penetrated as far as *Edessa*. He might have possessed himself of the whole kingdom, if he had known how

how much the *Macedonians* were displeased with their king, and how far they were prejudiced in favour of himself; but plunder was all he sought, and when his soldiers had loaded themselves, he had thoughts of retiring. *Demetrius*, sick as he was, quitted his bed, and mounted on horseback: some of his friends drew together immediately some troops; and at the head of these he marched against *Pyrrhus*, who avoided a battle by a quick retreat. As soon as the king returned into *Macedon*, he determined to put an end to the difference between himself and his brother-in-law. To this end he sent ambassadors who were kindly received, and the treaty they were sent to negotiate quickly concluded. This point once got over, *Demetrius* raised a powerful army, and led it against *Lyfimachus*; but before he reached his confines, *Pyrrhus*, at the persuasion of *Ptolemy*, invaded *Macedon*, and marched strait to *Beræa*. This brought *Demetrius* and his army back to oppose him, but when they were incamped over-against each other, *Pyrrhus* was advised by deserters that his soldiers were inclined to desert *Demetrius*, and to revolt to himself. To try their temper therefore, he rode out of the city near the camp with his head bare, but finding none came over to him, he expressed his surprize to the deserters, who advised him to put on his helmet, which when he had done, and the *Macedonians* perceived by the plume that it was *Pyrrhus*, they came out to him in throngs and saluted him king. *Demetrius*, finding himself deserted, retired privately to *Cassandria*, having lost a kingdom as unaccountably as he found it.^u

Pyrrhus doubted not his holding the crown he had acquired- *Demetrius* ed, without dispute at least with any but *Demetrius*, but loses Ma- he had scarce time to flatter himself with these expectati- cedon. ons before another competitor appeared; for *Lyfimachus*, having raised an army to oppose *Demetrius*, as soon as he had heard what had befallen him, marched strait into *Macedon*, and advanced towards *Pyrrhus*, from whom he demanded half the kingdom for his share, alledging, that *Demetrius* had been compelled to fly by his approach. *Pyrrhus*, who was very sensible that this claim had not the least foundation, yielded, however, to his request, desiring rather to have him his friend and colleague upon any terms, than to have to deal with him as an enemy, knowing the fickleness of the *Macedonians*, and remembering that *Lyfimachus* was their countryman. Each then took a part of the king-

^u PLUT. in *Demetrio*.

dom of *Macedon*, not to content himself but his partner, for each privately designed to make himself master of the whole w.

Pyrrhus
becomes
king of
Macedon.

Year of
the Flood,
2712.

Before
Christ,
287.



Pyrrhus, now king of *Macedon*, thought the small remains of empire which his brother *Demetrius* retained in *Greece*, were just appendices to his kingdom, and therefore could not enjoy in peace what with so much pains he had acquired, till he had considered of some method for outing that unfortunate prince and his son of what their ill fortune had left them. In order to this he commenced a war, in which he gained the quiet possession of *Athens*, whither he went to sacrifice, and being received with all the testimonies of kindness and respect by the citizens, he gave them thanks with great civility; but at the same time told them, that he believed it would be for their safety, if for the future they made it a rule with them not to admit sovereign princes into their city upon any terms. This he said to furnish them with a pretence for excluding *Demetrius*; a mean and scandalous contrivance to deprive him of a retreat, when he had deprived him of a kingdom. But he was quickly punished for his own ambition by the ambition of his neighbour; for when *Lyfimachus* was at leisure from other wars, he immediately came pouring into *Macedon* with a very numerous army. In the first place he carried off some convoys, whereby he distressed the army of *Pyrrhus*: In the next he caused manifestoes to be scattered through the kingdom, complaining of the injury they did to the *Macedonian* name, by accepting a foreigner for their king to the exclusion of him who was a native, and who had been a principal commander in their armies, when under the auspice of *Alexander* they acquired the command of the world. These arguments were plausible enough to furnish with a pretence for rebellion a people who were prone to it. In short *Pyrrhus* saw himself reduced to the same necessity to which he had reduced *Demetrius*, and was constrained to leave *Lyfimachus* by flight a kingdom which himself had stolen. One would have conceived, that, having this leisure, he would have fallen upon *Antigonus* the son of *Demetrius*, who resided at *Corinth*, and had many cities under his jurisdiction in *Peloponnesus* and the rest of *Greece*. But either *Pyrrhus* was afraid of acquiring the sovereignty of so fickle a people, or else he willingly left *Antigonus* behind him, in hopes that he might create *Lyfimachus* some trouble. However it was, he chose

^w PLUT. in Pyrrho. JUSTIN. lib. xvi. c. 3.

to sail into *Italy* to acquire new kingdoms, and laid aside all thoughts of *Grecian* conquests, till a more convenient season, which we shall hereafter see dawn upon him when he least expected it *.

Lyfimachus, who had now *Macedonia* to himself, as well as the provinces he had held since the division of *Alexander's* empire, might, if he had so pleased, have sat down satisfied and contented, having also fifteen children living to be the comforts of his old age. But so it was, that, like the fair city *Lyfimachia*, which he had built and called by his own name, and which was swallowed up by an earthquake; he suddenly saw himself and his fortunes, his foreign and domestic hopes, not only turned upside down, but destroyed for ever. His eldest son *Agathocles*, a prince of great hopes, because of great prudence and greater humanity, he had married to *Lyfandra* the daughter of *Ptolemy* by *Eurydice* the daughter of *Antipater*, and some time after himself married *Arfinoe* the daughter also of *Ptolemy* by *Berenice*, a widow lady, who had accompanied his wife *Eurydice* into *Egypt* as her friend. These ladies, *Eurydice*, *Berenice*, *Lyfandra*, and *Arfinoe*, introduced scenes of blood and confusion into both courts. In that of *Ptolemy* first, *Berenice* procured a preference to be given to her children, to the prejudice of those of her mistress; whereupon *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, the king's eldest son, fled to the court of *Lyfimachus*, where he was kindly received by his brother-in-law *Agathocles* and his sister *Lyfandra*. But in this court he found *Arfinoe* the daughter of his implacable mother-in-law, as powerful and more cruel than she. This lady infused it into her husband's head, that his son, his eldest son *Agathocles*, who had conquered for him half his empire, and in whom the army and people had their hopes bound up, was secretly his enemy; upon which the hapless young prince was first imprisoned, and then poisoned. A fact which struck not only the family, but all the subjects of *Lyfimachus* with horror, and the fright of which induced *Lyfandra* to fly, with her children and her brother *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, to *Seleucus*, where they found not only a civil, but a kind reception. Many of the officers in *Lyfimachus's* army, and some of the principal lords of his court followed them, and all concurred in beseeching him to make war upon this unnatural parent, who, vexed with the reflections made on what he had already done, became every day more and more cruel. *Seleucus*, though he was seventy-seven years old, had still all the vigour and activity of a young man:

* JUSTIN. ubi supra. PLUT. ubi supra.

He therefore lent a willing ear to these insinuations, the rather, because he had no rival left, but *Lyfimachus*, and him once subdued, he saw no cause to doubt that his own empire might be extended as far as that of *Alexander* his master. Instantly therefore he fell upon the dominions of *Lyfimachus* in *Asia*, and stript him of them almost as soon as he attacked them; but before he could transport an army into *Europe*, *Lyfimachus* passing the *Hellepont*, met him at *Corupedion* in *Phrygia* with a gallant army, where, in the seventy-fourth year of his age, *Lyfimachus*, having first lost all his children except two, fell in the field, and left the victory with his kingdoms to *Seleucus*, justly surnamed *Nicator*, or the conqueror^y.

*Seleucus
assumes the
title of
king.*

LED by a warm desire of taking possession of *Macedonia*, as soon as the season permitted, *Seleucus* passed the *Hellepont*, and with his army advanced as far as *Lyfimachia* in *Thrace*. In the neighbourhood of this city, he observed as he marched an old altar, concerning which he asked certain questions, whence he learned that it was called *Argos*, at which he was exceedingly surprized; for he had been warned by an oracle to have a care of *Argos*, which hitherto he thought had referred to *Argos* in *Peloponnesus*. But while by farther questions he sought to sift into this matter, *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, whom he had so generously relieved, for whose sake he had commenced this war; and whom, after settling his own affairs in *Macedonia*, he intended by force to have restored to his father's kingdom, came behind him, and basely thrust him through, so that in seven months space, and by a violent death also, he followed *Lyfimachus*, having so long worn the title of king of *Macedon*^z.

*Ptolemy
becomes
king of
Macedon.
Year of
the Flood,
2719.
Before
Christ,
280.*

Ptolemy Ceraunus having performed this execrable deed, escaped away to *Lyfimachia*, where having got about him a band of his companions, he put on a diadem, and boldly declared himself king of *Macedon*. We do not find it very clearly laid down, by what title he desired to hold his crown; however, he made use of many pretences to gain him friends. To those whom he discerned to be lovers of the house of *Antipater*, he observed, that he was his grandson. To such as were to the last loyal to *Lyfimachus*, *I am*, said he, *his avenger*. To all he made vast promises, and, which must appear most singular, he was believed by all; so that the army

^y APPIAN. in Syriacis. MEMNON. ap Phot. Cod. ccxxiv. c. 9. JUSTIN. lib. xvii. c. 1—2. ^z JUSTIN. ubi supra. MEMNON. ubi supra. PAUSAN. in Atticis.

and people accepted him as lawful king ; the city of *Cassandria* only standing out. Three enemies he had to deal with, who all threatened him at the same time ; *Antiochus* the son of *Seleucus*, on account of the murder of his father ; *Antigonus* the son of *Demetrius*, who claimed the kingdom of *Macedon* as his hereditary right ; and *Pyrrhus* king of *Epirus*, who, though fully bent on his *Italian* expedition, would needs have before he went some satisfaction for the kingdom of *Macedonia*. *Antigonus*, being nearest at hand, came with a fleet and army to dispute with *Ptolemy* the possession of his new-acquired dominions ; the latter superior to him both in naval and land-forces, engaged and routed him. Thus delivered from one rival, he had art enough to rid himself without fighting from the other two. *Antiochus* he pacified by fair words. To *Pyrrhus* he lent five thousand foot, four thousand horse, and fifty elephants for two years, whereupon *Pyrrhus* married his daughter, and appointed him protector of his dominions in his absence. All this so well brought about, the new king of *Macedon* wrote to his brother *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, telling him, that he acquiesced in his father's disposition of his paternal kingdom, being satisfied with that which he had honourably obtained by the death of his father's enemy. Next he applied himself to his sister *Arfinoe* the widow of *Lyfimachus*, who had obliged him to fly from the court of her husband. She was possessed of the strong castle and rich city of *Cassandria*, where she resided with her two sons. *Ptolemy's* suit to her was, that, forgetting all former quarrels, she would remember her near relation to him, and consent to share the kingdom with him, promising to marry her, and to adopt her children. She, credulous as she was, readily embraced the offer, and in consequence thereof put *Ptolemy* in possession of the city of *Cassandria* ; where on the very day of the nuptials, *Ptolemy* caused her two sons to be slain, and turned herself out attended only with two maid-servants to lead a solitary life in *Samo-Thrace*, from whence she afterwards passed into *Egypt*, where she married her other brother *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, who for her sake divorced and banished *Arfinoe* daughter of *Lyfimachus*. *Ptolemy* now looked upon himself as thoroughly fixed in the *Macedonian* throne ; but he had not sat on it above a year, before a people he had scarce heard of sent to demand of him a tribute. These were the *Gauls*, who with three different armies broke into *Pannonia*, *Thracia*, and *Macedon*. This last corps was commanded by *Belgius*, who sent deputies to *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, to inquire of him in few words, how much money he would give for peace. *Ptolemy*, proud of his own performances, and not

at all doubting the fidelity of the *Macedonians* against these barbarous invaders, slighted the message, and returned for answer, that unless the principal officers of their army were given up to him for hostages, he would not allow it to them. The *Gauls* in their turn derided the haughtiness of this rash monarch, and marched immediately against him with a mighty army of horse and foot. *Ptolemy* failed not to meet them with the whole force of *Macedon*, and a battle was fought with great obstinacy on both sides. At last *Ptolemy*, being much wounded, was thrown by his elephant, and taken prisoner. The *Barbarians* shewed him as little pity as he had shewn others; for those who took him tore him to pieces, and then exalting his head on the top of a pike, his army were so intimidated, that they immediately began to break, and were soon after surrounded and cut to pieces. This misfortune was wholly owing to the confidence of *Ptolemy*, whose army was overthrown, not so much by the valour as by the multitude of their enemies; for whom they would have been at least a more equal match, if he had not refused twenty thousand men offered him by the king of the *Dardanians*, with this proud boast, that he had an army composed of the children of those with whom *Alexander* had subdued the east. This miserable end had *Ptolemy* himself, after he had been a king no more than eighteen months^a.

Meleager,
Antipater
and Soft-
henes.

THE *Macedonians* in this distress knew not well what to do, either in respect to preservation of their country, or the choice of a king. *Meleager* the brother of *Ptolemy* was at hand, him therefore they saluted king, but finding with the name they were not able to bestow on him the qualities requisite to a monarch, after two months they deprived him, and in his stead exalted *Antipater* the son of *Philip*, the brother of *Cassander*. Upon him they bestowed the surname of *Etesian*, because he governed but forty-five days, during which time the *Etesian* winds blew. Then an interregnum followed; the *Gauls* making havock of every thing, till *Softhenes*, a young nobleman of great merit, collected as well as he could a body of able youths, and having disciplined them, and brought them by degrees to a tolerable knowledge in military discipline, he with them, taking proper seasons and all the advantages resulting from the thorough knowledge of the country, greatly harassed, and at length totally destroyed the *Gauls*, and, as is generally believed, slew *Belgus* their commander. These noble exploits might well have intitled him to the kingdom, if his modesty had not induced him to re-

^a JEAN IN. lib. xxiv. 3—5. MIMON. ap. PLOT. uli supra.

fulse regal honours. He caused the soldiers to swear to him as their general, and with that title ruled happily in *Macedon* for two years; about the end of that time came a new inundation of *Gauls* under the command of *Brennus*, and broke into this country. His army consisted of one hundred and forty thousand foot and ten thousand horse, besides an innumerable train of retainers. *Softhenes* bore up against him with great courage, till himself and his army were overwhelmed with numbers; then they ruined and pillaged all the country, till being quite sated with booty, or rather finding there was nothing more to be had, and having received vast recruits from *Gaul* and *Illyria*, they left *Macedonia*, and poured down into *Greece* ^b.

Softhenes being dead and the kingdom of *Macedon* deserted by the *Gauls*, *Antigonus Gonatus*, so called from the place of *Gonatus* his birth, revived his claim to the kingdom, as son to *Deme-*
trius Poliorcetes; but he was opposed by *Antiochus Soter* the
 son of *Seleucus Nicator*, who also pretended title to the
 kingdom, in right of his father who had conquered it, tho' he
 never possessed it. *Antigonus* who had already reigned
 ten years in *Peloponnesus*, came with a great fleet and army
 and took possession of the kingdom, before his rival was in
 any condition to contest it with him; yet this did not at all
 discourage *Antiochus* from prosecuting his claim; for he im-
 mediately raised a great army, and threatened to transport it
 from *Asia* into *Europe*. It so happened, that during this dis-
 pute *Nicomedes* king of *Bithynia* entered into a treaty with
Antigonus for their mutual defence; whereupon *Antiochus*
 carried the war into his kingdom, which he invaded
 with a powerful army; yet there happened no decisive action,
 but after the armies had for some time observed each other,
 a treaty was made, whereby all these differences were adjust-
 ed. *Antigonus* married *Phila* the daughter of *Seleucus* by
Stratonice the sister of *Antigonus* himself, and as this lady was
 half-sister and daughter-in-law to *Antiochus*, he resigned his
 right to the kingdom of *Macedon* to *Antigonus* on account of
 the marriage. Being now peaceable possessor of the kingdom
 of *Macedon*, he applied himself with all imaginable industry
 to the restoring the towns and villages which had been
 ruined by the *Gauls*. But while he was intent upon such
 matters, the *Gauls* threatened another invasion; but before
 they entered his country, they sent to him as they had to
Ptolemy Ceraunus, to know if he was inclined to purchase

restored.
 Year of
 the Flood,
 2725.
 Before
 Christ,
 274.

^b JUSTIN. ubi supra. DIODOR. SICUL. excerpt. lib. xii.
 peace.

peace, for they were well informed that he had brought a great treasure out of *Peloponnesus*. *Antigonus* entertained the ambassadors splendidly, and having shewn them his camp, his army, and his treasures, told them, these were not to be given away, but to be employed for the just defence of his subjects. When these deputies returned home, and had reported not only the king's answer, but also what splendid things they had seen in his camp, the *Gauls* were impatient to go and take possession of all the fine things they talked of ; for though they were but fifteen thousand foot and three thousand horse, yet they made no question of subduing *Antigonus*, as they had done some of his predecessors. That they might perform this the more easily, they made forced marches in order to surprize him ; but *Antigonus*, being aware of their intent, withdrew his forces into a wood, and so avoided an engagement : however, the *Gauls* rifled his camp, and then proceeded to plunder his ships ; but the seamen and soldiers on board, perceiving that they observed no order, and that they were quite intoxicated with success, fell upon them and cut off numbers of them. In the mean time *Antigonus* and his soldiers being apprised of what had happened, they also attacked the *Gauls* in the rear, and gained over them so complete a victory, as for the present established *Antigonus* firmly on the throne. But before he had time to perform what he endeavoured, the restoring the kingdom to its antient lustre, he had another enemy upon his hands, more formidable than the *Gauls*, viz. *Pyrrhus* king of *Epirus*, who, returning with the shattered remains of an army from *Italy*, after he had continued a little time in his own country, invaded the frontiers of *Macedonia*, in hopes of plunder ; but finding little resistance, he advanced into the very heart of *Macedon*, where two thousand men, who had been posted in the adjacent towns for their defence by *Antigonus*, deserted to him ; whereupon he resolved to venture a battle, notwithstanding the *Macedonian* army was more numerous, and composed of better troops than his own. This once resolved on, he prosecuted his march against *Antigonus* with the utmost diligence, and coming up with him in a defile, he charged his forces briskly. The rear of the army was composed of *Gauls*, whom *Antigonus* had taken into his service ; they made a very gallant defence, and continued fighting till most of them were cut to pieces. When these were destroyed, *Pyrrhus* made himself master of the elephants, and, elated with his success, advanced towards the phalanx which *Antigonus* commanded in person, and which alone was capable of defeating his army :
yet

yet *Pyrrhus* vanquished it without a stroke. For when he drew near enough to be heard, he called not only some of the principal but also many of the inferior officers by their names, and thereby drew them and the troops under their command over to his party, so that of a sudden *Antigonus* saw himself without troops; whereupon with a few of his friends he retired from the field, and had much ado to reach the coast of *Macedon*, where by means of his fleet some of the maritime cities were held in his obedience c.

Pyrrhus was once again owned king of *Macedon*, for the royal city of *Ægis*, and all the places of any importance in the neighbourhood, submitted without farther dispute. Yet, as soon as he got possession of the kingdom, he, by an unaccountable act of folly, or rather of wickedness, lost the hearts of the people; for after plundering the city of *Ægis*, and using its inhabitants with very great severity, he placed a garrison of mercenary *Gauls* therein. They, as soon as he was departed, took it into their heads that there must be vast riches buried in the sepulchres of the antient kings; wherefore they, without more ado, entered the silent repositories of the dead, and having impiously scattered the ashes of the deceased princes, tore away whatever they found of any value in their monuments. *Pyrrhus*, when informed of this, shewed very little concern at it, and never so much as pretended to revenge it: all his care was to keep the kingdom, and make the most of it. When he was obliged to quit it for some time, he left his son *Ptolemy* as his vicegerent. This opportunity *Antigonus* took to return with what troops he could get together from the sea-coasts, in hopes of reconquering the kingdom. But *Ptolemy* advancing against him with the army left him by his father, an engagement ensued, wherein *Antigonus* was routed, and with much ado escaped with no more than seven attendants. Of this, when *Pyrrhus* received advice, he was so intoxicated with his good fortune, that he said by way of raillery, *That Antigonus was a very impudent fellow, still to wear a purple robe*: A most unmannerly and ill-grounded sarcasm, since that prince, distressed as he was, held still very considerable territories in *Greece*, and had both spirit and ability to maintain a longer contest for the kingdom of *Macedon*. When *Pyrrhus* had held the kingdom two years, he rashly, and almost without any ground, involved himself in a war with the *Lacedæmonians*, and, in order thereto, marched down into *Greece* with the flower of his army; there he missed taking *Sparta*

by delay, and while he endeavoured to retrieve his mistake, he had news that *Antigonus*, having recovered a great part of *Macedon*, had followed him to *Greece*, and was in the neighbourhood of *Argos*; whither himself being invited by the opposite faction, he, according to his wonted custom, laid hold of that opportunity to desert an unlucky enterprize, in hopes of entering on one more fortunate. But when he drew near the city, he was met by a deputation from thence, who were sent to inform him, that *Antigonus* was encamped on the neighbouring hills, and that it was the humble request of the city, that neither of them would enter it. *Pyrrhus* promised that he would do as they desired; but in the mean time he sent to defy *Antigonus*, and to challenge him to fight hand to hand before both armies for the kingdom. To which *Antigonus* returned him for answer, *That himself in making war, used not only arms but time; and that if Pyrrhus was weary of life, there were ways enow to death, which lay directly before him.* To the deputies from *Argos* who made him the same proposition they had *Pyrrhus*, he answered, *That he came to do them good, but if his retiring would be more for their interest, he was content to retire, and, as a proof of his sincerity, to give them his son for a hostage.* They thankfully received the young prince, and then sent to demand hostages of *Pyrrhus*, which he refused, but promised to keep his word, though he never intended it. For in the night he entered the city, and *Antigonus*, at the request of the citizens, having sent forces to assist them, a battle ensued in the streets, where, in the morning, *Pyrrhus* was slain. *Alcyoneus* the son of *Antigonus* taking the head by the hair, rid with it full speed to his father, and, finding him talking with some of his favourites, threw it at his feet. *Antigonus* looking upon it, and knowing it, not only thrust his son from him with disdain, but struck him with his battoon; *Barbarous wretch*, said he, *why didst thou think, that he whose grandfather was thus slain, and whose father died a captive, should rejoice at such a sight?* Then taking the robe from his shoulders, he covered the head, and at the same time let fall a shower of tears, giving orders that the body should be carefully looked for, and that they should be burnt together, with all the funeral honours due to a king. While he was speaking, *Alcyoneus* having discovered *Helenus* the son of *Pyrrhus* in a threadbare coat, he spoke to him kindly, and with great respect presented him to his father; *Well, my son*, said *Antigonus*, *this is better than you did before; however, you have done less than your duty still, in that you have suffered a person of his*
quality

quality to approach me in that thread-bare coat, which is not a disgrace to him, but to our victory. Having then comforted *Helenus* for the loss of his father, he entertained him kindly, and afterwards set him at liberty, and sent him home to *Epirus*. The principal officers in *Pyrrhus's* army he sent for, assured them of his favour, and incorporated the troops they commanded into his own ^d.

Antigonus now held not only the kingdom of *Macedon*, but also very large possessions in *Greece*; yet was he as far as ever from being freed from enemies, new ones arising up as the old ones were destroyed. The *Gauls*, breeding him new disturbances, threatened no less mischief than they had heretofore done himself and his predecessors; but *Antigonus*, having made all the necessary preparations for subduing them, first cut off numbers in skirmishes, whereby they were so provoked, that in a rage they massacred their wives and children, and then put all to the hazard of a battle, in which they were defeated, and in a manner exterminated. After this victory *Antigonus* led his army against *Athens*, and, notwithstanding it was powerfully supported, compelled it to receive a garison; but in the midst of his success he was recalled into *Macedon*, by the news that *Alexander* the son of *Pyrrhus*, being become king of *Epirus*, had entered *Macedon*, and committed great depredations. *Antigonus* on his return marched directly with a great army to repel the invader. Then, when he least expected it, the *Macedonians* again deserted him, and went over to *Alexander*, who thus acquired the kingdom without a stroke. *Antigonus* was so much surprized and confounded at the ingratitude and infidelity of a people, whom he had used so well, that he even deserted them and retired into *Greece*. His son *Demetrius*, a very boy, remained in *Macedon*, where having with much difficulty collected a body of troops, he daily did some exploit or other, which so charmed the *Macedonians*, who were always fond of active princes, that they listed willingly under his banners, and thereby enabled him not only to regain the whole kingdom, but also to prosecute his father's quarrel in *Epirus*, the hereditary kingdom of his father's enemy, which he did with such effect, that in his turn he expelled *Alexander*, who fled for shelter to the *Ætolians*, amongst whom he collected a fresh army with an intent to make a brisk inroad into his own kingdom, once more to try the affections of his subjects. In this attempt he had all the success he could wish, for the *Epirots* joined him

^d PLUT. in vit. Pyrrh. JUSTIN. lib. xxv c. 5.

in such numbers, that *Demetrius* found it convenient to leave that kingdom, in order the more effectually to secure *Macedonia*, which he had recovered for his father ^c.

Antigonus *Antigonus*, returning to this kingdom, governed his subjects for many years in peace, making use of every advantage afforded him by the fluctuating state of things in *Greece*, to strengthen and enlarge his authority there. In his declining years he conceived a strange ungovernable desire of getting the citadel of *Corinth* into his hands, which he pursued with incredible vehemence and assiduity. It had been formerly held, together with *Sicyon*, by *Cratesipolis*, the wife of *Alexander* the son of *Polysperchon*; from her it was taken by *Ptolemy*, and, having often afterwards changed its masters, it was now in the hands of one *Alexander*, who esteemed himself a prince, but was deemed by the *Greeks* a tyrant. The famous *Aratus* had contrived a scheme for surprizing it, but, before he was ready to put it in execution, *Alexander* entered into the *Achæan* league. Then it was, that *Antigonus* conceived an opinion that he should never be able to support his authority over the *Greeks*, unless he had this important place in his hands, which he compassed thus. *Alexander* being taken off by poison, *Demetrius* the son of *Antigonus* was sent by his father to court the widow, whose name was *Nicæa*, an old woman full of vanity, but suspicious and very cunning; a strong garison she kept in the citadel, but she could not keep her own understanding from being imposed upon by the pretences of *Demetrius*; in short she was weak enough to believe, that one of the handsomest princes of his time, and in the full vigour of his years, might be passionately in love with a woman of an advanced age. A marriage was therefore speedily concluded, and *Antigonus* himself came to grace the solemnity. *Nicæa*, however, kept the citadel, nay, and was more cautious of it than ordinary, of which *Antigonus* took no notice; but spent all his time in feasts, shews, and theatrical entertainments. One day, when *Amæbeus*, a famous musician, was to perform on the theatre for the amusement of *Nicæa*, *Antigonus* would needs accompany her as she was carried thither in a splendid chair; but when they came to a passage which led up to the citadel, *Antigonus* bid the bearers of the chair go on; then with more speed than could be expected from a man of his years, he ascended to the gate of the citadel, which finding shut, he knocked at it with his staff, and in a quick tone bid the soldiers open it; they, surprized to behold the king in person, did as he commanded; and *Antigonus* being once within

^c JUSTIN. lib. xxvi.

the place, easily transacted things there according to his pleasure. The joy he conceived on the happy success of this project, led him into great acts of indecorum, for he not only drank to excess at the feasts he gave his friends, but when he was full of wine went and danced in the streets, embraced every one he met, and in short acted as if the taking of *Corinth* had taken away his senses. From this time forward he employed all his care and thoughts in the prosecution of his views in *Greece*, where he supported all the petty tyrants against the free states, appointing new ones on the demise of the old, or swallowing them up as occasion offered, thereby enlarging his own dominions; though not much to the reputation either of his arms, or of his honour. But the *Achæans*, and especially *Aratus*, their glorious general, gave him not a little disquiet: they openly professed a desire of restoring *Greece* to freedom, which was the same thing, as if they had declared they would extirpate the *Macedonian* power in *Greece*. Yet *Antigonus* did not make war on them, for he had in his lifetime experienced such variety of fortune, that he was fearful of staking any thing in the open field; and therefore sought by promises to bring over *Aratus*, and by smooth language to amuse the *Achæans*. His policy without doubt was right; yet it did not very well answer his end, for *Aratus* and the *Achæans* acted just as he did, they laid hold of every opportunity to augment their own power, and pretended to surprize cities, and to take under their protection countries dependent on *Antigonus* without breaking the peace. At length *Aratus* ventured upon *Corinth*, and actually surprized it in the night, about eight years after it had been taken by *Antigonus*. *Archelaus*, who commanded the king's garison, he dismissed; but for the treasure in the citadel and the ships in the haven, those he retained. It does not appear, that even this engaged *Antigonus* in an open war against the *Achæans*; on the contrary, we find he prosecuted his old method of countenancing and supporting their enemies, whereby he impeded their power at least, though somewhat at the expence of his own. Other acts of his we find none, except that he thoroughly settled the realm of *Macedon*, and so effectually conciliated the minds of the people to him and his family, that they were ever after very loyal subjects to his descendants. In fine, after a reign of upwards of thirty years, he died, being somewhat above fourscore, with the character of a mild and generous prince, one whose wisdom surpassed his valour, and yet one who, in cases of necessity and when all was at stake, had shewn himself personally brave f.

f JUSTIN lib. xxviii. PLUT. in vit Arat.

Demetrius
II.

Year of
the Flood

2756.

Before
Christ

243.



Demetrius succeeded his father, and, on account of the great things he had performed while a youth, much was expected from him. Yet after he obtained the crown, he seemed to have altered his conduct, and to have acted with greater caution than vigour. He had married the daughter of *Antiochus Hierax*, and so long as he kept to this wife, his affairs went peaceably enough at home. Abroad he had some trouble with the *Ætolians*, a restless uneasy people, who were impatient of any wrong done to themselves, and yet were continually robbing and spoiling their neighbours. *Demetrius*, to blunt the edge of their courage, stirred up against them *Agrion* king of *Illyria*, who came down against them with a great army, engaged, and routed them; for joy of which he made vast feasts, and at them drank so heartily, that he was seized with a fever, and died in a few days time. He was succeeded by his wife *Tuta*, who was as successful, and made as bad use of her success, as her husband; for having experienced the valour of her subjects, she not only permitted, but encouraged, them to commit all sorts of robberies and piracies on the neighbouring nations, which ended at last in their destruction. *Demetrius* in the mean time found himself engaged in a war against the *Achæans*, who under the command of *Aratus* had invaded *Attica*. *Bythis*, who was general for the king in those parts, instantly took the field, and at *Phylacia* it came to a battle, wherein the *Achæans* were beaten, and it was reported, that *Aratus* was either slain, or made prisoner. At *Athens* the former was so firmly believed, that the citizens, to shew their affection to the *Macedonians*, put on garlands, as if some mighty good luck had befallen them; whereas in truth, *Aratus* intended to restore them to their liberty; their behaviour therefore was at once chargeable with gross flattery and rank ingratitude. What confirmed them in all probability in their notion of the death of *Aratus*, was a message sent by *Diogenes* who was governor of the *Pyræus* for the king, to *Corinth*, commanding the *Achæans* immediately to quit that city; but this order was very indifferently obeyed, because *Aratus* himself was then in the city, where receiving information of the joy shewn by the *Athenians* for his death, he, with such troops as he could first draw together, invaded their territories, to let them see that he was alive, and penetrated as far as the academy, where being met by certain deputies, to excuse the conduct of their countrymen from the visible force they were under, he suffered himself to be appeased, and withdrew his forces without doing any considerable mischief. In *Macedon* the latter report of his being a prisoner, was so well received, that *Demetrius* sent a ship directly to *Athens* to bring him from thence

thence in chains. The *Ætolians*, having being relieved from their late distress by the *Achæans*, recovered their old disposition with their prosperity, and, in consequence thereof endeavoured to tear away that part of *Acarnania* which was subject to the crown of *Epirus*. This kingdom was at that time governed by *Olympias* the sister and widow of *Alexander*, as guardian to her sons *Pyrrhus* and *Ptolemy*. She therefore, to rid herself of these barbarous enemies, applied to *Demetrius* king of *Macedon*, and prevailed on him to marry her daughter *Phthia*. This produced the queen and her children very little good, though it proved the cause of no small mischief to *Demetrius*; for his first wife was so much enraged thereat, that she left him, and retired to her brother, whom she earnestly excited to make war upon her husband; which though the unsettled state of his own affairs would not permit, yet the inclination he shewed to revenge his sister's quarrel obliged *Demetrius* to take all the precautions necessary to repel an invader. All that we know farther of this king of *Macedon* is, that he added *Cyrene* and all *Libya* to his dominions; but at what time, or by what means, we are not able to say. During his whole reign the *Achæans* struggled with him in *Greece*, and the barbarous nations on his frontiers gave him no small trouble. In defending himself from their attacks he spent the ten years in which he enjoyed the regal authority, and then died, leaving behind him a young son named *Philip* ⁸.

Macedonia could not be without a king, and as their lawful prince was little more than two years old, there was a necessity of appointing a regent. Some historians say, that *Demetrius* assigned his brother *Antigonus* to be the tutor of young *Philip*, which is probable enough; but he did not long continue to exercise this office, for having by his gentle and obliging conduct gained the good-will of the *Macedonians*, as also of the widow of the deceased king, he took her to wife, and was by them saluted king. Yet, imitating the policy of his predecessor *Philip* the son of *Amyntas*, he did not offer the least violence to his nephew, but, on the contrary, caused him to be brought up with great care, and, as we shall see, made him his successor. He was indeed a prince of great abilities, equally capable of maintaining peace at home, and of carrying on war abroad. He had a great reputation for his justice, was renowned for his clemency towards his enemies, and for his kindness and affability towards his friends. With all these great qualities he had very high ideas of the regal

Antigonus
Dofon.
Year of
the Flood,
2766.
Before
Christ,
233.

⁸ JUSTIN. ubi supra. PLUT. ubi supra. POLYB. lib. ii. PORPHYR. in Græcis. EUSEB. SOALIC. p. 229.

dignity,

dignity, and of the honour of the *Macedonian* name : he is said to have been slower in performing than promising, and therefore the *Greeks*, who in this age were more remarkable for saying quick things, than for doing wise ones, surnamed him *Dofon*, i. e. *will-give*. He had scarce begun to meddle with the administration, when *Diogenes*, whom the late king had made governor of his several forts in the city of *Athens*, most basely sold them, together with the island of *Salamis*, for a hundred and fifty talents. In the transacting of this treaty, the *Athenians* made use of *Aratus*, whom they had so lately treated as an enemy, and he not only lent them his advice, but furnished twenty talents out of his own pocket. So true a friend was he to the liberty of *Greece*, and so strongly was he at this time persuaded, that nothing cramped it so much as the *Macedonian* power. But in process of time, when the *Ætolians*, by lending assistance to *Cleomenes* king of *Sparta*, had enabled him to give check to the *Achæans*, and even to defeat *Aratus* in battle ; this great man began to change his sentiments, and to have another opinion of the *Macedonians*. Yet, not caring to be himself the author of a motion for calling in *Antigonus* once more into *Peloponnesus*, whom himself had so earnestly laboured to expel, he found means to engage the *Megalopolitans*, who were in immediate danger of being destroyed by *Cleomenes*, to demand succours of *Antigonus*, who very politicly answered, that he would readily send them assistance when the *Achæans* should desire it. When this answer was reported in the assembly of the *Achæans*, and generally applauded, *Aratus* alone opposed it, and advised the *Achæans* to try what they could do with their own forces, before they called in so powerful an ally ; yet this he did only to colour the business, foreseeing what quickly after fell out, that they would be under a necessity of applying to *Antigonus* ; and when this happened, he readily agreed to the motion, and sent his own son to the king, not only to negotiate the affair, but to be a hostage. *Antigonus* received the young man with great civility, and the request made by his father and the *Achæans* with the highest satisfaction ; for he of all things desired to retrieve his interest in *Greece*, and to assert that authority which the kings of *Macedon* from the time of *Philip* had maintained therein. One thing, however, from the beginning he insisted on, which was, that the citadel of *Corinth* should be put into his hands. For, as *Plutarch* observes, he looked on the *Greeks*, as a high-mettled horse, too dangerous to be rid without a bridle. To this condition, to avoid falling under the power of the *Lacedæmonians*, the *Achæans* submitted, and for the perform-

ance

ance of this, the son of *Aratus* became hostage. The king therefore soon after his coming prepared to perform his part of the treaty, and, in order thereto, assembled an army of twenty thousand foot and a thousand horse, with which he intended to have descended into *Thessaly*; but his march that way was hindered by a message sent him by the *Ætolians*, that they would oppose his passage at *Thermopylae* with their utmost force. He then transported his forces into *Eubœa*, but when he was come thither, he was informed that *Cleomenes* lay with a gallant army just within the isthmus, and that he had fortified it with lines which were not to be forced, but at the expence of a great number of men. All this made him very uneasy, especially as it happened in the very beginning of a war, when all cross adventures are most apt to discourage an army. *Aratus* came by sea to *Pegæ* with some of his friends, there *Antigonus* met and complimented them, treating all with great civility; but receiving *Aratus* with particular marks of friendship. This was the effect of policy, for he had been his old enemy, and was but lately become his friend; yet when they had conversed a little together, and *Antigonus*, who was an excellent judge of men, had thereby an opportunity given him of discoursing freely with this great politician, he grew into a sincere friendship with him, treating him ever after with the utmost familiarity and confidence. The first step of the war was the attacking the lines of *Corinth*, which were better defended than any other lines mentioned in the *Greek* history; but the city of *Argos* in *Peloponnesus* revolting, *Cleomenes* was forced to abandon his lines, lest he should have an enemy on both sides. *Antigonus* pursued the war to the satisfaction of the *Achæans* for some time, and then having the citadel of *Corinth* put into his hands, he made a pompous feast there for all the generals in the army. At this entertainment *Aratus* was placed next the king, who feeling himself on a sudden very cold, called for his cloak, and when the servant brought it, turning to *Aratus*, *My friend*, said he, *don't you think the weather very sharp?* Yes, replied *Aratus*, *I never felt it sharper.* The king thereupon pulled him closer to him, and bid the servant throw the cloak over them both; upon which *Aratus* fell a laughing; of which when the king demanded the reason, *I will tell you, Sir*, said *Aratus*; *a little before our treaty with you, when I had offered a solemn sacrifice, the soothsayer finding in the liver two gall-bags in one cell, he pronounced it his opinion, that two persons, then thought irreconcilable enemies, should very soon become most intimate friends; I smiled at the prediction then, and laughed at its accomplishment just now, for I believe your*

cloak covers those gall-bladders at present. The history of this war the reader has already had in our sixth volume; we shall therefore only touch on such points as relate immediately to the conduct of *Antigonus*, and are not mentioned there. As the advantages obtained by the *Achæans* were entirely due to the assistance he had brought them, the king thought it but reasonable that *Orchomenus*, and some other places that were taken, should be garisoned by *Macedonians*. He also caused the statues of those who had surprized the citadel at *Corinth* to be thrown down, excepting only that of *Aratus*. In *Argos* he restored the statues of those whom the *Achæans* stiled tyrants, but who had been protected in the authority they exercised by his ancestors. These things created a great deal of trouble to *Aratus*, who was made accountable by his countrymen for every thing that happened, as if after they had admitted *Antigonus* into their country, had chosen him their captain general, and had vested him with supreme power, he would not conduct things a little according to his own will, and not intirely in consequence of the advice given him by others. Yet it seems, that to gratify the *Achæans*, he sent the greatest part of his forces to take up their winter quarters in *Macedonia*, which gave *Cleomenes* an opportunity of destroying all the country about *Argos*, under the nose of the king, who with a few mercenary troops lay in the neighbourhood of the city. It was upon this occasion that he performed the greatest action of his life, which was absolutely refusing to fight, when he could not do it without manifest disadvantage, notwithstanding he was insulted by the enemy, and railed at by his confederates. His prudence preserved him from that disgrace, which would have attended a defeat; and when his forces were returned, he made himself ample amends for the injury his reputation had received, by the glorious victory at *Sellasia*, where he totally defeated *Cleomenes*, and, in consequence of his victory, took the virgin city of *Sparta*. If any thing could add to his glory after this, or rather, if any thing could eclipse the lustre of his victory by its superior splendor, it was his behaviour on this occasion; for he not only prevented the plunder of the city, but declared to the magistrates, that he did not carry on the war against the *Spartans*, but against *Cleomenes*; with respect to whom, as he was fled, he had no farther rancour. He left the city in three days, and left it as free as he found it, being obliged to make a precipitate march back into *Macedonia*, on account of his having received information, that the *Illyrians* had invaded that kingdom with a great army. In his return he

came

came to *Tegea*, where he restored that little republic. Thence he proceeded to *Argos*, and arriving there at the time the *Nemean* games were celebrated, had the satisfaction of receiving the highest compliments, and strongest testimonies of respect from the *Greeks* in general, and from every little state in particular. When he arrived in *Macedon*, he found all things in confusion; his own people dejected, the enemy flushed with success. He did not, however, despair, but having recruited his army, advanced to meet the *Illyrians*, who had brought with them a mixt rabble of *Barbarians*, and had hitherto bore down before them all things like a deluge. A battle quickly ensued, which proved decisive, the *Macedonians* obtaining a victory equally glorious and complete; but they gained it at a very great expence, the king dying a few days afterwards of a spitting of blood, induced by straining his voice during the time of the engagement. Thus *Antigonus* died, as he had lived, in the service of his country, having adjured the army to remain faithful to his nephew and pupil *Philip*; who, though a very youth, was now to take the government into his own hands. The people were in general very much grieved on the death of so good a prince; however, he left them in a better condition than they had ever been in since the days of *Antipater*; for they were well united, and began to resume their antient liberty^a.

Philip began his administration very happily, and, which *Philip* is not a little singular, had both better reputation, and better Year of success, while he was so young as to be governed by others, the Flood, than after he managed all things according to his own will. 2778. His natural abilities were very great, for he was brave in his Before person, very eloquent, skilled in all the learning worthy of a Christ, king, and one who knew how to make himself acceptable 221. to all degrees of people. In the beginning of his reign, he was engaged in the social war in *Greece*, which drew after it a train of other military expeditions against the *Illyrians*, *Ætolians*, and other nations, who either made war upon the *Achæans*, or invaded *Macedon*, in order to divert *Philip* from succouring the last-mentioned people. All of these we have considered at large in our sixth volume: here therefore it would be superfluous to repeat them, and for that reason we shall only glance on such points, as are necessary to introduce the history of the remaining part of *Philip's* life, unaccounted for in that part of our work. The course of his affairs discovered to him before he was a very old man,

^a POLYB. lib. ii. PLUT. in vit. Arat. JUSTIN. lib. xxviii. c. 3. 4.

that he had some true friends, and some very false ones ; but which were his true friends, and which only pretended to be his friends, he could not discover ; at least not certainly ; which was the reason that he often treated his false friends with confidence, and his true ones with disdain. In the end, however, he fell to destroying them all. *Apelles* and *Ptolemy*, who had been in his councils from his accession to the throne, he put to death, the latter with, the former without, the ordinary forms of justice ; neither without cause. But for *Aratus* the elder and his son *Aratus* the younger, men of the greatest worth and honour, men who had been the support of his family, his guides in his best actions, those who procured to him, and those who preserved to him, the affections of the *Greeks*; these he treated most detestably. The former he poisoned, the wife of the latter he debauched, while he was his guest ; and then practised upon himself by giving him drugs, which by degrees disturbed his senses, and induced him to perpetrate such actions, as made his death appear rather seasonable to his friends, than untimely, as it really was. *Philip*, however, from such practices as these grew odious at home and abroad, yet he maintained his authority by dint of his skill in government, and his experience as a general ; for though he was seldom fortunate either in conducting his projects, or in the field, yet he had happy talents in negotiation, could put on an appearance of firmness in the worst circumstances, and could improve every opportunity that offered of retrieving his affairs, though, when he had retrieved them, his ambition would never suffer him to be quiet. Wars, losses, treaties, repeated over and over again, employed thirty years and upwards of his reign ; till the *Romans* had reduced him to such a miserable state, that he was forced to submit to the orders they sent him ; to send his younger son *Demetrius* to *Rome* as a hostage, and to undertake to live in peace with all his neighbours, in consideration of their leaving him the kingdom of *Macedon*, circumscribed within its antient bounds, with other hard conditions, such as delivering up his ships of war, and paying by way of fine a thousand talents at several times¹.

Philip
struggles
with the
Romans.

THE subsequent war between the *Romans* and *Antiochus* seemed to offer *Philip* an opportunity of restoring in some measure his power ; but he passed it by, not through negligence or want of discernment, for no prince in the age in which he lived was either quicker in executing, or could pe-

¹ PLUT. in vit. Arat. & Philopœm. POLYB. Hist. lib. iv. JUSTIN. lib. xxx, xxxi, xxxii. See Vol. VI. p. 494.

netrate farther than he: but the cause of his not stirring was this; he saw clearly that the strength of his kingdom was much exhausted, and that his revenues were in no condition to support the charges of a war. When this struggle was over, and the war against the *Ætolians* commenced, he attempted to take part therein for his own advantage, coming down with an army to the siege of *Lamia*, at the same time that the consul *Acilius* lay before *Heraclea*. But when *Philip* had brought the town almost to extremity, the consul sent to command him to raise his siege, not with any design to save the city, but that he might take it himself. However, the king was allowed to turn his arms for the present into *Athamania* and towards *Thrace*; but no sooner had he made some conquests of importance, than complaints were made against him at *Rome*, and the *Romans* immediately appointed commissioners, who were to go over to *Greece*, with full power to hear and determine; in consequence of which, they did accordingly summon all parties before them, pronounce judgment against *Philip*, and order him to content himself with *Macedonia* in its antient state. *Philip*, stung with so severe a sentence, could not help saying, that he had not seen his last sun set, of which many constructions were made, most of them little to his advantage. In the mean time there sprung up divisions in his family, and a spirit of discord began to appear among his subjects. His eldest son *Perseus* he had begotten on a concubine, whence he was not so much respected as his younger brother *Demetrius*. This *Demetrius* was not only happy in the people's affections, but was really a prince of extraordinary merit. He had a sincere affection for his father, a most tender love for his country, and had conceived a high respect for the *Romans*; among whom he had remained some time a hostage, and was afterwards dismissed with great respect. His brother *Perseus*, observing what regard *Philip* paid him, how fond the *Macedonians* were of him, and what an interest he had at *Rome*, began to hate him very heartily, and to do him privately all the mischief he could. The hatred of *Philip* towards the *Romans* began by degrees to appear, not only by words escaping him at unawares, but by his endeavouring to increase his revenues, by augmenting the customs upon merchandize, and causing the mines to be every-where put under a new regulation, at the same time that he granted large privileges to certain cities, and endeavoured all that in him lay to encourage foreigners to come and settle in his kingdom. *Demetrius* saw plainly the drift of this, and therefore advised his father:

to

to desist from all projects against the *Romans*, who, as he affirmed, would be ever too powerful for him ; wherefore it was better that he should use their friendship for the supporting at least, if not for the augmenting, his dominions, than that, out of a vain hope of recovering part of what he had lost, he should hazard all that remained, and which he might be said to hold from their courtesy. *Philip* was too great a politician not to discern the strength of his son's arguments, yet he could not prevail with himself to follow them. He remembered the great reputation of his ancestors, and was ashamed to see himself, with greater abilities than most of the kings of *Macedon*, cramped up in narrower bounds than their enemies had ever prescribed them. He took this the worse, because, as he conceived, he had deserved well of the *Romans* ; he alone had assisted them in the *Ætolian* war ; he had given a passage to their army through his country, and had yielded obedience to their decrees when they touched him to the quick. He could not therefore endure, that *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus* should be gratified by them in every thing he asked, and himself at the same time as steadily refused things which in his opinion were his right. His discontent was augmented by a decree of the *Romans*, which peremptorily required him to withdraw his garisons from *Ænus* and *Maronea*, maritime towns of *Thrace*. *Philip* pleaded, that if these cities were at liberty, they would become weak and defenceless places, and fall easily into the hands of the *Thracians* and *Dardanians*, wild and barbarous nations, whom, by retaining these cities in his hands, he kept from doing what they had often practised in former times, viz. making inroads into *Macedon*. The *Romans* looked on all these pretences as so many frivolous excuses, which, when *Philip* understood, he determined with himself to comply with their demands, but at the same time to revenge himself on the *Maronites*, whose clamours had obtained the decree. With this view he sent orders for his garisons to leave those cities, yet at the same time sent instructions to *Onomastus*, who was his governor of the maritime coast of *Macedonia*, to strike such a blow, as that the *Maronites* might not be too much transported with their liberty. *Onomastus* transmitted his orders to *Cassander*, one of the king's officers in *Maronea*, advising him privately to let in the *Thracians*, which he did ; and they plundered the city with all the circumstances of cruelty and avarice which could possibly be imagined. Without all doubt, a contrivance of this sort was executed with as much secrecy as possible ; yet so it fell out, that the *Roman* deputies gained such positive intelligence, that they charged it home upon the king ; and the

the *Romans* thereupon directed, that he should justify himself before the senate. This was a new mortification, the rather, because he was commanded to send *Onomastus* and *Cassander* thither; which he conceived to be an high indignity offered to him, who was an independent prince, and expected to have been believed on his word. Yet, to preserve himself from being destroyed, before he was strong enough to make resistance, he yielded, though with some constraint, to the conditions imposed upon him. *Onomastus*, he protested, he could not send, because he was a person whose service he needed, and whose innocence, he affirmed, sufficiently appeared, in that he was not near the city at the time it was taken and sacked. *Cassander* he sent, but took care to have him poisoned by the way, and then well knowing that the *Romans* would not pass by such a scene of extraordinary actions, he ordered his son *Demetrius* to repair to *Rome*, with notes of the answers he had to make to the objections raised against his conduct, and also a schedule of grievances which might serve to justify his conduct, if it should appear as extraordinary as it was represented. *Demetrius*, furnished with these credentials, came to *Rome*; but when he was admitted to defend his father's cause before the senate, he was so much amazed at the weight of the several charges brought against him, that he was not able to return any answer at all. Yet, in regard to his youth, his inexperience, and the great personal regard they had for him, he was permitted to make use of his father's notes, out of which he read what he thought would have greatest weight. The cause over, he had liberty given him to return home, and by him was sent the ratification of the treaty formerly made, and his excuses accepted; but with this express clause, that all was done out of regard to his son, which was also signified to him by the ambassador resident in *Macedon*. A circumstance which did not please *Philip*, and did very little good to *Demetrius*, whom his father began to believe more attached to the *Romans* than himself; though in truth the young man only stood in more fear of them than his father did, because he was better acquainted with their power and arts than he. *Philip* failed not to use the leisure he had acquired by his son's negotiation, in providing effectually for war, when all negotiation should fail. In pursuit of this design, he took such steps as proved him to be a man of deep foresight, and one who was as well able to struggle with fortune as any king that ever lived. In the first place, perceiving his subjects on the sea-coast were not only greatly addicted to peace, but likewise strongly inclined to the *Romans*, he immediately transplanted these into *Æmathia*,

Æmathia, and brought multitudes of *Thracians* to inhabit the sea-coast, who were in themselves a hardy warlike people, and who, he was sure, would depend upon him as the author of their settlements, and him from whom they were to expect all things. Finding the *Dardanians*, a barbarous nation, who were the implacable enemies of the *Macedonians*, not to be wrought upon by fair means, and that it was no way in his power either to bridle or subdue them by force, he bethought himself of a very extraordinary expedient for the ridding himself and his people of these bad neighbours, and of getting better in their room. He sent certain deputies whom he could trust to the *Bastarnæ*, a very numerous people, inhabiting the banks of the river *Ister*, now the *Danube*, to persuade them to leave their old seats, and to come and possess themselves of *Dardania*, which was a country far preferable to their own, and in the conquest of which he promised to assist them. There was one difficulty, however, to be adjusted, which was their getting to *Dardania*, because in their march thither, they were first of all to lead with them their wives and children; and secondly, they were to cross the dominions of several *Thracian* princes. The first seemed to require a great deal of time, the latter to render the scheme absolutely impracticable. *Philip*, however, devised means for removing both difficulties; he offered to remit them money to furnish them with necessaries for their journey, and, by presents made to the petty princes of *Thrace*, he procured for them a safe passage through their dominions. But while his mind was big with these vast projects, he found things of importance enough to disquiet him near home. His subjects, whom he had transported from the coasts of *Macedonia*, testified their discontents aloud, and complained vehemently of the king's want of affection towards his countrymen, that could consent to transport them hither and thither, merely to make way for strangers and barbarians. If *Philip* had taken little notice of these passionate speeches, it is very probable they would in a short time have passed over; for except that they had lost their old habitations, these people had small cause to repine, being rather gainers than losers by the exchange they had been forced to make. But the king, who was naturally cruel, and grew more and more jealous as he grew in years, construing those sharp speeches into rebellion, began with acts of severity to exasperate the people, and to make such disloyal, who were before but impatient. These steps, instead of supporting, embarrassed all his other projects, and induced by degrees such mischiefs, as, with all his policy, he knew neither how to remedy, nor how to endure.

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The quarrels in his family grew daily wider and wider; *Perseus* encouraged all who either ridiculed or declaimed seriously against the *Romans*, and *Demetrius* openly vindicated the *Romans* against all such. An accident at last happened, which increased those dissensions which were already but too fierce, and was attended with such consequences as could hardly have been foreseen. *Philip*, at a certain stated season, gave directions for lustrating the army, a ceremony heretofore described, and of which we shall say nothing more here, than that it was concluded by the representation of a fight, the army dividing for that purpose, and one half combating the other. The two young princes were commanders in this mock-engagement, and their companions rashly instigating them to shew their skill and bravery therein, a great deal of mischief ensued. In the end *Demetrius* prevailed. *Perseus* at the first was very much discontented, but when his counsellors shewed him, that this intemperate heat in his brother might furnish him with a very plausible complaint to his father, he grew better satisfied, and consulted on this subject with his confidants. In the evening both princes entertaining their friends, some of *Perseus's* spies were discovered at *Demetrius's* table, and, on account of their insolent behaviour, were first well beaten, and then expelled. But when the company had drank more freely, *Demetrius*, who was naturally good-humoured, would needs go to see his brother, that he might shew he was no way disaffected to him; those young men, who had lately beaten his spies, desired *Demetrius* to excuse them, to which he would by no means consent, believing that he should be able so to compose matters, as to give *Perseus* satisfaction. Those young men, having quite another opinion of his brother's temper, took care privately to arm themselves for fear of the worst, which when others, who were *Perseus's* discreeter spies observed, they instantly went and acquainted him with; he and the counsellors about him immediately determined, that this was the grand opportunity they sought, wherefore they caused the doors to be immediately barricadoed, at which, on his arrival, *Demetrius* expressing great surprize, his brother from within called to him to be gone, told him, he must take some other time, for that at present he was too well guarded to be assassinated. Presently after *Demetrius* was accused by his brother to their father of an attempt to murder him; and it was suggested, that he did this in confidence that the *Romans* would support him, and, to give colour to this suggestion, *Perseus* took notice of a letter from *T. Quintius*, wherein it was recommended to him to send *Demetrius* once again to *Rome* better attended than

than formerly, as the best means to procure favour for himself. *Demetrius*, on the other hand, defended himself boldly, and, without shewing any apprehension for the consequences, he recapitulated all the passages of the day; he bitterly inveighed against his brother for turning the exercise of the army into a struggle for the crown, and for representing actions of merriment and play as the effects of some gloomy conspiracy; he avowed his purpose to visit his brother, but disclaimed any sinister view, or any thought in himself, to practise against his brother's life. As for any dependance on the *Romans*, he said, that those only who were unacquainted with that people, could suggest, they would support so base and black a conspiracy; that the affection they had for himself proceeded, if not from his own virtue, at least from their opinion of it, which would have been effectually forfeited by so nefarious an enterprize; he concluded with a solemn asseveration, that, notwithstanding what was passed, he still loved *Perseus* as his brother; that he revered the king as his parent and his sovereign, and that he had ever sought to promote the peace of *Macedon*, as that which was most conducive to its power and grandeur. *Philip*, having calmly heard all that was said on both sides, decided prudently, and with a great shew of justice. He blamed *Demetrius* for acting in such a manner, as to give the least colour to his brother's charge; he reprehended *Perseus* for putting the worst construction on dubious actions; rising at length from his seat, he declared, that he would pass no judgment on the passages of a day, and the discourses at a dinner, but would believe of his sons whatever their future actions should speak them, exhorting them to take what had now happened for warning, and to be extremely circumspect in their conduct for the future. Notwithstanding this grave and disinterested speech, the king leaned for the time to come wholly to his eldest son; with him he consulted on all his affairs; and him only he made privy to the projects he had formed, for regaining a part at least of what the *Romans* had taken from him. As for *Demetrius*, he countenanced him publicly, but kept him a stranger to his councils. In the mean time he formed in his own breast a scheme, which, as he thought, would put him out of doubt, as to the intentions of his young son, either by demonstrating his innocence, or making his guilt apparent. With this view he chose *Philotes* and *Apelles*, *Macedonian* noblemen, who, as far as his intelligence reached, had never sided with either of the brethren, to go ambassadors to *Rome*; their public
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instructions ran to assure the state of his maintaining the present good correspondence between himself and them ; but they were privately directed to inquire into his sons conduct there, who were his intimates, and what schemes he had been forming. These worthy ambassadors, perceiving on which side the king's affections leaned, addressed themselves immediately to *Perseus*, and with him concerted what report they should make on their return before they set out for *Rome*. The result of their contrivances was, that when *Philocles* and *Apelles* came back, they spoke very tenderly of *Demetrius*, and presented the king a letter from *Titus Quintius*, whose seal, before he opened it, the king, who was well acquainted with it, observed ; wherein the *Roman* interceded earnestly for his younger son, excusing his wrong practices from his youth, and beseeching the king to pass by the measures he had taken to supplant his brother, the rather because all *Demetrius's* hopes from the *Romans* were vain and ill founded, since himself, who loved him so well, would never have countenanced so base an action. *Philip* made no question that he had now discovered the truth, and therefore marched his army towards mount *Hæmus*, on a frivolous pretext of viewing the country, but in truth, that he might have the better opportunity of putting *Demetrius* under an arrest, which he accordingly did, giving one *Didas* the command of the guard placed upon him. This commander too was one of *Perseus's* creatures, and by his directions found a way to compleat the ruin of the young prince. He insinuated to him, that though his father had placed him as a kind of keeper, yet he was so much moved with a sense of his misfortunes, that to deliver him out of them he would be content to run any risque whatever. The hapless *Demetrius*, swallowing the bait, confessed that he desired to fly to *Rome*, there to pass his days in safety out of the reach of his vindictive brother. *Didas* having communicated this to the king, received from him a command to take off his prisoner by poison ; but withal, he was cautioned to do it privately, on account of the love born by the *Macedonians* to the young prince, as well as for fear of the *Romans*. *Didas*, according to his master's orders, poisoned *Demetrius* ; but the drug working slowly, and the young man complaining bitterly, the business began to take air ; upon which *Didas* picked out two stout ruffians, who smothered that hopeful prince in the twenty-fifth year of his age. This was the first fact of its kind, which had fallen out in the house of *Antigonus the Great*, which till now had been remarka-

ble for nothing so much as the piety of children towards parents, and the affection of parents towards children ; a doctrine which *Philip* himself had formerly inculcated to his sons, and which he now dispensed with merely from reason of state ¹.

Philip falls into a deep melancholy. THE unfortunate *Demetrius* was hardly in his grave, before his brother and his father altered their conduct. *Perseus*, having obtained all he sought for, began to be less assiduous about his father, and to act more independently than he was wont ; he did not disguise the satisfaction which the death of his competitor gave him, or endeavour to conceal the number of his dependants and the strength of his faction. *Philip* was too quick-sighted not to discern this alteration in his son's conduct ; he began from that moment to doubt whether all that had been told him was true, or whether a base and cruel son had not contrived to deprive him of a worthy and deserving child. These thoughts having once entered his head, he saw daily more and more circumstances tending to heighten the suspicion. At length he communicated his apprehensions to his cousin *Antigenus*, a man of great honour and integrity, whose frank behaviour and honest counsels had long before rendered him obnoxious to *Perseus*. This man readily agreed with the king, that his jealousy of *Perseus* was better grounded than that which he had conceived of his brother ; he farther informed him, that there was one *Xychus* about the court who, he had good grounds to believe, was privy to the whole contrivance ; whereupon, by the king's express command, this traitor was seized, and brought into his presence ; where, for fear of the torture, he confessed that the letter of *T. Quintius Flaminus* was a forgery, and that he had been employed to frame it. *Philip*, distracted with the thoughts of having destroyed his own child, and tortured *Herodorus*, a *Macedonian* nobleman to death, merely for being his favourite, gave himself up to a melancholy, which differed very little from madness. However, by fits and starts he acted as a king ; for laying suddenly hold of *Philacles*, he first extorted from him a confession, and then put him to death ; *Apelles* would have shared his fate, if he had not secured himself by flight, withdrawing into *Italy*, in hopes of receiving there the news of his master's death, whom age and grief had now brought into a very declining condition. As for *Perseus*, though he

¹ LIV. Hist. lib. xxxix. xl. POLYB. excerpt. Hist. lib. vii. & ix. DIODOR. SICUL. excerpt. lib. xxvi. JUSTIN. lib. xxxii. did

did not retire out of *Macedon*, yet he kept upon the borders, quite deserting his father's court, expecting with impatience the happy minute which should make it his own. *Philip*, having now a true sense of his misery, plainly perceived that his arts served only to render him suspected; that his cruelty had made him odious; that the *Romans* spared him only out of respect to his ancestors; and that his death, as it was expected, so it was also generally wished for at home and abroad. In this untoward situation he formed a design of altering the succession of the crown, and having exposed the whole contrivance of his son *Perseus* against his brother *Demetrius* to the *Macedonians*, he earnestly recommended it to them to set *Antigonus* on the throne, which a little after he left vacant, dying of grief, when he had reigned forty-two years, and began to draw towards threescore. This end had *Philip*, who with great natural parts had an excellent education, and in process of time all that experience could add to perfect his wisdom. He was the author of his own misfortunes, for his tutor *Antigonus* left him in far happier circumstances than he could ever arrive at, after he presumed by his own judgment to change the face of affairs. In him it is pretended the prophecy of a certain *Sibyl* was fulfilled, who foretold, that as the *Macedonians* owed the extension of their power to a *Philip*, so a *Philip* should bring on its extinction. It is indeed observable, that these *Philips* had a likeness in their characters, though not in the success of their designs; they were both generals, both orators, both politicians; but they differed in this, that the first *Philip* was debonaire, open, and full of clemency, affecting empire, but affecting also so mild a government, as to leave men in doubt whether they should not prefer it to liberty; whereas the other *Philip* was suspicious, implacable, ready to shed blood, and alike covetous of power, and of making himself terrible by his power. The first was prosperous in all things, the latter prospered not in any ^k.

If *Philip* had entered upon this scheme of his ever so little earlier, he had in all probability succeeded; for we do not find that the *Macedonians* were much addicted to *Perseus*, or, that they at all disliked *Antigonus*; but inasmuch as the king thought not of it till his life grew near a close, *Perseus* found means to bribe his physician *Caligines*, who gave him from time to time notice of his father's state of health, and who advised him of his death a considerable time

^k TIR. LIV. lib. xli JUSTIN. lib. xxxii.

before he suffered it to be known to the public. *Perseus*, laying hold of this opportunity, came unexpectedly to the city of *Demetrias*, where his father died, with a body of troops, and seated himself on the throne by force. His first care was to settle himself firmly, which he conceived could not be done, till *Antigonus* was taken off; he began his reign therefore with shedding blood, and little regarding either the virtues of the man, or his near relation to his own family, he caused him to be put to death. Then he began to take gentler measures, and to put on the appearance of clemency and generosity; virtues with which in truth he was wholly unacquainted. We have before mentioned *Philip's* inviting the *Bastarnæ* to change their cold barren seats for the fruitful country of *Dardania*. This project with much difficulty he had brought to bear in the very last year of his life; and these people were then actually on their march through *Thrace* to the country he had offered them. But when the news of *Philip's* death came to be published, this business began to go backwards. The *Bastarnæ* themselves doubted, whether it were best for them to proceed, and the *Thracians* were irresolute as to the permission of their further progress. Hereupon quarrels ensued, under pretence that the *Thracians* exacted on the *Bastarnæ* in their markets, whence a war took rise, in which at first the *Thracians* were grievously handled, losing all the plain country to their new guests, who, not contented therewith, began to follow them to the mountains. In this expedition their fortune failed them, and either the despair of the *Thracians*, or, as some authors have reported, a miraculous tempest of hail, rain, and lightning, compelled the far greatest part of these barbarous invaders to return with their wives and children to their antient dwellings. Only thirty thousand penetrated into *Dardania*, and began there to carve out for themselves new settlements, wherein they were privately assisted by *Perseus*, who well knew both the nature and importance of his father's scheme. His circumstances did not allow him to act according to his inclination; his pride and avarice swelled his bosom with almost all the vices capable of deforming the human will; his fear, however, taught him to counterfeit some of the virtues which give the highest lustre to a crown. Moved by the terror of their greatness, he sent an embassy to the *Romans*, intreating them to renew the league made with his father, and to acknowledge him for king of *Macedon*, promising in return to act as their faithful ally, to leave his neighbours in peace, and to undertake no war without their permission. At home he affected all things that might reconcile him to the minds of the people;

he not only curbed his innate thirst of wealth, and made a shew of generosity, but his administration was also wonderfully mild, and, above all, he affected a rigid regard to justice. He sat daily to hear causes, and having a clear head, decided upon them with some applause. Towards the *Greeks* he behaved with the utmost moderation; he gratified them in all things they desired of him; he relinquished all the pretences of his ancestors upon any of their cities; in short he behaved so over graciously, that his very favours rendered him suspected. The *Romans*, when they had heard his ministers, sent over ambassadors of their own into *Macedon*, who were kindly entertained by *Perseus*, till they began to act like tutors. First, they interrogated him about the *Bastarnæ*, and began to intimate, that the *Romans* would not see the *Dardanians* subjected by these barbarians. *Perseus* affirmed, that he did not invite them; but that would not serve his turn, they were for forcing him to drive them back again. Shortly after the *Dolopians*, who were the subjects of *Perseus*, rebelled, and slew *Euphanor* his governor, under pretence that he had behaved tyrannically; *Perseus* marched against them with an army, and by force reduced them again under his dominion, not without chastising them pretty severely for their revolt; this furnished the *Roman* ambassadors with new cause of complaint; they said, he was tied up by his treaty from making war without the consent of their state; they intimated as much to *Perseus*, while he was in the field; but he would not hear of being tied up from punishing rebels, which to him appeared little less than taking from him his kingdom. Henceforward therefore the *Romans* and he were never upon good terms, though they were not immediately engaged in war, which however, the uneasiness only of their respective circumstances hindered, and not any inclination in either to enter into an amicable disquisition of the causes whence the discord between them sprung. After subduing the *Dolopians*, *Perseus* went to make a visit to the temple of *Apollo* at *Delphi*, marching, however, at the head of his army; this seemed to be at once a dangerous and unnecessary expedition, on account of his passing through the territories of states little affected to him, and to whom indeed the conduct of his father might have justly rendered him obnoxious; yet *Perseus* so managed it, as not only to avoid giving farther offence, but also to make this very march a means of restoring friendship and confidence between himself and these states. He took such care in quartering his army, that none were oppressed, and paid so exactly for whatever they had, that many thought his

his passage a benefit to them. The deputies which were sent to compliment him, he received kindly and with respect ; and when he had performed his journey to *Delphi*, he returned without leaving any mark either of resentment or ambition behind him. This was a new cause of complaint at *Rome*, where, if the king lived upon ill terms with his neighbours, it was resented as a mark of his thirst of power ; and if he was desirous of being upon good terms with them, that too was resented as an indication of his seeking allies, in case he made war with the *Romans*. To say the truth, suspicion reigned at present in *Italy* and in *Greece*, the *Romans* holding none for friends who scrupled obedience in any thing ; and the *Greeks* began to distrust the *Roman* friendship, when they found it as fatal to their liberty as the enmity of others¹. Hence two factions sprung up in *Greece*, the one wholly dependent on *Rome*, the other desirous of restoring the antient glory of their country, and therefore favouring the king of *Macedon*, who on all occasions affected to speak warmly on this topic, and to represent the independency of *Greece* as the main point he had in view. As a war was generally expected, and as the king himself meant at last to recur to force, he took great pains to be well provided for it ; he cultivated the friendship of the *Rhodians*, who had been his father's open enemies, and this with such success, that in a most sumptuous manner they conveyed to him *Lacdice* the daughter of *Seleucus*, son to *Antiochus the Great*². About the same time he married his sister to *Prusias* king of *Bithynia*, whom he had engaged in alliance with him. With the *Thracians* he not only struck up a peace, but drew them to consent to furnish him with soldiers, when and in what proportion he pleased. In his own kingdom of *Macedon*, he not only laid up vast sums of money, but provided magazines of provisions for a great army for ten years, keeping up at the same time thirty thousand foot and five thousand horse. These steps appeared so prudent to the *Greeks*, that, forgetting *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus*, their old favourite, upon whom they had heaped extravagant honours, they began to incline to *Perseus*, who gave himself out for the patron of the *Greek* liberty against the pride of the *Romans* ; *Eumenes*, provoked at this, and being also an hereditary enemy to *Perseus* whom he greatly hated, determined to make a special journey to *Rome* on purpose to incite the senate to pull down his competitor, whom he now looked on

¹ Liv. Hist. lib. xli. Justin. lib. xxxiii. c. 4.
Legat. lx

² Polyb.

as the idol of *Greece*. *Perseus* had also his ambassadors, the chief of whom was one *Harpalus*, at *Rome*, who, when *Eumenes* had been heard, requested to speak in the king's defence. This was granted them, and *Harpalus*, who was at the head of the commission, either of his own head, or by direction from the king, spoke in very high terms. He said, that *Perseus* had hitherto and would always give every reasonable satisfaction to the *Romans*, but that he would still remember he was a sovereign prince; and if reasonable satisfaction would not content them, he would not be afraid of betaking himself to arms. The senate acted with its usual caution, concealed the substance of *Eumenes*'s speech, that it might be thought to contain more than it really did, and gave the ambassadors of *Perseus* a cold general answer. *Eumenes*, when he went from *Rome*, resolved to imitate the conduct of his rival, and, in order to regain the favour of the *Greeks*, to visit the temple at *Delphi*; *Perseus* having intelligence of this, took special care for his reception, by causing four assassins to hide themselves behind a wall making one side of a narrow passage from the sea to the temple, whence with stones they might destroy *Eumenes* without being discovered themselves. This scheme was carried into execution, and very narrowly missed meeting with success. The bravos took the king at the proposed disadvantage, and so effectually stoned him, that they had not the least suspicion of his escaping death. They then endeavoured to provide for their own safety, and one of them being slower of foot than the rest, they killed him to prevent his making any discovery. However, the king came afterwards a little to himself, and was conveyed to the island of *Ægina*, where he lay concealed, till such time as he was perfectly recovered. In all probability, *Perseus* would have been well contented, notwithstanding the miscarriage of his design, if it had remained a secret; but it was his misfortune to have the whole break out with such evidence as could scarce be denied. One *Praxo*, a lady of quality at *Delphi*, with whom king *Perseus* had lodged, had entertained the assassins, and one of them was known to be *Evander*, a *Cretan*, who was general of the auxiliary troops in the service of the king of *Macedon*. *Valerius*, a *Roman* ambassador in *Greece*, caused *Praxo* to be seized and sent into *Italy*, where they had scarce made discovery of the plot against *Eumenes*, when the news of another, which more nearly concerned them, came from the diligence of the same person. *Valerius* brought with him one *Rammius*, a citizen of *Brundisium*, who opened the following scene: he said, that having a large house in his native city, he had often entertained the *Macedonian* ambassadors, when passing to *Rome*.

and returning thence home. That king *Perseus*, having given him to understand that he took very kindly his civility to his ministers, invited him into *Macedon*, and when he was come thither, caused to be proposed to him the giving of a certain poisonous drug to the principal senators who were esteemed enemies to the *Macedonian* interest, which poison *Rammius* was informed would work imperceptibly. That for fear of his own life he had accepted this commission, but had immediately disclosed it to *Valerius*, and with him came home. The *Romans* upon this dispatched orders to their ambassadors in *Macedon* to acquaint *Perseus* with the crimes laid to his charge, and to demand direct answers; of which the king being informed, he put off their audience several times, and having at length tired out their patience, they resolved to return home. When they were about to put this design in execution, he sent for them, and heard all they had to say. In answer to their harangue, he fell rudely upon their masters: he said the *Romans* were grown so intolerably proud, so excessively insolent, and so unreasonably greedy of authority, that they would not be content to have princes for their allies, unless they were also their slaves. That under colour of sending ambassadors, they sent spies, and sometimes tutors; that as to the league made with his father, he had nothing to do with it. That he had indeed submitted to it on his first coming to the crown, because his affairs were unsettled; but that for the future he would not look upon himself to be bound by it, though he was content to make a new treaty upon equitable terms. The ambassadors having according to their instructions defied him; he commanded them to depart his dominions in three days. It was the misfortune of this king to have at some times too much, and at other times too little, spirit. If he had begun the war with the same vigour that on this occasion he seemed to declare it, in all probability he had succeeded therein; but suffering fear to get the better of him, and entertaining false hopes of peace, he once more fell into a train of negotiation, than which nothing could be more prejudicial to his affairs. Before we proceed farther, it will be necessary to take notice of the conduct of the princes, whose dominions bordered on those of *Macedon* in this nice conjuncture. *Gentius* king of *Illyria*, and the *Rhodians*, inclined to the *Macedonian* side, for which reason the *Romans* dealt haughtily with them for the present, and very severely afterwards. *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus* did not only discover his usual complaisance for the *Romans*, but also the most fierce and implacable hatred against *Perseus*. *Prusias* king of *Bithynia* desired to stand neuter. He had obligations to the *Romans*, and he had married the sister of the king of *Macedonia*. *Antiochus* king of *Syria* declared
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for the *Romans*; so did the regency in *Egypt*, where the king was a child. *Cotys* king of the *Odrysians* declared for the *Macedonians*. As for the *Greek* cities, those in the government were, generally speaking, in the interest of *Rome*, and the people in most of them as generally favourers of *Perseus* ^m.

THE fresh applications of the king for peace produced no other answer than this, *That if he was sincerely inclined to treat with the Romans, he might have an opportunity of doing it shortly in his own dominions, into which they were about to send their consul with an army.* They were not at all worse than their words. *P. Licinius Crassus* was immediately after dispatched with an army; but, before he could arrive in *Greece*, *Perseus* had attempted another method of treating; for having been informed, that *Martius*, a *Roman* legate, was in *Thessaly*, he came himself down to *Larissa*, and there desired to have an interview with him, with which *Martius* complied. At this conference the artful *Roman*, though he talked in the high strain of his country, yet he mingled so many obliging expressions, and testified such personal respect for the king, as put him upon sending ambassadors once more to *Rome*, when his affairs required leading down a good army into *Greece*, which would have enabled his friends there to have acknowledged their attachment to him, and have prevented the *Bæotians* and others from declaring as they did for the *Romans*, merely out of fear. When *Martius* the *Roman* ambassador returned home, he valued himself very much for having over-reached the king, and drawn him into a truce; for he had agreed to one for a certain time, whereby himself, who was in a condition of acting, was bound up, and the *Romans* had time given them, till they could be in a condition to act. The ambassadors of *Perseus*, who came in consequence of this truce to *Rome*, had audience given them; but, notwithstanding they signified the king's readiness to give full and ample satisfaction on every head, they received a very short answer, and were commanded to quit *Italy* in thirty days. When these ambassadors returned, *Perseus* with much ado perceived that peace was upon no terms to be had, and therefore, as if it had been against his will, though his counsels had hitherto always led that way, he began to prepare for opening the war. He appointed the general rendezvous of his army at *Citium*, whither when he himself came, he offered a hecatomb to *Pallas*, and then proceeded to a general review. He mustered on this occasion thirty nine

^m LIV. lib. xlii. POLYB. Legat. lxi. lxii. lxiii. DIODOR. SICUL. excerpt. lib. xxvi.

thousand foot and four thousand horse: the most numerous and by far the finest army, that, since *Alexander's* expedition into *Asia*, any *Macedonian* king had brought into the field. The king having viewed them, mounted his tribunal, from whence he made a long and laboured harangue, entering into a detail of all that had passed between himself and the *Romans*, from his accession to the crown to that time, which the soldiers heard with some attention and moderate signs of satisfaction; but when at the close he represented the antient glory of the *Macedonians*, and the misery to which the *Romans* sought to reduce them in pathetic terms, the army shouted aloud, and promised him that they would die in the field to a man, rather than not equal their ancestors, and redeem their country from any apprehensions of being subjected by this new and arrogant state. The king after this gave audience to the deputies from the several cities of *Macedon*, each of which offered men, money, and provisions for carrying on the war. *Perseus* testified the pleasure he received from these tokens of their loyalty, but told them in answer, that as the war he made was for their defence, so he would endeavour that it should be carried on without any burthen or expence to them, and therefore, except carriages for his baggage, he would expect nothing at present from them. These were quickly furnished, and the king took his rout into *Theffaly*, whither soon after came the *Roman* consul with two legions, in hopes of finding a confederate army, ready to receive him, strong enough to have faced *Perseus*; but herein he was mistaken, and, as soon as he found his mistake, was compelled to act slowly and cautiously. The *Macedonian* king in the mean time had abundance of cities opened to him, and several of those that did not yield, he took by force. At length he began to waste the country about *Pherea*, notwithstanding the consul lay with his army within a few miles of it; and though he had in his army several kings and princes, who came on purpose to shew their fidelity to the *Romans* and their hatred to *Perseus*. The consul, however, durst not adventure to offer the enemy battle, which when the *Macedonian* perceived, he advanced within twelve miles of him, and with his horse and light-armed troops came and insulted him in his camp. This he repeated several days together, though he was obliged to send every day carriages laden with casks of water to refresh his troops, there being none in the road. At length he took a nearer station by seven miles, from whence he could with greater facility march to and disturb the *Roman* camp. Accordingly, instead of coming as he was wont to do a little before noon, he appeared
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next morning before the *Roman* camp by break of day. The whole camp was in confusion, and the soldiers began to have but an indifferent opinion of a consul, whose first intelligence of the enemy came from the noise of their arms. *Licinius* drew up the foot within the camp, the horse and light-armed troops he sent to fight the *Macedonians*. When *Perseus* perceived them issuing from their camp, he drew his own forces into a line within five hundred paces of their retrenchments. *Cotys* king of the *Odrysians* took post with his own troops on the left. The *Macedonian* and *Cretan* horse on the right. The king with his household troops in the centre, having before them a forlorn of four hundred slingers and archers. On the other side all the *Roman* and *Italian* horse were in the right, under the command of *Caius Licinius Crassus*. The troops of the allies in the left. *Quintus Mucius* with a choice corps of horse was in the centre, having before him a troop of a hundred *Gauls*, and three hundred of the horse brought by *Eumenes*. Four hundred *Thessalian* horse were placed as a corps of reserve on the left of the left wing, and the rest of the forces of *Eumenes*, under the command of himself and his brother *Attalus*, drew up behind the last line of horse between them and the retrenchments. The action was lively, and quickly over, ending every-where to the advantage of the *Macedonians*. *Cotys* with his *Thracians* beat the flower of the *Roman* cavalry. King *Perseus* in the centre broke the auxiliaries, and greater slaughter had been made, if the *Thessalian* horse with the light-armed troops had not covered the retreat of the rest into the camp. The troops on each side were about four thousand. The *Romans* lost two hundred horse killed on the spot, as many taken prisoners; and of the foot there were no less slain than two thousand. Of the *Macedonians* there fell twenty horse and forty foot only. While *Perseus* remained in the field, his generals, *Hippias* and *Leonatus*, without staying for his command, brought up the phalanx, and pressed him to storm the enemy's retrenchments. If he had followed their advice, in all probability he had put an end to the war; for by this time the very *Greeks*, who were in the service of the *Romans*, began to perceive they were rivetting their own chains, and would gladly have laid hold of any opportunity of declaring against their masters with safety. But the cowardly counsel of *Evander* the *Cretan*, who had managed the assassination of *Eumenes*, prevailed with *Perseus* to let things remain as they were till next day; but the consul prevented his taking such an advantage a second time, by passing the river *Peneus* in the night, and betaking himself to an advantageous

vantageous post. The next day *Perseus* came with his horse and foot to take a view of what they might have done the day before; afterwards he advanced to *Mopselus*, under colour of frightening the *Romans* in their new quarters, but in truth, that he might have an opportunity of treating with the consul. Accordingly he sent deputies to acquaint him, that, notwithstanding his late victory, he was contented to accept of the terms which had been granted to his father *Philip* after he was vanquished. The consul answered, that he would grant him no terms, but those of submitting himself and his kingdom to the discretion of the *Roman* people. The king, not yet to be discouraged, sent again to offer tribute, and when he found this application also vain, he retired to his old camp. This pusillanimous conduct ruined him in the opinion both of his friends and foes; the *Romans* would grant him nothing, and the *Greeks* were afraid to express any inclination towards him, having no reason to expect that he would defend them, who had so little heart to defend himself. When *Perseus* found that he had no choice but war, he began to renew it, and as he had once been very near surprizing the *Roman* camp, he thought to be quicker the next time; but the *Roman* consul was become more careful, and so his forced marches had no other consequences than fatiguing his troops. He then fell upon their foragers with some success, but this drawing on another horrid battle, he was routed with considerable loss; whereupon he retired into *Macedon*ⁿ. On his retreat the consul recovered several places in *Thessaly*, and *Lucretius* the *Roman* admiral levied heavy contributions on the *Greek* coast. Afterwards *Appius Claudius* was sent to penetrate *Macedon* on the side of *Illyria*; but he had very ill entertainment, for the inhabitants of a frontier town pretending to betray it, the *Roman* general entered it so carelessly, that they had an opportunity of falling upon his troops, which they used so well, that he was glad to make a very precipitate retreat. However, not long after he took it, while *Perseus* with great trouble made an expedition into *Ætolia*; the principal city in which, it was promised should be yielded up to him. In this the king miscarried; but in his return he took several places, and having strengthened one of his lieutenant generals with some recruits, that general fell upon *Claudius*, routed him, and retook *Uscana*. The next spring the consul *Martius* was sent to command against *Perseus*. As soon as he came to the army he began to make war in earnest;

ⁿ Liv. lib. xliii.

his intent was to penetrate into the very heart of *Macedonia*, which, however, he found a very difficult matter. *Perseus* had distributed his forces in such a manner as to guard all the passes, not knowing where the enemy would break through; encamping himself at *Dium* with a considerable corps of troops, that he might be ready to assist any of his guards that should be attacked. This was wisely enough contrived, if he had executed his scheme with tolerable courage. The *Roman* consul attempted to pass over a very high mountain at a small distance from his camp; the road through which he was to pass was extremely narrow, and very much encumbered, so that if there had been no enemy at hand to oppose him, the passage had been difficult enough. *Hippias*, however, with a body of *Macedonian* foot appeared in his way, and such trouble they gave him, that he neither knew how to proceed, nor how to retire. If *Perseus* had supported his own soldiers, the consul had been undone; but he spent his time in making courses with his cavalry, so that *Hippias* was left to fight it out, and *Martius* with much ado got into the famous vale of *Tempe*, contrary to all expectation, and when he might have been repelled with ease, or, which was worse, might have been starved with all his army. As soon as the timorous *Perseus* received the news of the *Roman* consul's being in full march towards him, he instantly fled from *Dium*, a place strong by situation, and well fortified, crying out, that he was vanquished without a battle, and that all was lost; he also dispatched orders to *Andronicus*, governor of *Thessalonica*, to burn the arsenal there with all the naval stores he had with so much pains laid up; and to *Nicias*, governor of *Pella*, he sent positive directions to throw all his treasures into the sea. The former of these orders, *Andronicus*, who received it, had too much wisdom to execute; the latter *Nicias* conceived delivered in terms too precise to be disobeyed, so the treasures were instantly thrown into the sea. When the king recovered his fright a little, and perceived that the consul now he was come into *Macedon* could effect no great matter, he sent to have his treasures recovered by divers, which was also done, and then to reward the wisdom of *Andronicus*, the loyalty of *Nicias*, and the labour of those poor men who had plunged to the bottom of the sea to serve him, he ordered them all to be put to death, hoping by this means to conceal from the world his scandalous meanness of spirit, in throwing up all hopes the very moment he was attacked. With the same view he sent for *Hippias* and *Asclepiodatus*, who had so bravely defended the passage, and

after having with great heat reproved them at the head of the army, he with much seeming reluctance left them in their commands: had they attempted to defend their conduct, which in itself was above censure, they had without doubt shared in the fate of *Andronicus*, *Nicias*, and the *divers*. In the mean time the consul *Martius* took possession of *Dium*, and advanced farther into *Macedonia*, having sent orders to the prætor *Lucretius* at *Larissa* to transport with all diligence provisions for his army into *Macedon*. Whether the prætor executed the commands sent him with all the care he was able, or whether the badness of the roads permitted not the waggons to proceed farther than *Phila*, certain it is, that there they stopped. The consul the farther he marched found his distress still increase, so that, terrified with the fear of losing his whole army, he suddenly did what the king had done before, abandoned all that was already in his power, and marched precipitately back to *Phila*. *Perseus* seized this opportunity, and, after having given directions for repairing *Dium*, encamped on the river *Eunipus*, where he fortified himself so well, that the consul durst not attack him, and, which was still worse, could not advance farther into the country, so that except taking the city of *Heraclea*, he did nothing throughout the whole campaign. To shew his good-will, however, he sent orders to the *Roman* admiral to make descents on the sea-coast, and to make himself master of all, or at least of most of, the considerable ports^a. In obedience to these directions, the admiral first attempted *Thessalonica*, but with very indifferent success; the country about it he ravaged, but for the city itself he found his forces were not either able to invest, or to attack it, so he sailed still along the coast, landing and attacking the little cities of *Ænia* and *Antigonia*, without being able to take either. Then proceeding to *Cassandria* he was there joined by king *Eumenes* with twenty ships of war; they both agreed to besiege the citadel of *Cassandria* in form, which accordingly they did, and for some time proceeded successfully by sap; but while they sounded an alarm in their camp, and made other dispositions for a false attack to amuse the garrison, the besieged suddenly sallied and surprized them, cutting off the miners, and the troops who were sent to support them. A little after they received relief by sea, whereupon king *Eumenes* and the *Roman* admiral reimbarked their troops, and stood away for *Demetrias*. When they arrived before that city, they again landed; but there they found *Euphra-*

^a TIT. LIV. Hist. lib. xliv.

nor, a *Macedonian* general; who, having a fine corps of troops under his command, not satisfied with preserving the city, encamped before it, and would not so much as suffer the *Romans* to pillage the country without calling them to a severe account; whereupon the admiral once more embarked his forces, being obliged to put an end to the campaign on his side, having done just nothing at all. The prætor *Appius Claudius* lay all this while in *Illyria* with a body of troops; but whether he was never strong enough to invade *Macedon*, or whether king *Perseus* by himself or his lieutenants defeated him in any expedition for that purpose, we know not, having none but *Roman* guides to instruct us; this is certain, that by the end of the campaign he was in a very miserable condition, insomuch, that he earnestly demanded of the *Achæans* a reinforcement of five thousand men, which he had certainly received, if the envy of *Martius* the consul had not induced him to send a contrary order under pretence of sparing the *Roman* allies°. These successful proceedings, joined with some apprehensions that the *Romans* were not very well affected to any kings, induced *Eumenes* to think of changing sides, and of coming to some agreement with his old enemy *Perseus*. He thought, however, that his friendship, being of great value, ought to be well paid for, and knowing that the *Macedonian* had heaped up large treasures, he set his amity at a very high price, no less than fifteen hundred talents. This also he required to be paid down, promising to give hostages for his observing an exact neutrality; and if a further sum was paid him, to make peace for him with the *Romans*. *Perseus* liked every thing but parting with the money, and to this even the giving of hostages would not persuade him, though nothing could be clearer, than that the single detaching of *Eumenes* from the *Roman* interest was of much greater value than that sum. The policy of *Perseus* ran quite a contrary way, he fancied, that his very negotiations would produce the desired effect without parting with a talent; and herein he was right, for they did produce an inveterate hatred between the *Romans* and their old friend *Eumenes*; but that hatred did not produce him any good, and we shall see that the same conduct had the like event in other places. *Illyria* was the only side of the *Macedonian* kingdom which afforded a plain and open passage. This had hitherto been well secured, partly by force, partly by artfully keeping up dissensions and disputes between *Gentius* king of *Illyria* and the *Romans*. *Perseus* was very delirious of pushing this

° *POI X B. legat. lxxviii.*

matter still farther ; he knew well, that if he could kindle a war against *Rome* on this side, it would at least protect his territories, and at the same time divide the forces of the republic. He therefore commissioned his ambassadors to make *Gentius* large offers, in case he would break with the *Romans* and carry on the war with vigour. This young *Illyrian* prince hearkened willingly to the offers made him, for he comprehended easily enough, that the *Romans* would extend their dominions on all sides, and that to be their ally would be only in other terms to become subject to them. He therefore plainly answered *Perseus*, that he was content to take a share in the war, but that he by no means could stir till he had a considerable sum of money. This mention of money stopped *Perseus*'s mouth for a time ; however, when the consul broke into *Tempe*, *Perseus* thought he might as well give *Gentius* his wealth, as throw it into the sea ; wherefore he sent him ten talents by way of earnest, and sealed up three hundred more, which was the sum agreed on in the presence of the *Illyrian* ambassadors, and ordered them also to be conveyed to his ally ; yet here again covetousness getting the better of his fear, he directed they should make very slow marches, and stop upon the frontiers, till they had further orders. When *Gentius* had received from *Pantauchus* the *Macedonian* minister ten talents, and letters from his own ambassadors, importing, that three hundred more were actually upon the road, he was persuaded to take what was called the first necessary step on his side, which was to seize the *Roman* ambassadors, in open violation of the law of nations. Of this when *Perseus* had advice, he sent immediately to put a stop to the progress of the treasure waggons ; for he knew that *Gentius* would be forced for his own sake to engage in a war, on account of his having imprisoned the legates of the republic. This low policy issued in the ruin of the *Illyrian*, his kingdom, and family, at the same time that it produced *Perseus* no good in the world. These mistakes one would have thought might have induced the king to have thought better for the future ; but he was everlastingly steady in wrong measures, and would never be brought to act otherwise, than as a most careful treasurer for his enemies. It happened, that *Clondicus*, who, from the best intelligence we have, seems to have been king of the *Bastarnæ*, that is, of such of them as had settled themselves on the frontiers of *Macedon*, had agreed to bring a very considerable reinforcement to the king's army, provided, that they might enter into present pay upon reasonable terms. *Perseus* promised all things, and *Clondicus*, not dreaming that a king would break his word, set out with

with ten thousand foot and as many horse, all choice troops and well disciplined. As soon as king *Perseus* had intelligence of their approach, he sent one *Antigonus*, a lord of his court, to congratulate *Clondicus*, and to desire him to hasten his march to the camp; when *Antigonus* had delivered his message, *Clondicus* answered him, that the *Gauls* could not march a step farther without money, and that if he had not brought it with him, he must return to his master and demand it instantly. *Antigonus*, having received this short answer, returned with all imaginable speed to his master. *Perseus* hereupon called a council of war, in which he made a long speech, tending only to save his money. He said, that the coming of such a number of *Gauls* might have a very bad tendency; and that it might be as difficult to get them out of the kingdom, as the *Romans*; though it was evident enough, he might have employed them immediately in *Thessaly*, where, whether they had acted according to his instructions or not, they must have made a very powerful diversion, and compelled the *Romans* to have quitted *Macedonia*. When *Perseus* had declaimed upon this head sufficiently, he proceeded to shew, that five thousand horse would be as many as he should have occasion for; and when he had delivered himself so fully on this subject, how could it be expected that any in his council should oppose it? *Antigonus* therefore was sent back to *Clondicus* to inform him, that king *Perseus* would accept no more than five thousand horse; intelligence which might have stirred a man of base principles to act in such a manner as *Perseus* most feared. *Clondicus*, however, made no other answer than this: *That it was very extraordinary, the king should not have considered how many he wanted before they had marched so far, and at the same time recurred to his old demand, viz. whether he had brought pay for those five thousand men?* *Antigonus* being forced to own that he had not, *Clondicus* and his *Gauls* would have no longer patience; but immediately began their march home again, spoiling some part of *Thrace* in their way, which created *Perseus* new enemies, at the same time that he was justly deprived of the assistance that he hoped from his friends. Besides the attempts already mentioned, this prince made some others, as well for the support of himself, as for the withdrawing some of their allies from their attachment to the republic. With this view he sent ambassadors to *Antiochus* king of *Syria*, with orders to represent to him, that the *Romans* were alike enemies to all kings, and that his turn would be next, if once *Macedonia* was subdued; wherefore he prayed him to interpose so far, as either to oblige the *Romans* to leave himself in

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quiet

quiet possession of the kingdom of his ancestors, or, by joining with him, bring about such a reduction of the power of the commonwealth, as to compel her to allow peace to all princes, without pretending to prescribe them laws in their own dominions. *Perseus* also solicited the *Rhodians*, who at this time were very powerful at sea, and, by flattering them, induced a favourable regard to be shewn to his interests. The consul *Martius* had also some points to carry with these people, he therefore insinuated to them, that if they sent deputies to *Rome*, they might be a means of restoring peace to this part of the world, through their mediation: but in this he most egregiously deluded them, as they found to their cost; for when their ministers had audience of the senate, and in their harangue proposed their mediation, they received an answer, not only harsh and severe, but contemptuous also in the highest degree. The ambassadors of the king of *Bithynia*, who likewise laboured the same point, had a cold return made them; but *Onesimus*, a *Macedonian* nobleman, whose attachment to the *Romans* had obliged him to leave his country, was not only favourably heard by the senate, but had a very large pension assigned him, and in all public places was treated with the highest respect. But it is now time to return to the war, which ended the next campaign in the ruin of *Perseus* and the total reduction of his kingdom, though that campaign was over in a fortnight^P.

P. Emilius sent into Macedonia.

THE *Romans* had no reason to be satisfied with those who had hitherto commanded in *Macedon*; for though it did not appear, and perhaps it was never suspected, that they were biassed from their duty, yet they had very clearly shewn, that they wanted courage and conduct to finish the war. These commanders therefore were all removed, and new ones appointed. The consul *Paulus Emilius* had the command assigned him of the army already in *Macedonia*; *Octavius* was appointed admiral, and *Anicius* sent into *Illyria*. These changes were all so much for the better, that it is not easy to say, which of the three executed his charge the best. *Emilius*, when he arrived in the *Roman* camp found about thirty thousand men therein, of whom upwards of twelve thousand were *Roman* foot. The soldiers thought to have treated him as they had done his predecessors, so they began to question all his commands, to reason upon his orders, and to discuss in their own minds the worth of those motives upon which he acted. The consul would bear nothing of this; he

^P POLYN. legat. lxxx. lxxxvi. lxxxvii. &c. LIV. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Æmil.

advised them to whet their swords ; as for the duty of a general, he would not lay so heavy a burthen upon any of his soldiers, but was content to take it entirely upon himself. To shew them, however, that he really knew more than either they or those who had hitherto commanded them, he decamped, and drew nearer the enemy, a motion hitherto thought impracticable on account of the want of water. *Emilius* rightly conceived, that though there were not either springs or rivulets visible, yet it could not be, that so great a mountain as *Olympus*, so covered with fine grass and beautiful trees, should want water ; he therefore ordered wells to be sunk, which perfectly answered his purpose, by their becoming presently full of water ; this also raised the courage of his soldiers, and made them perfectly tractable. *Emilius* next directed enquiries to be privately made, whether there were not some roads, however difficult or round about, that led to the top, and so over this mount *Olympus* ; for the consul saw plainly, that to attack *Perseus* in his retrenched camp, where with extreme diligence he had fortified himself, would be to expose his troops to a most bloody and at the same time a most hazardous, encounter. His enquiries were not fruitless ; he was in a short time informed, that there was such a way as he apprehended there was, and that, as it was extremely steep and craggy, so the guard posted there was but slender. This news rejoiced him, and he thereupon detached five thousand light-armed troops, under the command of *Scipio Emilianus* and *Q. Fabius Maximus*, his own sons, but adopted into other families. When this detachment marched from the camp, it took the road to the sea, the consul giving out, that they were to go on board the fleet, which under the command of *Octavius* lay upon the coast, in order to waste the maritime parts of *Macedonia*. But when *Scipio* and *Q. Fabius* had received the necessary provisions, and night began to fall, they faced about, and marched with all imaginable diligence up the mountain. Three days they employed in passing it, and during those three days *Emilius* drew out his forces, and attacked the *Macedonian* camp, notwithstanding that *Perseus* by the situation and fortifications of his camp, with the engines placed upon them, easily and constantly repulsed the *Romans*. At length the detachment reached and defeated the *Macedonian* guards, whom they surprized asleep, though they afterwards stood to their arms, and made some defence. This obstacle removed, *Scipio* and *Fabius* with their men descended by the channel of a brook, now dry, into the country below, and appeared suddenly on the other side of the *Macedonian* camp. *Perseus* apprised of this, and frightened with the report of his guards, immediately

mediately decamped, and retired precipitately to *Pydna*. There he held a council of war, in which some of his best friends advised him to garison his strongest cities with his best troops, and to lengthen out the war, experience having shewn that the *Macedonians* were better able to keep cities, than the *Romans* were to take them; but this opinion the king rejected from this cowardly principle, that perhaps the town he chose for his residence might be first besieged. Those who with him disliked this sentiment, were for putting all upon a battle. The reasons they assigned in support of their judgment were these: First, that the army of *Perseus*, which consisted of somewhat more than forty thousand men, exceeded the consul's in number: Secondly, that his troops were the flower of the *Macedonian* infantry and horse: Thirdly, that they were to fight now for their cities, wives, and children, and would therefore not only behave valiantly, but like desperate men: Fourthly, that the king and most of the nobility being present would greatly encourage them: Fifthly, they had now leisure to chuse their ground, so as to bring the phalanx, hitherto invincible, to act with the greatest advantage. It must be confessed, these positions were very plausible, and therefore we need not wonder, that they prevailed on *Perseus*, who was a prince of a very desultory genius, sometimes violent in one opinion, and presently recurring with the same violence to a contrary sentiment. When once it was resolved to fight, the ground was next considered, and a line of battle marked out perfectly advantageous to the phalanx, and whereby the wings of the *Macedonian* army were flanked by the city on one side, and by the mountains on the other; these dispositions gave the soldiers such spirits, that, instead of being apprehensive, they rather wished for an engagement, as, on the other hand, *Emilius* marched with all imaginable speed, that he might overtake the *Macedonians*, and decide the war at once, being afraid of nothing so much as being obliged to take city after city, whereby the war would have been exceedingly protracted. When the troops under the command of the consul had joined those commanded by *Scipio* and *Fabius*, they perceived the enemy drawn up in battalia before them. It was growing late, but the ardor of *Scipio* engaged him to press *Emilius* not to lose the present opportunity, but to engage immediately. The fact is certain, but the discordance between what is said by *Livy* ^a and by *Plutarch* ^b, as to the speeches of these captains on this occasion, shews, that under their names we have the sentiments only of those authors. In this they agree, that

^a Hist. lib. xliv.^b PLUT. in vit. Æmil.

Emilius over-ruled the proposition, and would not hear of attacking, with soldiers wearied by a long march, men just come out of quarters, and who had provisions and refreshments at hand. The consul, however, directed, that the army should form in order of battle; but while the first line remained under arms, the second was employed in disposing and retrenching a camp, into which, after they had amused and harassed the enemy, the whole *Roman* army retired, the *Macedonians* being exceedingly surprized to see them safely and regularly encamped, without their having the least notice of their breaking ground. The same evening there happened an eclipse of the moon, which, as *Livy* tells us, *Sulpitius Gallus*, one of the *Roman* tribunes, foretold, first to the consul, and then with his leave to the army, whereby that terror, which eclipses were wont to breed in ignorant minds, was entirely taken off, and the soldiers more and more disposed to confide in officers of so great wisdom and of such general knowledge. In the *Macedonian* camp, however, things went not so well, the army were terribly amazed at the eclipse, and began to affright themselves with the apprehension of its portending the extinction of their glory. Early the next morning *Perseus* made all the necessary dispositions for battle, and did every thing in his power to encourage the soldiers to behave themselves bravely. On the other hand, the consul also made the proper dispositions, and when he had so done, offered a solemn sacrifice to *Hercules*, who it seems was not easily pleased, for twenty victims were offered without any signs of success. Upon the offering of the twenty first, the soothsayer pronounced this judgment, that the victory would be to the *Romans*, if the enemy attacked them. It is not improbable, that *Emilius* himself gave into this delay, for all the morning the sun was full in the eyes of his soldiers. About three a clock in the afternoon, he ordered a horse to be turned loose, as some say, or, as others affirm, sent out a party to forage, that the *Macedonians* might be tempted to attack them, and so bring on a battle. However it was, by design or chance, a horse running into the water, and two or three *Roman* soldiers following to catch him, some *Thracians* adventured to take him from them; whereupon a great fray ensued, and soon after a general engagement. The *Macedonian* army was extremely well drawn up; the *Thracians*, mercenaries, and auxiliaries making a very martial appearance; but the phalanx struck a peculiar terror from the excellency of its order, and the condition of those who composed it; all picked men, all habited in scarlet, their shields bright and shining, and those of the veterans of polished brats, with their

their long spears, disposed with the utmost exactness, as if they were drawn up for a review, and not for a battle. The *Romans* were in their usual line of battle, and shewed the greatest alacrity in doing their duty; to which *Emilius* encouraged them by shewing himself every-where. *Polybius* and *Livy* agree in relating, that *Perseus*, after the field oration, retired into the city of *Pydna*, and there spent his time in sacrificing to *Hercules*^c. But one *Posidonius*, a *Greek* writer, who affirmed he was present in the battle, tells us quite another thing: he says the king had the day before received a kick of a horse on his thigh, which disabled him from fighting; but that, against the advice of his friends, when the engagement was begun, he ordered a pad to be brought, and being set on the horse unarmed he rode into the midst of the battle, encouraging his soldiers by his voice and presence, till he was wounded by one of the *Roman* darts, then indeed he withdrew^c. But where-ever king *Perseus* was, the engagement seemed at the beginning to go in his favour. The light-armed *Macedonians* charged with such vigour, that, after the battle was over, the bodies of some of them were found within two furlongs of the *Roman* camp. When the phalanx came to charge, the points of their spears striking into the *Roman* shields, kept their heavy-armed troops from making any motion, while, on the other hand, *Perseus's* light-armed men did terrible execution. On this occasion, it is said, *Emilius* tore his cloaths, and almost gave up all hopes. However, perceiving that as the phalanx gained ground, it lost its order in several places, he caused his own light-armed troops to charge in those spaces, whereby the *Macedonians* were soon put into confusion. If *Perseus* with his horse had on the first appearance of this charged the *Romans* briskly, his infantry would have had time to recover themselves; but instead of this, they basely provided for their own safety by a precipitate flight. The foot finding themselves deserted, at last fled too, but not till twenty thousand of them were slain. *Perseus* with the horse had taken the road to *Pella*; the foot took the same road, and when it was almost night, overtook them in a wood, where they halted; there they fell to upbraiding them with their scandalous behaviour; and at last, grudging such cowards should have horses to carry them out of the reach of their enemies, fell to plucking them off, and mounted themselves. At which *Perseus* was so frightened, that with a few of his friends he struck

^c Liv. ubi supra. POLYB. ap. PLUT.
PLUT

^c POSIDON. ap.



into a by-road, pulled off his purple cloak, and tied it before him, and carried his diadem in his hand. About midnight he arrived at *Pella*, very slenderly accompanied; his noblemen being more afraid of him than of the *Romans*, knowing that he ever loved to shift his own ill conduct upon others. In his capital he found *Euctus* and *Eudeus*, two of his chamberlains, and some other officers of his household, who came to wait upon him as they were wont; but *Euctus* and *Eudeus* laying hold of this opportunity to demonstrate to the king the folly of his former conduct, and to exhort him to act more steadily for the future, *Perseus* in a rage drew his dagger, and stabbed them both, of which wounds they died in his presence. After this his court consisted but of three persons, viz. *Evander* the *Cretan*, *Archidemus* the *Ætolian*, and *Neo* the *Bæotian*, with about five hundred *Cretan* soldiers, who remained with him, not out of fidelity, but because they could not depart from the treasure which he carried along with him. As *Pella* was the chief city of *Macedon*, so it was also one of the strongest. It was seated on a hill in the midst of impassable marshes, and was commanded by a citadel much stronger, and more inaccessible than itself. *Perseus*, however, who could not think himself any-where safe, fled from thence as precipitately as from the battle, marching with incredible expedition to *Amphipolis*. When he came thither, he found that *Diodorus* the governor had by a stratagem expelled his *Thracian* garison, lest they should plunder the city. This, however, did not hinder the king from stirring up the *Bisaltæ* to take arms and come to his assistance. But when he found all this was in vain, he grew very disconsolate, and began to fear, that, to preserve themselves, the *Amphipolitans* would deliver him up to the *Romans*. He therefore came out with *Philip*, the only child he had with him; and having mounted the tribunal, began to speak; but his tears flowed so fast, that, after several trials, he found it impracticable for him to make an oration. Descending again from the tribunal, he spoke to *Evander*, who then went up to supply his place, and actually began an harangue; but the people hating him, refused to hear him, crying out, *Be gone, be gone; we are resolved not to expose ourselves, our wives and our children, for your sakes. Fly therefore, and leave us to make the best terms we can with the conquerors.* The king now at his wits end, shipped his money, which he ever carried with him, on board some barks, suffering his *Cretans* to plunder him of fifty talents, which he left upon the shore for them, tearing to give it them, lest the *Macedonians* in spite should take all the rest. Attended by these guards, he came first to

Galipfus, and the next day after landed in the island of *Samo-Thrace*, where he brought on shore two thousand talents, intending there to take up his residence. Let us now return to the consul, and observe the steps he took in subduing the kingdom^t.

Macedo-
nia *submits*.
Year of
the Flood,
2832.
Before
Christ,
167.

Paulus Emilius, being a man of strict justice, gave, according to the rules of war, the plunder of the camp to the infantry, and of the adjacent territory to the horse. As for the cities, he would not suffer them to be touched; and as for the royal treasures, he carried the last farthing of them to *Rome*, though it procured him the ill-will of the army. *Hippias* with other officers who were in *Berea*, with a considerable body of forces, surrendered, and immediately after *Thessalonica*, *Pella*, and the rest of the principal places in *Macedon*, so that the whole kingdom was given up in two days, excepting only *Pydna*, under the walls of which the battle was fought; the reason of which was, that several thousand soldiers taking shelter there, were ashamed to deliver up so considerable a place without a capitulation. This was readily granted them; and, as soon as the place was evacuated, the consul marched away to *Amphipolis*. There he received letters brought by three very mean persons, who yet were styled the embassadors of *Perseus*. The consul no sooner saw them, but turning to those who were about him, he said, *Mark the inconstancy of fortune; this man, who, but t'other day thought the ample kingdom of Macedon nothing, if he was hindered from subduing the Dardanians and Illyrians, now confined in a narrow island, and an exile from his native land, sends these poor men to ask favours from me.* Then reaching out his hand to receive the letters, as soon as he had read the superscription, which ran thus; *King Perseus to the consul Paulus health*: he refused to open them, or to give any answer. As soon as *Perseus* had notice of this, he readily perceived that he was now no more than a private person, or at least so considered by the *Romans*; whereupon he wrote letters a second time, and addressed them to the consul, without assuming himself any title at all. In these he bewailed his own misery, implored mercy from the *Romans*, and begged that commissioners might be sent to treat with him. This last, which was all the consul had in his power to grant, he readily complied with. With these commissioners let us transport ourselves to *Samo-Thrace*, in order to observe the last scene of royalty performed by this unfortunate king, and which

^t *Plut. in vit. Æmil Tit. Liv ubi supra. Justin. lib. xxxiii. c. 2.*

if possible, we shall see worse performed than any of the rest ^u.

THE temple of *Castor* and *Pollux* in *Samo-Thracia* was at King *Perseus* this time an inviolable asylum, and, in truth, the whole is-^{lands} *Perseus* *isles* land was looked upon as holy, and consecrated to those dei-^{ties} *to a sanc-* ties. This was the cause which induced king *Perseus* to fly ^{tuary}. thither, as supposing he should there remain in safety. On the arrival of *Lentulus*, *Albinus*, and *Antonius*, who were the commissioners sent by the consul to treat with him, *Perseus* instantly entered into a negotiation, which, however, he managed slowly and improvidently, insisting that he should still retain the title of king, which the commissioners told him the consul could not grant; but that, if he would submit himself and his affairs to the direction of the *Roman* people, the consul would undertake for his safety. While these things were debating, *Octavius* the *Roman* admiral arrived with a great fleet, which exceedingly awed the *Samo-Thracians*. These people, considering the insecurity of their own condition, called frequent councils to deliberate what was most fit for them to do. In one of these assemblies, *Attilius*, a young *Roman*, appeared, and desired leave to speak; which once given him, he made a long harangue, wherein having premised many things concerning sanctuaries in general, he came at last to put this question, whether *the whole isle of Samo-Thrace was not holy?* Which the assembly having presently determined in the affirmative, he proceeded next to demand *Whether it would not be polluted by a notorious murderer's taking shelter therein?* This being also admitted, he said, he would prove that *Evander* the *Cretan*, who was with king *Perseus* in the temple, had been the principal actor in the assassination of king *Eumenes*. The *Samo-Thracians* upon this sent to inform *Perseus*, that they expected *Evander* should either submit himself to a fair trial, or that he should quit the island. *Perseus* affrighted at this message, and grievously apprehensive of the consequence, if *Evander* should fall into the hands of the *Romans*, and, to obtain favour for himself, should charge that assassination on its original author; sent for him, and told him, that the necessity of affairs required that he should voluntarily put himself to death to stop all further inquiries. *Evander* desired that he might die by poison, rather than by the sword, hoping that if he could get a little time he might escape. But *Perseus*, ever vehement in those sort of enterprizes, suspecting something from this delay, ordered him

^u Liv. ubi supra. PLUT. ubi supra

to be immediately dispatched ; and then, fearing that the *Samo-Thracians* would look upon this as a pollution of their sanctuary, bribed one *Theondas* with a very large sum of money to aver, that *Evander* was his own executioner. This salved the matter well enough with the *Samo-Thracians* ; but it effectually lost *Perseus* the hearts of all his friends. *Evander* was doubtless a bad man, otherwise he would not have been concerned in the attempt on *Eumenes* ; but as he did this at the command of *Perseus*, as he had constantly followed the fortunes of that prince, and had never betrayed him in any thing, it was held an act of the greatest ingratitude and meanness of spirit in the king, to forget all his services in an instant, and at the first sight of danger to give him up to a violent death, not by the hands of strangers, but his own servants. *Perseus*, having now a prospect of his misery in a true light, beholding himself without forces, without friends, and without hopes, resolved, if possible, to escape into *Crete*, and to that end bargained with one *Oroandes* a *Cretan*, who had a small ship in the haven of *Samo-Thrace*, to carry himself, his wife, his son, his treasure, and three attendants, to the island before-mentioned. The crafty master of the vessel took the money on board first, and then assigned an hour in the night for the king and his company to come on board. But as soon as it began to grow dark, he hoisted sail, and left the hapless *Perseus* to deplore at leisure his credulity, and the loss of his money. At midnight the king, his wife, his son *Philip*, and three attendants, slipped by a back-gate into a garden behind his apartment ; then clambering, with much difficulty, over the wall, they made the best of their way to the port, and, after wandering till it was almost light on the sea-shore, were informed by a stranger, that *Oroandes* sailed for *Crete* the evening before. The king, his consort, and the young prince, with those who attended them, were forced to make all imaginable speed back, that they might regain the temple before they were discovered by the *Romans*. But finding the day broke before they reached the wall of the garden, they were constrained to hide themselves there behind a corner, till by degrees they could get in unperceived. It was not long after this, that the king surrendered himself to the admiral *Octavius*, moved thereto by new misfortunes, especially the two following accidents : First, the desertion of all his pages, which happened on the *Romans* publishing a manifesto or proclamation, whereby they declared, that all such as quitted the service of king *Perseus*, should not only be safe in their persons, but have their estates restored them also in *Macedon*, and remain at full liberty. The other, the
news

news that *Ion* of *Thessalonica*, one of the king's principal favourites, had given up all the rest of the royal family intrusted to his care to *Octavius*. He it was who had the honour of receiving prisoner also the king of *Macedon*, his eldest son *Philip*, and the few that were yet about him. *Octavius*, as soon as he had him in his power, ordered the king to be put on board the admiral, and having embarked also all his treasure that was left, the *Roman* fleet weighed, and stood over to *Amphipolis*. Thence the admiral dispatched an express to acquaint the consul with what had happened; to assure him, that *Perseus* was in his custody, and that he should be speedily sent to attend his pleasure ^w.

As soon as *Paulus Emilius* received the letter of *Octavius*, he sent *Tubero* his son-in-law, with several persons of distinction, to receive the king. He ordered sacrifices to be immediately offered, and made the same rejoicings, as if a new victory had been obtained. When he was informed the king drew near, he assembled a council of war in his own pavilion, where he resolved to wait for him. The whole camp ran out to see the royal prisoner, and the crowd was so very great, that the lictors were constrained to make a way for him to go to the consul's tent. *Perseus* walked alone, covered with a mourning cloak; and when he entered the tent, would have thrown himself at the feet of the consul; but *Emilius*, rising hastily, stepped forward a little, gave him his hand, and would not suffer him to kneel. He then placed him in a seat over-against those who assisted at the council. When silence had been observed some time, the consul demanded of the king, what wrong the *Roman* people had done him, which had constrained him to take up arms, and with such obstinacy to persist in hazarding his person, subjects, and kingdom, as he did? The king, looking on the ground, and shedding tears, spake not a word. Whereupon the consul continued his discourse: "If, (said he) you had been very young when you came to the throne, I should have imputed your rashness to your not knowing the world. But inas- much as you served in that war which your father waged against us, knew its success, and knew also how faithfully we observed the treaty we made with him; what strange policy was it for you to choose war, rather than peace, with a people, whose force, and whose fidelity, you had already tried; and therefore might well apprehend, what might be feared from the one, or hoped from the other?" The king still remaining silent, the consul, after some pause.

The reception of Perseus in the Roman camp.

concluded thus : “ However these things have come to
 “ pass, whether by human error, by chance, or through ne-
 “ cessity, do not despair ; the clemency of the *Roman* peo-
 “ ple, so well known, and so often experienced, may afford
 “ you not only hope, but assurance of safety.” All this
 the consul spoke in *Greek* ; then, turning to his council, he
 said in *Latin*, “ You see here a notable instance of the in-
 “ certainty of human grandeur, and of the mutability of for-
 “ tune ; let it make a proper impression on you all ; but es-
 “ pecially on such of you as are in the vigour of your age.
 “ Let not present prosperity so far puff up any man, as to
 “ make him behave with arrogance towards another ; nei-
 “ ther let any man confide in his good fortune, for he can-
 “ not tell how soon it may forsake him. His courage only
 “ shall be admired by me, which neither the flow of fortune
 “ swells, or its ebb decreases ; but who preserves a steady
 “ temper of mind in all times, and on all occasions.” Then
 he committed *Perseus* to the custody of *Tubero*, directing that
 he should sup with him that night, and then and ever after
 treated him with all imaginable civility and respect. *Emilius*,
 having thus settled all things in *Macedon*, proceeded to a pro-
 gress through *Greece*, where he ordered all matters as might
 best suit the interest of the *Romans* ; and though he was na-
 turally a merciful man, used severity enough. At length
 hearing that ten legates, all men of consular dignity, were
 coming from *Rome* to assist him in settling a new form of go-
 vernment in *Macedonia*, he speedily returned thither, direct-
 ing his course to *Apollonia*, where he was informed they
 were to land ; there he was met by king *Perseus*, whom *Sul-
 pitius*, to whose custody, on the consul’s going into *Greece*,
 he had been committed, suffered to go at large. *Emilius*
 received the king kindly ; but when he came to *Amphipolis*,
 he checked *Sulpitius* very severely for suffering the king to
 go where he pleased. *Posthumius* therefore had the charge
 of him for the future, who kept him and his son *Philip* very
 strictly ; as for his younger son *Alexander* and his daughter,
Emilius sent for them from *Samo-Thrace* to *Amphipolis*,
 where he treated them with much kindness. As to the esta-
 blishing of the new government, *Emilius* issued his precepts,
 directing that ten deputies from each of the *Macedonian* cities
 should appear before him at a day certain, and bring with
 them such papers of state, and all such sums of money and
 plate, as they had any knowledge of belonging to the king.
 At the day assigned they appeared ; then it was that *Emilius*,
 with his ten colleagues, mounted the tribunal, together with
 the prætor *Octavius*, the lictors attending. The *Macedoni-*

ans, though they had been used to see their princes do justice, and were no strangers to courts established by their authority, yet were surprized at this; the austerity of the *Romans*, the using of the *Latin* language in all their proceedings, and their customs so different from those of the *Greeks*, struck terror and amazement into the deputies, and all who were present. However, they were not left long in the dark, as to what the senate and people of *Rome* expected from them. *Emilius* had the decree ready drawn in his hand, which he pronounced with a slow and audible voice, but in the *Latin* tongue. Then the prætor *Octavius* acquainted the assembly, that it was to the following purpose: First, that the senate ordained the *Macedonians* should be free, and that they should enjoy all the cities and territories they were now possessed of, living for the present under their own laws, and electing annually their magistrates as they were wont to do, paying to the people of *Rome* half the tribute which they usually paid to their kings: Secondly, their will was, that *Macedonia* should be divided into four regions; the first to contain all the countries between the rivers *Strymon* and *Nessus*, together with such boroughs, cities, and castles, as *Perseus* held beyond the river *Nessus*; the cities of *Ænus*, *Maronea*, and *Abdera* excepted. On the west of *Strymon* the territory of the *Bisaltæ* and *Heraclea Syntica* were added to this region. The second included the country between *Strymon* and *Axius*, together with *Pæonia*. The third had the river *Axius* for its east, and the river *Pencus* for its west boundary. Towards the north it was bounded by the mountain *Bora*, the cities of *Edessus* and *Berea* being annexed thereto. The fourth contained the remainder of *Macedonia* beyond the mountain *Bora*, having *Illyria* on the one side, and *Epirus* on the other. The capital of the first region was to be *Amphipolis*; of the second *Thessalonica*; of the third *Pella*; of the fourth *Pelagonia*. To these cities they were once a quarter to be summoned to hold general assemblies to raise money, and to elect magistrates. Thirdly, it was declared unlawful for any person to intermarry, to carry on any trade, to buy or sell any lands to any who was not an inhabitant of his own region. Fourthly, they were prohibited to work any mines of gold or silver; those of iron and brass they were allowed to work, paying half the rent to the *Romans*, which they were wont to pay to their kings. Fifthly, they were prohibited from importing any foreign salt. Sixthly, they were forbid to sell any timber fit for building ships to the barbarous nations. But they were allowed, for their necessary defence, to keep garisons on their frontiers. Seventhly, the *Macedonians* were

directed to enrol their names, *Emilius* signifying to them, that he intended to give them laws. When this decree was published, it greatly affected the minds of the people. Glad they were to be restored to their liberty; but at the same time they were sorry, that they could not well comprehend what that liberty was they were restored to. They saw evident contradictions in the decree, which, though it spake of leaving them under their own laws, imposed many new ones, and threatened more. What most disturbed them was the division of the kingdom, whereby, as a nation, they were torn and mangled, separated and disjointed from each other. One thing, however, was generally applauded, *viz.* the prohibition to work the gold and silver mines, which was founded upon this caution. The senate saw, that, to collect a revenue from them, tax-gatherers, surveyors, and receivers, must of necessity be employed; they therefore chose to forego all the advantages these mines could produce, rather than plague their new subjects with officers of revenue, as *Livy* expressly informs us. *Emilius* proceeded next to regulate the rest of the Grecian affairs at *Amphipolis*, where, at the close of the proceedings, *Andronicus* the *Ætolian*, and *Neo* the *Bæotian*, because they had been always friends to *Perseus*, and had not deserted him even now, were condemned, and lost their heads. Then came out a proclamation, whereby the supreme power in *Macedon* was vested in certain senators. All the nobility, as also all their children exceeding the age of fifteen, were commanded immediately to transport themselves over into *Italy*; as were likewise all such as ever had any commission, even of the smallest importance, from the king or his predecessors; and it was declared, that whoever presumed to contravene that edict should be punished with death. Last of all, *Emilius* published the laws he had promised, which, whether they were or were not to the liking of the *Macedonians*, they were ever after bound to obey. These serious matters once out of the way, *Emilius* celebrated games at *Amphipolis* with a magnificence unknown to former times. The brazen shields, belonging to the *Macedonian* phalanx, he sent on board the ships. All the rest of the arms belonging to the *Macedonians*, he caused to be brought to *Amphipolis*, and, as it was intended they should never raise armies, nor be troubled with military expeditions more, these weapons were framed into a prodigious pile, and, after solemn prayers offered to *Mars*, *Minerva*, and other deities, the consul first set fire to them with a torch he had in his hand; and then the principal officers in the army threw in those lighted torches with which they had assisted at the solemnity. All the rich furniture,

furniture, plate, statues, and other valuable things, found in the royal palaces, were first exposed to public view, and then put on board the fleet (D). *Emilius* afterwards marched away

(D) It is a great misfortune to such as are engaged in writing the histories of nations conquered by the *Romans*, that they have no materials, but the writings of *Romans*, or of *Greeks*, who flattered the power of the *Romans* more than the spirit of their own writers would allow them to do. *Livy*, whose history may be justly said to vie with its subject, represents his countrymen as acting upon the noblest and most philosophical principles upon all occasions. He says, that, with respect to the *Macedonians*, the consul *Emilius* treated them in such a manner as tended to convince the world, that the *Romans* did not make war with a view to enslave free men, but, on the contrary, that they might be able to set free such nations as were already enslaved (7). *Plutarch* speaks much the same language, and highly commends his hero, the senate, and people of *Rome*, for so generously treating those whom they had totally subdued (8). To adventure, without authority, to contradict authors so much and so justly in esteem, may seem a high presumption. Yet this presumption we must be guilty of, in order to set this part of our history in its proper light; it will, however, be somewhat alleviated by our grounding all the observations we make on facts recorded by the authors from whose sentiments we beg leave to differ. In the first place, let us remark, that *Perseus*, from the very beginning of the war, was for submitting almost to any thing, provided the *Romans* would grant him peace, which was refused him, except he would put himself in that condition into which the most unsuccessful war could scarce reduce him. This the consul *Licinius Crassus* told him in few words, when as yet the *Romans* had not entered *Macedonia*, but were, on the contrary, in danger of being beat out of *Thessaly*. This conduct may be sanctified with the epithets *firm*, *magnanimous*, *heroic*; but whoever considers who the *Macedonians* were, must allow, that it was at least haughty, if not tyrannical. If subjection was so hateful to the *Romans*, that they thought all things lawful to shake it off; why should it not appear in the same dreadful light to the *Macedonians*; and if so, what magnanimity was there in pressing it upon them, and how was *Perseus*, or his subjects, to blame for endeavouring to avoid so servile a submission? Secondly, what sort of liberty was it these people received from *Emilius* after his victory? To answer this question in few words, we may justly alledge, that they received none at all; for which we assign this reason, that the consul left them not so free as they had been under their kings. It is clear from the foregoing history, that the most eminent cities in *Macedonia* were like the free cities of the *German* empire; a sort

(7) *Tit. Liv. hist. lib. xlv. xlv.*(8) *Plut. in vita P. Æmil.*

way for *Oricum*, having first given instructions that all that part of *Epirus*, which had revolted to *Perseus*, should be plundered; and, that this might be done with more effect, centurions were sent to the several cities, who gave out, that all garisons were to be withdrawn, and the *Epirots* restored to their liberty; yet, on a day assigned, when the people thought themselves all safe, the troops in every city sacked and plundered it, carrying off an immense sum of money; after which joining *Emilius*, the whole army, together with

of little republics associated among themselves, and owing certain homage to their prince. The liberty they enjoyed made them populous and rich, the government they were under provided effectually for their safety, nor did *Perseus* himself, for ought we see, violate the rights of these cities; on the contrary, when their deputies offered him levies and subsidies, he declined both, and desired only that they would furnish his army with waggons. *Paulus Emilius* instantly divided the whole realm into tetrarchies, with a severe prohibition to the inhabitants of each tetrarchy to interfere with the inhabitants of another tetrarchy, in any amicable way whatsoever. He also took upon him the office of a legislator, and gave them not only new laws, but a new constitution. Where then was their liberty? Thirdly, great stress is laid on the great abatement of tribute made by the victor; for instead of two hundred talents yearly exacted by the *Macedonian* kings from their subjects, the *Romans* were contented with one hundred. Yet what intelligent person can deny, that a hundred talents annually paid to a foreign people, is a heavier load than two, nay, than four hundred raised, and afterwards spent at home? But, besides, one may justly wonder how it could be thought equitable to charge these people with any taxes, when such an immense sum of ready money was taken from them, as released the *Romans* from all taxes for one hundred and twenty five years. If we sum up therefore all these regulations, *viz.* the quartering the kingdom, the settling new laws, the carrying away all the wealth, the prohibition to bring in bullion from the mines, the leaving them still burthened with a tax of a hundred talents, and, add to these, the carrying away of all their nobility above the age of fifteen, we shall have a right comprehension of the matter, and be well able to account for two things, *viz.* how the *Romans* came to stand less in fear of the *Macedonians*, when a free people, as they called them, than while they were under the dominion of their kings. And, secondly, how these *Macedonians* came to be so strangely ungrateful, as eagerly to lay hold of every opportunity of taking arms against these *Romans*, and of endeavouring to change their new constitution for their old one (9).

(9) *Vide infra.*

the

the captive kings *Perseus* and *Gentius*, who was taken by the prætor *Anicius*, were transported to *Italy* * (E).

Emilius,

* PLUT. in vita *Æmil.* LIV. ubi supra.

(E) The fate of *Gentius* king of *Illyria* hath such a necessary dependance on the *Macedonian* history, that there was a necessity of taking notice of it somewhere, and therefore, to avoid prolixity, we thought proper to digest it into a note. The reader has been already informed, that the prætor *Appius Claudius* had been able to do little or nothing on this side, except giving umbrage to the king of *Illyria*, which made him the more ready to hearken to the propositions made him by *Perseus*. *Anicius*, who was named successor to *Claudius*, at the same time that *Emilius* was sent to command in *Macedon*, made very quick dispatch in the *Illyrian* war. He took care to have his army well recruited, and acting, as he did, in strict conjunction with the consul and the admiral *Octavius*, all things went on well. *Gentius* had assembled an army of fifteen thousand men at *Lissus*, where he waited for the coming of the three hundred talents, intending, on the receipt of them, to have marched away into *Macedonia*, there to have joined the king. *Anicius* saved him this trouble, by meeting him with the *Roman* army; whereupon a smart engagement happened, in which at last *Gentius* was overcome. However, he had the strong city of *Scodra* behind him, and to which with much ado he retreated. If he had been content to have defended that city, he had gained time at least, and in the end perhaps might have made some sort of treaty; but the *Illyrians*, vexed at their late defeat, flattered themselves with better success in another engagement, and therefore on the first appearance of the *Roman* army, would needs march out to fight them. *Anicius* looked upon this to be an event more fortunate than he could have expected; wherefore he immediately gave them battle, and with great slaughter defeated them. However, the king got a second time into *Scodra*, which was a city strong by situation, and extremely well fortified. It had also in it a very numerous garison, the flower of the *Illyrian* nobility, and the king himself; yet it scarce made any defence. *Gentius* was terrified; for, to say the truth, he derived all his courage from the bottle, and, having now time to be sober, grew quite out of heart. He therefore sent to the prætor, desiring leave to treat, and that a truce of three days might be granted him, which, with much ado, he obtained. This delay he procured in expectation of succours; but either his people were not over loyal, or their force was quite exhausted, so that within the space of these three days, the king had certain intelligence that his expectations were vain, which determined him to yield on the prætor's terms, that is, at discretion. In consequence of this, himself, his mother, his wife, children, brother, and friends, were yielded prisoners, and were afterwards led in triumph at *Rome*; and his whole kingdom delivered

The miser-able end of Perseus. *Emilius* sailed up the *Tiber* in king *Perseus's* royal galley, richly adorned with the arms of his prisoners, and with the king's purple robes. Though nothing could be more glorious than the short and sudden conquest which this great general had made of so large a kingdom, yet on account of some discontent his soldiers had taken, there arose great disputes about his triumph. Until such time as this could be decided, and afterwards, while the necessary preparations were making for the triumph, king *Perseus* was confined in a common gaol. When he knew that a triumph was decreed *Emilius*, he sent to beseech him, that he might not be made a spectacle therein, to which the general made answer, *This is entirely in his own power, he needs not ask this favour of me.* Intimating, that the king might kill himself, and thereby avoid that shame of which he stood in fear; but if he had inclined to this, he might as well have done it in *Macedonia* or *Samo-Thrace*, unless that we suppose he relied upon the general's promise at *Amphipolis*, which was indeed very indifferently kept. On the day of the triumph, immediately after

delivered up. This conquest cost a campaign only of a month, so that *Perpenna*, one of the *Roman* ambassadors, whom *Gentius* had imprisoned, carried the news to *Rome* of the ending of the war, before they had any notion there of its being begun (10). The *Illyrians* were not the only people, as the reader hath seen in the text, whom *Perseus* brought into a most distressed condition: Part of *Epirus* had revolted to him, and paid dearly for that revolt. The occasion of it is so much to our purpose, that we cannot omit it. In the war against *Philip* the father of *Perseus* one *Charopus*, an *Epirot* by birth, had conducted *Titus Flaminius* with the *Roman* army over the mountains; for this eminent service he and his son of the same name were highly caressed at *Rome*, and after a time the young one returned into his own country, where he affected to govern all things at his pleasure, sending private informations to the senate against such of the nobility as opposed him, and thereby working such quick destruction to them and their families, as compelled them to have recourse to *Perseus* (11). The *Achaëans* too, being suspected of having wished the king no evil, were for that reason constrained to send a thousand persons of distinction to *Rome*, who were immediately imprisoned as malefactors convict, and, in spite of repeated embassies in their favour, remained seven teen years in that custody, and at length thirty, being all that remained alive, were allowed to return home; among whom was *Polybius* the famous historian. Such were the fatal consequences of this *Macedonian* war (12).

(10) *Tit. Liv. hist. ubi supra.*
lib. xxvi

12) *Liv. ubi supra.*

(11) *Excerpt. Diodor. Sicul.*

the arms, treasures, and gold plate belonging to king *Perseus's* table, followed his sons, *Philip* and *Alexander*, and his little daughter, with their nurses, preceptors, and attendants ; all brought to them on this occasion, not to render them any service, but to heighten the pomp of the procession. These poor people wept, and wrung their hands, and made the children also extend their arms to move the compassion of the people. Next them came *Perseus* alone, clad in deep mourning. Behind, at some distance, his friends and the chief nobility of *Macedon*. They moved along with their hands folded, and their eyes fixed upon the king, as if their concern for him had swallowed up all concern for their own condition. After the triumph, *Perseus* was sent back to the gaol, and put amongst the meanest criminals, no care being taken that he should have so much as a subsistence. In this miserable state, he remained four days fasting. At last he besought some of the poor people there to give him a part of their provision, which they very readily did, and at the same time procured for him a rope and a sword, supposing that he would be glad to end his misfortunes by one of them ; which, however, he did not, but continued to live on. Some time afterwards, at the request of *Emilius*, he was taken out of this prison, and put into a milder custody. Some say, that he was sent with his son *Alexander*, his eldest son being dead, to *Alba*, where, though he had a guard placed upon him, he had a house, a table, and necessary attendants assigned him. Yet, after all, he ended his days most miserably ; for some say, that having disoblged his keeper, he killed him. Others, that the soldiers appointed for his guard, taking a dislike to him, would never suffer him to sleep, and so by continual watching brought him to his end. It is but just we should observe, that some say he died a natural death, which, however, can hardly be credited, if we consider the authority on which the former opinion is built, and which we have therefore set down at large in a note (F). Here the antient and famous

(F) We are indebted to *Diodorus Siculus* for a distinct account of the death of the unfortunate *Perseus*, as we are indebted to the judicious patriarch *Photius* for preserving us this account ; which is to the following effect : *Perseus*, after he had been led in triumph, fell into such extreme misery, and experienced such incredible misfortunes, that hardly any thing related by writers of romances can be compared with what is truly recorded of his ill fate. Yet still he was fond of life. “ Before the senate had determined any thing as to his punishment, one of the city prætors threw him
“ and

famous kingdom of *Macedon* ended, after having subsisted from the time of *Caranus* upwards of six hundred years, and from the death of *Alexander the Great* not quite a hundred and threescore. It is certain, that nothing contributed so much to the destruction of the *Macedonian* empire, as the unhappy disposition of its last prince. *Perseus* laid the foundation of all his subsequent misfortunes in his father's lifetime, by destroying his brother *Demetrius*, whereby he lost the affections of a great part of his countrymen, and at the same time drew upon himself the implacable hatred of the *Romans*. His capital vices were covetousness and cruelty.

“ and his children into the gaol *Albinus*. This prison is a deep
 “ dungeon of the bigness of a chamber, capable of nine beds at
 “ the most ; dark and full of all sorts of filth and nastiness, by
 “ reason of the multitude of men condemned for capital offences,
 “ that from time to time were thrust down there ; and generally
 “ most of such malefactors were put into this place. So that many
 “ being shut up together in so strait a place, those miserable crea-
 “ tures were even turned into beasts. And in regard the meat,
 “ drink, and other necessities which were brought them, were
 “ jumbled together into one chaos and heap of confusion, there
 “ arose thence such a stench, that none that came near were able
 “ to endure. In a most miserable condition *Perseus* continued
 “ here for the space of seven days, insomuch, that he begged re-
 “ lief, and some share of the food of those strangers in prison who
 “ had only a stinted allowance. They, out of compassion to this
 “ miserable man, with great humanity and tears in their eyes,
 “ gave him part of that small pittance they had, and withal offer-
 “ ed him a sword and a rope to use, which of them he would at
 “ his pleasure, for the putting an end to his life. Yet nothing
 “ seems so sweet as life, even to the miserable ; though they suffer
 “ what is equivalent to death itself in the mean time. To con-
 “ clude, he had certainly ended his days in this extreme misery, if
 “ *Marcus Emilius*, president of the court, out of respect to the dig-
 “ nity of his person, moved by the natural and innate hu-
 “ manity of the *Romans*, had not, with some indignation, moved
 “ the senate in his behalf, putting them in mind, that though
 “ they feared not man, yet they should bear some awe and reve-
 “ rence to *Nemesis*, who will take vengeance on them that use their
 “ power with pride and insolence. Upon this he was committed
 “ to more moderate confinement ; and while he was feeding him-
 “ self with fresh hope, he ended his days agreeable to the former
 “ misfortune of his life. For after he had lived two years in this
 “ fond love of life, having displeased his barbarous keepers, they
 “ would not suffer him to sleep, and so he died (13).”

(13) *Dipl. S. M. Lib. V. X. X. and Phot. Bibliothec. p. 1157.*

He discover'd the last, first by murdering *Apelles*, whom his father had sent ambassador to *Rome*, and whom himself had suborned to deliver the forged letter, which took away his brother's life. Thenceforward he addicted himself to all sorts of sinister methods for filling his treasures, and taking off his enemies. Poisons, assassinations, murders with his own hand ; actions, which might have shaken the fidelity of any people, did not render the *Macedonians* disloyal. Perhaps, both they and the allies of *Perseus* saw clearly, that, bad as he was, he was the only instrument they could make use of to ward off that slavery, which notwithstanding all their fair pretences, the *Romans* were spreading over *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Afric*. Natural timidity, and the consciousness of a long scene of crimes, rendered *Perseus* unable to manage so great a controversy against so potent and so firm an enemy as the *Romans*. His own sense of his incapacity, which must have saved him, if he had made use of it in time, most effectually contributed to his ruin, by suggesting to him desires of peace out of all time : all writers agree, that *Perseus* was the very reverse of his father ; for as *Philip*'s prudence served him best in adversity, and taught him to restore to a flourishing condition a kingdom quite exhausted, so *Perseus*, after shewing great abilities in prosperity, seemed to lose them all with his fortune, and to suffer his spirits to sink as low as his condition. The treatment given him by the *Romans* cannot, however, be excused, either from their greatness, or his misery. The former left them little to fear, and the latter took away that little which they might pretend to fear. We must therefore attribute their conduct towards *Perseus* to that haughtiness which began to grow upon them, and made them forget, as well the meanness of their former state, as the grandeur of others †.

Perseus, when he was led in triumph, had two sons, *Philip* and *Alexander*, and a daughter, whose name we find not. *His posterity.* As to their ages, we can say nothing with certainty, except that they were all very young, and the two last infants. *Philip* is said to have died before his father ; but how or where cannot be collected, because the books of *Livy* and of *Diodorus Siculus*, which treat of these times, are lost. As for *Alexander* he was put out to a joiner, carpenter, or turner, and grew an ingenious man in his profession, and addicted himself also to the *Latin* learning ; he became afterwards

† PLUT. in vit. *Æmil.* OROS. lib. xi. JUSTIN. lib. xxxii. LIV. ubi supra. DIODOR. SICUL. excerpt. lib. xxxi. apud Phot.

clerk or secretary to the senate. This was another instance of the *Roman* pride ; for at the same time *Nicomedes* the son of *Prusias*, king of *Bithynia*, was educated with all imaginable pomp and splendor, because his father had sent him thither, and put him under the care of the republic. It may be wondered, that the allies and relations of *Perseus* could do nothing either for him or his off-spring ; but we need not be at much pains to account for this ; they had much ado to bring off themselves. After *Emilius* had visited *Greece*, the *Rhodians* were called to an account for the kindness they had expressed to *Perseus*. King *Eumenes* was treated with great coldness, not to say contempt, for not hating that prince to the last, as heartily as he had done at first. The son of *Cotys* king of *Thrace*, one of the wisest and most generous princes of his time, was made prisoner at the battle of *Pydna* ; and though the *Romans* did vouchsafe to send him back to his father, yet they sent ambassadors with him, who read *Cotys* a very round lecture, exaggerating his fault, the mercy shewn him by the *Romans*, and how dangerous it would be for him to offend a second time. As we have conducted the *Macedonian* kingdom to its close, it should seem that we ought here to put an end to this section. But the reader must remember, that the *Macedonians* were still free, and our business is to shew how they lost their freedom, and how that once noble kingdom came to be reduced into the form of a province ; and as these events were not brought about, but by new and fierce wars, it is necessary that we enter into a detail of them, and look upon the last strugglings of this noble nation to preserve themselves from being swallowed up by the *Roman* power, after they had once held the empire of the world, and for a long time the supreme authority in *Greece* ².

Andriscus
calls him-
self Philip
the son of
Perseus.
Year of
the Flood,
2817.
Before
Christ,
152.

THE settlement, made by *Paulus Emilius* in *Macedon*, was extremely well adapted to the purpose of the senate and people of *Rome* ; for in the first place, every city became a sort of republic. Once in three months the general assembly of the district met, and deputies were annually chosen in each of the regions, in whom the supreme power, so far as was consistent with their duty to *Rome*, was vested. All their ancient nobility dwelt in *Italy*. Thither their wealth had been transferred, and consequently whatever boast might be made of setting them free, they were now no better than a poor, divided, headless, and heartless people. Sixteen years they had remained in this state, when it began to be whif-

² PLUT. LIV. JUSTIN. ubi supra.

pered about, that one of the sons of *Perseus* was living. All who speak of this matter being either *Latin* writers, or such as took their materials from them, we must be content to hear the story in the form they were pleased to place it, though very probable it is, that the *Greek* historians of those times might deliver it in another manner. The best accounts we have tell us, that one *Andriscus*, a native of the city of *Adramyttium*, in the country of *Troas* in *Lesser Asia*, by birth and manners of the very dregs of the people, took upon him to be *Philip* the son of *Perseus*. Not that *Philip* who was led with his father in triumph, but another begotten on a nameless concubine of his, and preserved from slaughter, as he pretended, thus: He was born, he said, while *Perseus* was engaged in the war against the *Romans*; and the king, being already apprehensive of its issue, ordered his birth to be concealed, and committed him to the care of one *Cyrtbesa* to be privately brought up, that in case things should fall out amiss, one of the blood royal might be preserved, and one day assert his right to the kingdom. He was bred up at *Adramyttium*, by a man in mean circumstances, till he was twelve years old, without having the least suspicion that he was any other than that man's son. But about that time his foster-father falling sick of a mortal disease, he disclosed to this *Andriscus* the secret of his birth, and that his true name was *Philip*. There was likewise a narrative to this purpose signed with the hand of *Perseus*, in the custody of his foster-mother, whom the dying man charged to deliver it to *Philip*, when he should arrive at the age of fourteen. This was performed very exactly, and in that memorial there was mention made of two chests of treasure privately deposited for the use of this son by king *Perseus*. The woman, when she put this paper into the young man's hand, recommended it to him to make all imaginable haste out of this part of the world, lest *Enmenes*, the inveterate enemy of *Perseus* and all his race, should gain intelligence of his birth, and procure him to be murdered (G). Full of apprehensions, *Andriscus* or *Philip* retired

(G) It may seem a little odd, that since there were many princes, who might have pretended some title to the throne of *Macedon*, in sight of their descents from its antient kings, none offered at any such thing; but, on the contrary, left all things quiet, and in the state they were settled by *Paulus Emilius*. This is, however, easily accounted for, if we consider the condition of the kings of *Syria* and *Bithynia*, who were nearly allied to *Perseus*. The former was a prince of mean abilities, and terribly afraid of the *Romans*, whose

retired into *Syria*, and went to the court of *Demetrius Soter*, who had married the sister of king *Perseus*, and from whom on that account he hoped for favour and protection. This *Demetrius* having heard *Andriscus's* story, considered it attentively, till by degrees either himself or his wife traced out such imperfections in it, as gave them grounds to suspect the whole was a fallacy. The *Romans* were at this time so powerful, and *Demetrius* had so little inclination to have any disputes with them, that, to prevent his being made accountable for any thing that this pretended *Philip* might attempt, though without his countenance or assistance, he fairly seized him. Under the name of *Andriscus* an impostor, falsely pretending to be the son of *Perseus*, he was sent by *Demetrius* to *Rome*, who no doubt thought he should by this act win great credit with that state ^a.

*Andriscus
escapes
from
Rome.*

THE senate caused this matter to be inquired into upon the first arrival of *Andriscus*; but whether it was that the consequences of his pretences were not apprehended, or whether, as the *Roman* writers affirm, he looked, spoke, and acted so little like the son of a prince, that there seemed to be nothing dangerous in him, certain it is, that he was committed to a very gentle custody, and no sentence at all pronounced upon him. It is very possible, the senate might apprehend, that while *Alexander* the son of *Perseus*, who had been led in triumph, was a peaceable man, and their scribe, as all the world knew, this *Andriscus* with a lame story, and, as they thought, very mean parts, would gain no credit; but that the contrary might happen, if he was severely dealt with; no just cause appearing, for which he might be put to death. *Andriscus* did not let slip the favourable opportunity offered him by the carelessness of those who had the

^a Epitom. Liv., lib. xlviii. xlix. ZONAR. ex DIONE. FLOR. l. ii.

wrath he sought to avert by sending the pretender to the throne of *Macedon* to them as soon as he came into his dominions. He was sensible enough, that he held his crown almost by their permission, and therefore durst not think of putting in any claim to another, while he was unable to act independently in the kingdom he possessed; as for *Prusias* of *Bitbynia*, he was also a mean spirited prince, and besides was so plagued by foreign enemies and divisions in his own family, which were at last attended with fatal effects, that he had small leisure to look abroad; and this encouraged *Andriscus*, if he was indeed an impostor, to act as he did.

custody

custody of him ; but secretly stealing out of *Italy*, took shelter in *Thrace* ^b.

IN the mean time the *Macedonians* were in a very bad situation ; for as the genius of the people was wholly suited to a mixt government, or, in other words, a well-regulated monarchy, so the new constitution which had been given them, sat very indifferently on their minds, some being too proud of their freedom, and others desiring to see themselves once more an independent nation, and as considerable as in former times. The *Romans*, sending embassadors into *Asia*, ordered them to pass over from thence into *Macedonia*, to appease these troubles, and to engage the people to live peaceably under the new government. What effects the exhortations of these legates had, we know not ; but in all probability, they did not operate very strongly, since in a few years the same disturbances broke out again with still greater vehemence, so that it appeared plainly a popular government was little for the advantage of the inhabitants of this kingdom. The *Macedonians* dwelling at *Rome* had interest enough to prevent any harsh measures from being taken with their country-men ; this interest they were at great pains to cultivate, attending the funeral of their conqueror *Emilius* with all imaginable marks of sorrow and concern, applying themselves afterwards to *Scipio* his son, surnamed *Africanus*. Him they owned for the protector of their nation, and publicly solicited the senate that he might be sent into *Macedonia* to compromise the disturbances there. But the affairs of the republic in *Spain* being fallen into a dangerous condition, insomuch, that many declined serving there, *Scipio* desired to be sent thither, as conceiving it would be more for his country's service, though he was very sensible of the affection borne him by the *Macedonians*, and would most willingly, but for this accident, have gone thither to repair the breaches which had been made in his father's settlement of the affairs of that people. It is very possible, that while the *Romans* apprehended no ill consequence to themselves from the disputes among the *Macedonians*, they were not very much disturbed at their continuance, since it appears clearly from *Polybius*, that the *Romans* were by this time become great politicians, and extended their own power on every side by practising on others, and taking advantage either of their misfortunes, or of their errors in government. Be it as it will, *Macedonia* was in great confusion, and little or no care

Troubles in Macedonia, and their causes

^b Epitom. Liv. lib. xlix. VAL. PATERCUL. lib. i. ZONAR. cx. Dion.

was taken to redress the grievances the people complained of ; indeed the redressing of them was the more difficult, because there were no *Roman* officers amongst them ; but from themselves those were taken who were made use of to oppress them * (H).

Andriscus
or Philip
recovers
Macedon.

Andriscus, when he first came into *Thrace*, depended rather on the charity of the inhabitants, and especially of their petty princes, than on any pretensions of being of use to them, which would have come with an ill grace from a per-

* POLYB. Legat. cvii.

(H) 'Twas an essential maxim of the *Roman* policy, to let the subjects of the republic enjoy much greater quiet than their allies and dependents ; and it was built on this supposition, that either by art or force the countries of their allies might be reduced into provinces, either without resistance, or under colour of justice. Hence it was, that while they acknowledged the *Achaëans* to be free, and gloried themselves in the title of protectors of the liberties of *Greece*, they treated the former worse and regarded the latter less, than the *Macedonians* had ever done, when they had the pre-eminence in that country. For whereas the kings of *Macedon* permitted the *Greek* republics to chuse their own magistrates, and to judge all criminals in their own courts, and according to their own laws, the *Romans* mostly sent legates of their own to hear and determine differences among states they pretended to call free, and not seldom drew the causes to *Rome*, whither the parties were constrained to follow them. We have already shewn how *Charopus*, almost against their wills, drove the *Epirots* into rebellion ; and yet this man was again invested, not only with almost regal authority, but his mother also, a most vindictive and covetous woman, plundered and harassed these unhappy people with equal malice and impunity. In *Macedonia*, those who had the government of its several districts in their hands, were either extremely necessitous, and from thence prone to oppression, or were the relations and allies of the nobility who were prisoners at *Rome*, and were therefore much more addicted to the interest of the republic, than to that of their country. The rebellion of *Andriscus* might easily have been prevented ; for he was a long time in *Thrace* before he was in any condition to invade *Macedon* ; or when it was begun, it might have been presently quashed ; but it is propable, the *Romans* desired neither, but rather wished for an opportunity of reducing the whole kingdom into a province, which at length they obtained, and did not fail to use (14).

(14) Liv. lib. xlix. l. Polyb. legat. cvii. Diodor. Sicul. except. lib. xxvi

son in his condition. However, by often repeating his story, by shewing them the incroachments which were daily made on their neighbours, and by explaining the methods whereby one king was employed to ruin another, and thereby reduced into circumstances which rendered him unfit to defend himself; he begat in the minds of the *Tracians* such suspicions, and kindled in their bosoms such an ambition of being once more independent, that at first he had some attendants, which soon after grew into a little court, and at length he was permitted to raise an army; which when it had swelled to a reasonable bigness, he boldly led down into *Macedon*, and there began publicly to declare his title to the crown. Some places he reduced by force, others submitted through fear; most were willing to lay hold of any pretext to rid themselves of their new masters, and to regain their antient constitution, the loss of which had rendered it but so much the more desirable. Such as were in possession of power, and consequently were strictly dependent on the *Romans*, endeavoured to make what resistance they could; but it proved even feebler than *Andriscus* or *Philip* could have expected. Such as had been most forward to support these men in their authority for the sake of reaping rewards, which it was only in their power to give, were the first to desert them, in order to rejoin authority again; and thus *Macedonia* was reduced by one who called himself the son of *Perseus*, in almost as short a time as *Perseus* himself had lost it. Nay, so full was he of that courage, which success usually inspires, that, not content with *Macedon*, he began to meditate an invasion on the adjoining provinces, as well to gratify his own ambition, as to keep up the hopes and spirits of his new subjects d.

THE *Romans*, on the first news of this extraordinary event, were not a little at a loss; they had no army in these parts; they had all the reason in the world to believe that the *Greeks* would by no means raise an army in favour of those who had of late treated them but very indifferently. However, they sent *Scipio Nasica* with other legates, rather to dispose the minds of the people in *Greece* to remain steady to the *Roman* interest, than to perform any notable service against the new king of *Macedon*, whom the *Romans* qualified with the name of *Pseudo-Philippus*, i. e. the sham *Philip*. *Scipio* and his colleagues found things in quite another state than they expected. For, in the first place, *Andriscus*

^d Epitom. Liv. lib. lxx. l. PATERC. lib. i. L. FLOP. lib. ii.

or *Philip* was much more powerful than he had been thought at *Rome*. And, secondly, the *Achæans*, contrary to all expectation, laying aside all former jealousies and suspicions, appeared most ready to side with the *Romans*, and to do whatever they required. *Scipio*, as he was of great parts, so he was also naturally just, temperate, and courteous, in the highest degree ; these good qualities supplied the place of an army, and rendered him more formidable to the enemies of the republic, than a person of another disposition would have been attended by legions. The first thing he did was, fully to inform the senate of what had happened in *Greece* : That the disturbance in *Macedon* was not a sudden tumultuary insurrection, but that the people for the most part had not only willingly, but joyfully, received this pretended *Philip*, not so much because he styled himself the son of *Perseus*, as on account of his declaring he would expel the *Romans* and give liberty to all *Greece*. When *Scipio* had dispatched these advices, he applied himself to the discharge of his commission ; he visited all the principal cities of *Greece*, harangued the people in their general assemblies, heard all their remonstrances patiently, excused some things, admitted others, promised the redress of all ; by which arts he drew every city to furnish a certain quota of troops, and joining these with a considerable body of auxiliaries raised by the *Achæans*, he at last entered *Thessaly*, where he immediately stopped the progress of *Andriscus*, or *Philip* ; retook such of the cities as he had garisoned, and in the end compelled him with his army to retire back into *Macedon* ; which was all or rather more than could have been expected from a person in his situation, whose commission extended no farther than to provide for the safety of *Greece* *.

The prætor Juventius defeated and slain. AT *Rome*, as soon as the dispatches from *Scipio* arrived, and it was perceived that the affair in *Macedonia* was become very serious, the prætor *P. Juventius Thalna*, and *Q. Cælius* were sent with a great army to reduce the rebels. It quickly appeared, that an able general was capable of doing more without an army, than a rash officer with very numerous forces. *Juventius* was a man of fire and spirit, one who was desirous of performing very great things, but altogether void of that calmness and conduct which are so essential to the character of a hero. Hence it was, that he made all imaginable haste to enter *Macedonia*, and, as if his presence only would have finished the war, advanced as fast as the army was able to

* DIODOR. SICUL. excerpt. lib. xxvi. FLORUS, lib. ii. c. 14. V. PATERCUL. lib. i. c. 11.

march towards *Andriscus*. This *Pseudo-Philippus*, as the *Romans* called him, was owned, attended, and obeyed as king of *Macedon*; he therefore having notice of the manner in which the prætor *Juventius* behaved, and that he regarded himself as a theatrical prince only, who, by putting on royal robes, had qualified himself to be led in triumph, *Andriscus* was encouraged to attack him. When the *Roman* general was come within a day's march of his camp, the *Macedonian* prince began to move at the very break of day; and having refreshed his army the next day, about noon, he in the evening shewed himself in sight of the *Roman* camp, which, as he rightly judged it would, drew the prætor out of his intrenchments, and induced a general engagement, wherein the *Roman* army was totally defeated. The prætor *Juventius* and *Q. Cælius* being slain, if the night had not interposed and afforded the remains of the army time to retreat, there had not been a man left. Those who escaped, made all the haste they could out of *Macedon*; and *Philip*, pursuing the blow he had struck, not only reduced the whole kingdom again to his obedience, but also opened a passage into *Thessaly*, which he again united to his dominions, seeming now to be effectually seated on the throne, as having expelled his mortal enemies, and having about his person a numerous and victorious army, ready to undertake any thing at his command f.

THE *Carthaginians* not long after this victory sent embas- Andriscus'
sadors to congratulate *Philip*, and to engage him into an alli- or Philip
ance for reducing the exorbitant power of the *Romans*, who proves a
were on the point of beginning the third *Punic* war. The tyrant.
Macedonian received these ministers very graciously, and made them large promises of assistance, which he might have fulfilled at least in some measure by an invasion on *Greece*, and thereby making a diversion, which would consequently have weakened the *Romans*. But him whom adversity could not, prosperity ruined; his fortune buried his abilities and his virtues, if he really had any, and did not put on the appearance of good qualities to draw in and cajole the people. The *Romans* he thought no more of, and, instead of endeavouring to cherish his subjects, to revive trade, and to make them happy, he began to play the tyrant, and to make them feel the weight of his sceptre, almost as soon as he had handled it himself. If he had been hurried on by the impetuous rage of any one vice, the people might have hoped for quiet, when it was satiated; but he soon discovered, that he had almost all the ill qualities which are wont to render men odious, and that

f Liv. ubi supra. DION. FLOR. PATERCUL. ubi supra.

he pursued every one of these as eagerly as if it had been his only and darling vice. His pride was intolerable ; coming late as he did to royalty, he thought he could never have enough submission paid him. He was suspicious to such a degree, that imprudence was a capital crime, and a circumspect conduct an indication of treason. His cruelty was so great, that he spared none whom he either disliked, or whom he conceived to dislike him and his proceedings. With all this he was so rapaciously covetous, as having been till lately excessively indigent, that he searched all corners of the kingdom for money, and where-ever he found it, declared himself its owner ; urging the care of the public safety as a pretext for public robbery ; and in short, from the moment he gained the sovereign authority, acted as if he had designed nothing less than to retain it. Yet the *Macedonians* bore all with invincible patience, and shewed themselves infinitely more loyal to this *Philip* than he was true to himself. The reason of this is easily found ; they hoped for a successor, whose government might be milder, and were willing to bear any thing, so they might once more become an independent people⁸.

*Is twice
defeated
by Me-
tellus.*

WHEN the news of the defeat and death of *P. Juventius* was known at *Rome*, *Q. Cæcilius Metellus* was immediately named to supply his place, and troops were with all imaginable care transported into *Macedon*. Thither also the new prætor speedily repaired, and the king found himself on a sudden under a necessity of fighting once more for his life and crown. He shewed on this occasion the only good quality he had, viz. unconquerable courage, a quality desirable in all princes, and peculiarly revered by the *Macedonians*. He quickly assembled his forces, and to prevent the *Romans* from plundering the adjacent country, he encamped under the walls of *Pydna*, and there expected the prætor. *Metellus*, understanding *Philip's* resolution, marched with the *Roman* army, and encamped over-against him. Thus far both generals seemed to act with prudence, and military skill. The king of *Macedon* however quickly betrayed an extraordinary confidence in his fortune, and his forces. *Metellus* was strongest in horse, *Philip* ventured an engagement with cavalry only ; and though the *Macedonians* were inferior in number, and not so well armed, yet after a long and obstinate dispute, they had the victory, and compelled the *Romans* to retire into their camp with some confusion. This new success completed the king's destruction ; for understanding immediately after

⁸ DIODOR. SICUL. excerpt lib. xxvi. LIV. FLOR. & PATERCULUS ubi supra.

that the allies of the *Romans* were about to attack his conquests in *Thessaly*, he sent a great detachment from his army to cover them. *Metellus*, apprised of this, attacked him now he had weakened his forces, and, after an obstinate and bloody battle, totally routed him, insomuch that not being able to collect out of his broken army troops enough to keep the field, he was forced to fly to his old friends the *Thracians*. These people whom we so often find branded by the *Greek* writers with the name of barbarians, were neither deterred by his present adversity, nor by the ill use he had made of his former prosperity, from receiving him with open arms, and giving him all the assistance in their power, insomuch that in a very short space he was enabled to enter *Macedonia* again with a numerous army, which increased daily, and which, if he had managed prudently, would have enabled him to have protracted the war, a thing the *Romans* could least of all bear. His conduct was the very reverse of what it ought to have been, since, forgetting his late misfortunes, and breathing nothing but a vehement ambition of becoming once again master of *Macedonia*, and all its dependencies, he marched directly to fight *Metellus*, and in a second battle met the same ill fate which had attended him before. In these two engagements he had twenty five thousand men killed upon the spot, so that he found it absolutely impossible to raise a third army in defence of his pretensions. Consulting therefore his own safety, he fled to *Byzas*, a petty prince of *Thrace*, who at first received him very kindly ; but when he saw clearly that he should draw upon himself the vengeance of the *Romans*, he delivered up *Andriscus* to *Metellus*, who now hoped that he had put a full end to the troubles in this country ; but it presently appeared that the *Macedonians* were not so easily subdued, for immediately there started up a new pretender to the regal dignity, who called himself *Alexander*, and boasted that he too was the son of *Perseus*. He set up his standard in the first region of *Macedonia*, that is, in the country bordering upon *Thrace*, and very quickly reduced under his obedience the whole territory between the rivers *Strymon* and *Nessus*. But *Attalus* king of *Pergamus*, who had assisted *Metellus* with a fleet, remaining still upon the coast, and the prætor advancing towards the river *Strymon*, *Alexander* found himself too weak to engage the numerous and victorious army of the *Romans*, and quitting his conquests, and the ensigns of the regal dignity which he had assumed, he withdrew into *Dardania*, where he so effectually concealed himself, that the *Romans* could never get him into their power. Such was the end of this war, which afforded what had been to long

Year of
the Flood,
2851.
Before
Christ,
148.



Two other
pretenders
defeated.

desired, an opportunity of reducing *Macedonia* into a *Roman* province, a thing immediately put into execution, as well as the chastising of the *Thracians*, and other borderers, for having shewn greater affection to the *Macedonians*, than duty towards the republic. *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, on his return to *Rome*, triumphed, and led *Pseudo-Philippus*, as the *Romans* stiled him, in the cavalcade; after which the victor took the surname of *Macedonicus*; which shews of what consequence this conquest was, and how arduous the war by which it was obtained ^h.

As the *Macedonians* were reduced to the same state with the rest of the nations conquered by the *Romans*, by *Q. Metellus*, so by him also they were deprived of what small remains of their antient grandeur *Emilius* had left behind him; among the rest, of the brazen statues set up at *Dium*, for such of *Alexander's* guards as had fallen in the battle of *Granicus*. *Metellus* also appointed new magistrates, and changed in every respect the government under which they had lived before. As the rest of *Greece* soon after fell under the like circumstances, it was not doubted but the spirits of these people were effectually quelled, and that they would never think more of throwing off that yoke, which, after repeated victories, they had seen imposed upon the bravest and most potent of their neighbours. Yet it happened otherwise; a new *Pseudo-Philippus* shewed himself on the borders of *Thrace*, and having drawn together a small band of desperate men, began to harass the country, and particularly to destroy such as he either knew or suspected to be attached to the *Romans*. The love of liberty amongst the *Macedonians* encreasing with the loss of it, they resorted in crowds to this new pretender, and advised him to invade the kingdom, with full assurance that he would meet with little opposition. Accordingly he came down with his forces into the heart of *Macedonia*, where he was continually joined by new recruits, making in a short time so quick a progress, as the greatest part of the country submitted to him; and thus with the regal title he gained the power and authority of a king. To reduce him, the *Romans* sent a numerous army under the command of the quæstor *Lucius Tremellius*, who no sooner entered the province, than he began to retake the cities which *Philip* had subdued and fortified; and though he managed with much greater prudence than *Andriscus*, who had assumed the same name, had used, yet in the end he was defeated and slain. He seems to have been the last who pre-

^h LIV. FLOR. PATERCUL. ubi supra. STRAB. lib. xiii. p. 624. JUL. OBSEQ. de prodigiis. EUTROP. lib. iv.

tended to vindicate the liberty of the *Macedonians*, or to attempt the recovery of that kingdom, under colour of a right derived from *Perseus*, or any of its antient princes¹ (I).

THE trouble which the subduing this province had cost, *The Macedonians* and the manifest disaffection which the people had shewn towards the republic, encouraged such as were intrusted with the government to exercise great severities, and no less grievously to oppress, under colour of severity, those whom they were sent to rule. *D. Junius Syllanus*, a man of high quality, exceeded all his predecessors, as well in fleecing the *Macedonians*, as in treating them with excessive rigor. In short, though few years had elapsed since their country had

¹ LIV. lib. liii. VARRO. de re Rustic. lib. ii. c. 4.

(I) It must be easily discerned, that the history given in the text of the endeavours of the *Macedonians* to preserve or rather to recover their freedom, is very imperfect; the cause of this is, that we collect from fragments; a line or two from *Polybius* furnishes us with one circumstance (15), an extract from *Diodorus* (16) with another; the contents of these books of *Livy* which are lost, and certain epitomes of *Roman* history, with the rest. That it was requisite to put all these circumstances together appears from hence; the epitomizer of *Livy* tells us, that *Metellus* recovered *Macedonia*, which was before lost (17). *Florus* intitles his detail of this business, *Of the third Macedonian war*. *Q. Cæcilius Metellus* triumphed, led *Andriscus* in chains, and took the surname of *Macedonicus*. *Florus* adds, after reciting the fate of *Andriscus*, *De eo populus Romanus, quasi de vero rege, triumpharet* (18). As we are now writing the *Macedonian* history, there is no question to be made that the *quasi* does not belong to us, but that we ought to treat expressly of the reign of *Andriscus*, since the *Romans* triumphed over him as over a true king. Whether he was in truth what the *Romans* said, an impostor, and so far from being the son of *Perseus*, that he was in fact sprung from the very dregs of the people, is what cannot be determined, any more than who they were who afterwards called themselves *Alexander* and *Philip*, and put themselves at the head of the *Macedonian* armies against the *Romans* (19). Most certain it is, that the *Macedonian* kings were wont to have several wives, and not seldom many concubines; this being so, admitting none of these men were in reality descended from the royal family, it must remain, however, a thing difficult to prove it; and the *Macedonians* in general being disaffected, the colour of truth was sufficient to lead them into rebellion. This then may suffice for excusing those imperfections necessity hath occasioned in this part of our work.

(15) *In legat.* (16) *ap. Phot.* (17) *Tit. Liv. lib. liii.*
(18) *Flor. lib. ii. c. 14.* (19) *Entrop. lib. iv.*

been reduced into a province, and they had all the reason in the world to believe that their strenuous endeavours to avoid it were well remembered at *Rome*; yet so much of their ancient spirit remained, that they could not bear the thoughts of enduring tamely so sharp a subjection. They therefore sent deputies to *Rome* to represent their grievances, and to pray that more justice might be done on their rapacious governor, than ever he had done in his province. When this matter came before the senate, the deputies were heard with great shew of kindness, and *Junius Syllanus* was commanded to appear at a certain day, and answer to the crimes objected against him. Before that time was expired, *Titus Manlius Torquatus* his father, a very eminent person, of the old *Roman* stamp, preferred a petition, that the cause might be referred to him, and he be allowed to hear and determine it at his own house, which was granted. There the *Macedonian* deputies appeared, and boldly opened the particular causes of their complaints, exhibited their proofs, and fully replied to the defence made by *Syllanus*. At length *Titus Manlius* gave sentence that his son was guilty, and ordered him to be taken out of his presence. A little after *Junius Syllanus* hanged himself, and when the good old man was informed of it, he shewed no concern; but on the very day of his funeral kept his house open, and transacted all sorts of business, as if his son's deviating from virtue had divorced him from his family, and made him a stranger to his blood. After this we meet with nothing relating to the *Macedonians*, which deserves to be recorded in their history, to which therefore we shall now put an end * (K).

THE

* *TIT. LIV. Hist. lib. liv.*

(K) The punishment of *Syllanus*, with the very extraordinary circumstances which attended it, plainly proves that the *Romans* were now very desirous of making the *Macedonians* easy, by preventing those acts of tyranny and oppression, which for the sake of aggrandizing themselves and their families, governors were but too ready to commit. And these proceedings of theirs fully justify an observation which we heretofore made, that they were desirous to give all possible ease to their proper subjects, though they encouraged troubles among their allies, and in such states as were tributary to them. Such a conduct naturally conciliated the minds of the people, who when they found themselves protected and well used, were no longer inclined to take up arms against those who had so often subdued them; whereas necessity and oppression would have wrought their old effects; and the *Macedonians* would have rose in arms time after time, till they had been either relieved

or

THE intelligent reader, by comparing the contents of this *Summary* with those of former sections, will acquire a perfect knowledge *view of* of the steps by which the state of *Macedon* rose, the arts used *this his-* by its princes to render it formidable, the wars and conquests *tory.* by which it became arbiter of *Greece*, and sovereign of a great part of the known world; the accidents which contributed to its quick declension, and the causes which, by slower degrees, brought on its total ruin (L). For in a political sense, a government is said to be brought to destruction, when it no longer resides in the hands of natives, and the constitution under which the people live owes its form, not to their choice, but to the will of their conquerors. From such a comparison as we have mentioned, it will appear, that all this series of events did not take up a space of above seven hun-

or extirpated. But indulgence got the better of the love of liberty, and when they were allowed to be quiet, they forgot that quiet was only allowed them, and that they did not owe peace to themselves, but to the will of their masters.

(L) The principal intent of the recapitulation in the text was to demonstrate the usefulness of this work, in which, without any interruptions or digressions, the histories of nations are to be found from their infancy to their decay. In the famous Sir *Walter Raleigh's* history of the world, we have a very imperfect account of the kingdom of *Macedon* before the reign of *Philip* the son of *Amyntas* (20), and no description of the country at all. In Dr. *Howell's* history, there is no amendment of this matter; the kings preceding *Philip* are but just mentioned, and there are some mistakes, and several omissions, in the little which is said (21). Mr. *Rollin* is by much the fairest writer, for he sets out with acquainting us, that the history of *Macedon* before *Philip* is very obscure and confused, and so he leaves it (22). Sir *Walter Raleigh*, in the conduct of his history, treats of the affairs of *Alexander's* successors in a continued narration, which blends the transactions in several nations one with another. Dr. *Howell* avoided this, but his history of *Macedon* from the time of *Alexander* to the captivity of *Perseus* is too concise, neither is the period well fixed, for it ought to have ended with the reduction of *Macedonia* into a province. Mr. *Rollin* takes the same method with Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and one may safely say, that dean *Prideaux* is a guide he seldom or never forsakes. On the whole, the regular series of events traced in the text is not to be met with in any other history or collection of history that has come to our hands. We also take the liberty to add, that what has been before hid down, may be as well applied to the histories of other nations as this; for having pursued the same method in all, all have the same advantages.

(20) *P. i. B. iv. c. 1. sect. 1.* (21) *B. ii. c. 2. sect. 5.*
(22) *Hist. Ancien. Vol. VI.*

dred years. That the first settlement of *Ceraunus* and his *Argives* in the centre of that country, which was afterwards called *Macedonia*, is very obscurely related by antient historians; and yet that we have a better account of the transactions of his reign than of his immediate successors, whose names are all that we have transmitted to us. That the homage yielded by the *Macedonian* princes to the *Persian* emperors was one great cause of their subsequent power, inasmuch as it preserved them from being harassed by the wars made by the *Persians* on the rest of the *Greek* states, brought great sums of money into *Macedonia*, and afforded frequent opportunities of annexing cities and districts to the kingdom by grants from the great king, in trust, as it were, for the better securing their submission to his empire. That the declension of the *Persian* power, while there were but weak princes on the throne of *Macedon*, had well-nigh caused the destruction of their kingdom, endangered alike from the rapacious violence of its barbarous neighbours, the boundless ambition of the *Greek* republics, and those civil dissensions which raged in its own bowels. But when a prince of great abilities assumed the regal dignity, he by dint of genius quieted domestic feuds, by force of arms repressed the barbarous nations, and then made a successful war against those republics which had held his immediate ancestors in a kind of subjection, till from these accessions of power, directed by his own superior wisdom, he acquired the sovereignty of *Greece*, wherein himself and his people at the beginning of his reign were scarce at all regarded, or rather contemned as *Barbarians*. That as his conduct founded, so the courage and military virtues of his successor wonderfully extended the *Macedonian* empire; which for want of his having an heir at age, was broke in pieces, and the kingdom of *Macedon* left in the same condition in which the victorious *Alexander* received it. That the successors of these great monarchs, preserving the ambition without the abilities of those they imitated, instead of restoring, weakened, and lost all the dependencies to the dominion of *Macedon*, and at last, by an ill-timed attempt to recover them, delivered up the kingdom itself into the hands of strangers (M). Against whom its inhabitants, with a spirit far

(M) We chose to give a list of the princes who ruled in *Macedon* after the death of *Alexander the Great* rather in a note at the end of the history, than at the beginning of this section, because of their different titles and authorities which could not there, but will be here easily understood.

far superior, though as unsuccessful as that of their last princes, struggled for a time, till at last, worn out, and breathless, they yielded to the power of the conqueror, and were content that *Macedonia*, which had been the mistress of so many provinces, should now become a province herself. There remained still however some unsubjected fragments of her ancient empire, *viz.* the kingdoms of *Syria* and *Egypt*, the history of which, to their reduction by the *Romans*, the next sections will relate.

A TABLE of the *Macedonian* Princes.

Aridæus or *Philip* the son of *Philip*.
Alexander the son of *Roxana*.
Cassander the son of *Antipater*.
Philip the son of *Cassander*.
Antipater and *Alexander* his sons also.
Demetrius Poliorcetes the son of *Antigonus*.
Pyrrhus.
Lyfimachus.
Ptolemy Ceraunus.
Meleager.
Antipater the son of *Philip*.
Softhenes.
Antigonus Gonatus son of *Demetrius*.
Demetrius the son of *Antigonus*.
Antigonus Doseu, first protector, then king.
Philip the son of *Demetrius*.
Perseus.
Andriscus, or *Pseudo-Philippus*.

They were all as to their power alike sovereigns of *Macedon*, but they differed as to the authority they claimed, and as to the titles by which they claimed. Some were lawful princes, as *Aridæus* and *Alexander*; others downright usurpers, as *Cassander* and his sons. The choice of the people bestowed the crown on *Demetrius* the son of *Antigonus*. Conquest gave the small right they had to the princes interfering between *Demetrius* and his son *Antigonus Gonatus*. After him the kingdom continued hereditary to its extinction.

S E C T. IX.

The history of the Seleucidæ in Syria, to the reduction of their dominions by the Romans.

AFTER the battle of *Ipsus*, wherein *Antigonus* was slain, and *Demetrius* put to flight, the empire of *Alexander* was, as we have related above ^a, by a new partition divided into four kingdoms. *Ptolemy* had *Egypt*, *Libya*, *Arabia*, *Cælo-Syria*, and *Palestine*; *Cassander* *Macedon* and *Greece*; *Lyfimachus* *Thrace*, *Bitbynia*, and some other provinces beyond the *Hellepont* and the *Bosphorus*; and *Seleucus* all the rest. The two kingdoms of *Syria* and *Egypt* continued in the same families through a long series of princes, without any considerable alteration. But *Macedon* often changed its masters, and the provinces, which fell to the share of *Lyfimachus*, were, upon his death, as they lay at a great distance from each other, seized by different princes, and so dismembered, that his kingdom may be truly said to have ended with his life. The history of the kingdom of *Macedon*, from its foundation to *Alexander the Great*, and from that period to its being reduced to a *Roman* province, we have already delivered, and shall therefore now proceed to the two other kingdoms, which the above-mentioned division of provinces produced, viz. those of *Syria* and *Egypt*. The kingdom of *Syria*, to which, as the most powerful and extensive of the two, we shall give the precedency, was not confined to that country alone; but, besides *Syria*, comprehended those vast and fertile provinces of the upper *Asia*, which formed the *Persian* empire; being, in its full extent, bounded by the *Mediterranean* on one side and the river *Indus* on the other. These vast spreading dominions were commonly called the kingdom of *Syria*, because *Seleucus*, the first of the *Syro-Macedonian* kings, having built the city of *Antioch* in that province, chose it, as did likewise his successors, for the usual place of his residence. Here his descendants, from him stiled *Seleucidæ*, reigned, according to *Eusebius* ^b, for the space of two hundred and fifty one years, that is, from the one hundred and seventeenth olympiad, when *Seleucus* recovered *Babylon*, to the the third year of the one hundred and eightieth, when *Antiochus Asiaticus*, the last of the race of *Seleucus*, was driven out by *Pompey*, and

^a See before. p. 302, & seq.

^b EUSEB. in Chron.



Syria reduced to a Roman province. Before we proceed to the history of the *Seleucidæ*, we shall exhibit a series of the kings of that race, with the years of their respective reigns.

A table of the kings of Syria, from the foundation of that monarchy, to its being reduced by the Romans, with the years of their respective reigns.

<i>Seleucus Nicator</i>	32	<i>Alexander Zebina</i>	5
<i>Antiochus Soter</i>	19	<i>Antiochus Theus</i>	2
<i>Antiochus Theus</i>	15	<i>Antiochus Sidetes</i>	9
<i>Seleucus Callinicus</i>	20	<i>Antiochus Grypus</i>	19
<i>Seleucus Ceraunus</i>	3	<i>Antiochus Cyzicenus</i>	21
<i>Antiochus the Great</i>	36	<i>Seleucus</i>	months 7
<i>Seleucus Philopator</i>	11	<i>Antiochus Eusebes</i>	1
<i>Antiochus Epiphanes</i>	11	<i>Demetrius Eucharus</i>	3
<i>Antiochus Eupator</i>	2	<i>Philip</i>	7
<i>Demetrius Soter</i>	12	<i>Antiochus Dionysius</i>	3
<i>Alexander Balas</i>	6	<i>Tigranes</i>	18
<i>Demetrius Nicator</i>	13	<i>Antiochus Asiaticus</i>	4

Seleucus, the founder of the *Syro-Macedonian* empire, was the son of *Antiochus*, one of the chief captains of *Philip* the father of *Alexander*. We are told by *Justin*^c, that his mother *Laodice*, nine months before he was born, dreamt, that *Apollo*, being in bed with her, presented her with a precious stone, on which was engraved the figure of an anchor, commanding her to deliver it to the son she should bring forth; and that next morning upon waking she found in her bed a ring, with a stone like that which she had seen in her dream. The same author adds, that not only the child she was afterwards delivered of, but all the *Syrian* kings of his race had the mark of an anchor on their thigh (A). The ancients speak

^c JUSTIN. l. xv.

(A) To this *Ausonius*, speaking of the cities of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, alludes in the following verses.

*Et vos ite pares, Macedumque attollite nomen,
Magnus Alexander te condidit, illa Seleucum
Nuncupat : ingenitus nævus fuit anchora signum :
Qualis juncta solet generis nota certa : per omnem
Nam sobolis seriem nativa cucurrit imago (1).*

(1) *Auson. de clar. m. lib.*

Made go-
vernors of
Babylon.

Aspires to
the sove-
reign pow-
er in his go-
vernment.

speak of several other dreams, prodigies, responses of oracles, &c. portending to *Seleucus* some extraordinary rise and good fortune ; but the eminent parts he brought with him into the world, joined to a great sweetness of temper, to an obliging behaviour, and a no less gallant than prudent conduct, were the surest prognostics of his future greatness. He served under *Alexander* from his tender years, attended him in his expedition into *Asia*, and was by him honoured with the chief command of the elephants, a commission of great trust and reputation. After the death of that conqueror, *Perdiccas*, whom the officers had unanimously appointed regent of the empire, put him at the head of the cavalry of the allies ; in which command he acquitted himself with such reputation, that *Antipater*, who succeeded *Perdiccas* in the regency, raised him to the government of *Babylon* and its territory. In this post he was tempted, by the example of the other captains of *Alexander*, who aspired to the supreme power in their respective allotments, to betray his trust, and entertain thoughts of setting up for himself ; whence, when *Eumenes*, on his march into *Susiana*, pressed him to join the governors of the upper provinces against *Antigonus*, who had openly revolted, he not only refused to lend them any assistance, but even attempted to destroy both *Eumenes* and his army, by cutting the sluices of the *Euphrates*, and laying the whole plain where they were encamped under water. *Eumenes*, however, tho' thus surprized, gained an eminence with his troops, before the waters rose to any height, and the next day, by diverting their course, found means to escape the danger, without the loss of a single man. *Seleucus*, finding this stratagem prove unsuccessful, sent emissaries under-hand

But *Appian*, without taking any notice of this native mark, as *Ausonius* styles it, tells us, that *Laodice* was warned in a dream to deliver to her son the first ring she should find, and assured, that he should reign in the country where the ring should be lost. In compliance with this admonition, *Laodice*, having some time after found an iron ring, with the figure of an anchor engraved on it, gave it to her son *Seleucus*, who lost it near the *Euphrates*, where he afterwards reigned. The same author adds, that *Seleucus*, on his march to *Babylon*, having stumbled against a stone, and caused it immediately, out of a superstitious observance, to be dug up, found under it, deep in the ground, a small anchor ; and hence the custom among the *Seleucidæ* of *Syria* to use an anchor on their seals (2).

(2) *Appian in Syriac.*

into

into *Eumenes's* camp, soliciting, with mighty promises, the *Argyaspides* and *Antigenes* their leader, to abandon *Eumenes* and come over to him ; but not being able to prevail with them upon any terms whatsoever, he made a truce with *Eumenes*, granting him a free passage thro' his province. However, he sent an express at the same time to *Antigonus* in *Mesopotamia*, advising him to come with all possible expedition, and fall upon *Eumenes*, before he was joined by the governors of the upper *Asia* ; for as *Eumenes* was unalterably attached to the interest of the kings, and withal the best general and greatest statesmen *Alexander* had left behind him, *Seleucus*, as well as the other governors, who were prompted by their ambition to usurp the sovereign power in their governments, were under no small apprehension of his superior merit and genius. *Antigonus* followed the reasonable advice of his friend *Seleucus*, and, being attended in his expedition against *Eumenes* with the great success we have related above^d, he returned to *Babylon*, where *Seleucus* received him with rich presents, and, at a vast charge, feasted his whole army. But when *Antigonus* demanded an account of the revenues of his government, he told him in plain terms, That he was not accountable to any-body for the revenues of a province, which the *Macedonians* had bestowed upon him, as a reward for his services in *Alexander's* life-time. This blunt answer occasioned a misunderstanding between him and *Antigonus*, who, as the breach grew daily wider and wider, waited only for an opportunity of cutting off this new rival, as he had already treated others, whose abilities gave him umbrage ; but *Seleucus*, suspecting his design, stole away with fifty horse only, and put himself under the protection of *Ptolemy* governor of *Egypt*, whose kindness and courteous behaviour, towards all who fled to him for shelter, was every-where cried up. *Antigonus*, when informed of his flight, expressed great joy, being thereby put in possession of a rich province without striking a blow, or being obliged to imbrue his hands, as he had resolved to do, in the blood of his old friend and confederate^e (B).

Falls out with Antigonus, and flies to Egypt.

Seleucus

^c DIODOR. SICUL. l. xix. PLUT. in Eumen CORN. NEP. in vit. ejusd. c. 7. ^d See before, p. 280, & seq. ^e DIODOR. SICUL. APPIAN. & JUSTIN. ibid.

(B) *Diodorus* tells us, that, upon the first news of the flight of *Seleucus*, the *Chaldeans* foretold to *Antigonus*, that if *Seleucus* should get safe into *Egypt*, he should one day become lord of all *Asia*, adding, that if *Antigonus* opposed him, he should fall in a battle thereupon *Antigonus* immediately dispatched some horsemen after him.

Seleucus being got safe into *Egypt*, and received there by *Ptolemy* with all possible demonstrations of kindness and friendship, represented so effectually to that prince, as he did also to *Lyfimachus* and *Cassander*, the formidable power and ambitious views of *Antigonus*, that he engaged them all three in a league against him. This *Antigonus* apprehended, and therefore, to prevent them from entering into any measures prejudicial to his interest, sent an embassy to each of the three, with new assurances of his friendship; but finding, by their answers and the high demands they made, that they were entered into a confederacy against him, he began, without loss of time, to make the necessary preparations against the impending storm^f. This war, which put an end both to the life and reign of *Antigonus*, we have already described at length^g, and therefore shall at present confine ourselves to that part alone which *Seleucus* acted in it. After the victory which *Ptolemy* gained over *Demetrius* at *Gaza*, *Seleucus* having obtained of the conqueror a thousand foot, according to *Appian*, eight hundred according to *Diodorus*, and two hundred horse, took his rout towards *Babylon*, in order to attempt the recovery of that city. This undertaking was looked upon as a desperate enterprize, even by his friends, but, however, was attended with all the success he could have wished for (C). On his arrival at *Carrhæ* in *Mesopotamia*, he prevailed, partly by force, and partly by persuasion, on the *Macedonians* who garisoned the place, to revolt from *Antigonus*, and join him. Being thus reinforced, he entered

^f DIODOR. SICUL. *ibid.* PLUT. in *Demet.* APPIAN. in *Syriac.* JUSTIN. l. xv. ^g See before, p. 301, & seq.

him, enjoining them to bring him back, with a design to put him to death; but *Seleucus* happily escaped the danger, which greatly disturbed *Antigonus*, though he had ever before slighted and ridiculed such predictions (3).


(C) His friends, seeing the inconsiderable number of his forces, and, on the other hand, the great strength of the enemy, did all that lay in their power to divert him from such an attempt; but he, in order to encourage them, and redeem himself from their importunities, told them, in an harangue which he made to the soldiery, that he was sure of success, since *Apollo Branchides*, with whom he had advised about the issue of this undertaking, had given him the title of king, and *Alexander*, standing by him in his sleep, had shewn him the ensigns of royalty, assuring him that he should be honoured with them in due time (4).

(3) *Diodor. Sicul. l. xix.*

(4) *Diodor. Sicul. ibid.*

the territories of *Babylon*, where great numbers of the inhabitants, his antient subjects, flocked to him from all parts, offering him their service, and declaring themselves ready to stand by him, at the expence of their lives and fortunes. Among others, one *Polyarchus*, who bore an office in the city, came over to him at the head of a thousand men compleatly armed. *Seleucus* had governed that province, for the space of four years, with great mildness and moderation, carrying himself in the most obliging manner to all, in order to gain the good-will of the people, and thereby secure an interest to himself, if at any time he should have occasion to contend for the sovereign power. On the other hand, *Antigonus*, who was of a morose and surly temper, had, with his unseasonable severity, so estranged the minds of all, that he was universally detested. No wonder then, that, as *Seleucus* approached the city, the inhabitants went out to meet him, welcoming him and his small army with loud acclamations, and all possible demonstrations of joy. Those who favoured *Antigonus*, perceiving the general and irresistible inclination of the people to *Seleucus*, retired into the castle, which was defended by one *Diphilus*; but as *Seleucus* was master of the city, and the affections of the people, he soon possessed himself of the fortrefs, and there found, to his inexpressible joy, his children, friends, and domestics, whom *Antigonus* had detained prisoners ever since his flight into *Egypt*^h.

Recovers
Babylon.
Year of
the Flood,
2687.
Before
Christ,
312.



Seleucus, being now master both of the city and castle, judged it necessary to raise what forces he could, not doubting but *Antigonus* would soon send an army to drive him from these acquisitions. Accordingly, while he was busy in recruiting his army, and disciplining his new-raised troops, news was brought him, that *Nicanor*, governor of *Media* under *Antigonus*, was advancing full march against him, at the head of ten thousand foot and seven thousand horse. Upon this intelligence *Seleucus* went out to meet him with three thousand foot and four hundred horse only, and, passing the *Tigris*, concealed his men, as the enemy drew near, in the reeds hard by the river, with a design to fall upon *Nicanor* at unawares, who not having had any intelligence of *Seleucus*'s march, encamped in a disadvantageous post, where he was the following night surpris'd, and his army with great slaughter put to the rout. *Nicanor* had the good fortune to make his escape; but *Evager*, who commanded under him, and most of the chief officers, were killed on the spot. Such of the soldiers as outlived the slaughter, declared for *Seleucus*, and recovered *Media*, *Susiana*, &c.

^h DIODOR. SICUL. & APPIAN. *ibid.*

which

which enabled him to pursue his conquests, and reduce in a short time all *Media* and *Susiana*, with many of the adjacent provinces. Having, by this victory, established his interest and power in *Babylon*, he daily improved them by the clemency of his government, and by his justice, equity, and humanity to all his subjects, to such a degree, that, from so low a beginning, he became, in a few years, the greatest and most powerful of all *Alexander's* successors*.

*Æra of
the Seleu-
cidæ.*

FROM this retaking of *Babylon* by *Seleucus*, commences the famous æra of the *Seleucidæ*, made use of all over the east by *Jews*, *Christians*, and *Mohammedans*. The *Jews* stile it the *æra of contracts*, because they were obliged, when subject to the *Syro-Macedonian* princes, to use it in all their contracts, and other civil writings. This method of computing their years they followed till the tenth century of the *Christian* æra, when, upon their being obliged to remove into the western countries, they learned of the *Christian* chronologers of those parts to compute by the years of the creation. The same æra is called by the *Arabians* *Taric debilkarnain*, that is, the æra of the *two-horned*; which appellation some derive from *Alexander*, who, in the *Coran*, and other *Arabic* books, is frequently called the *two-horned*, probably because he affected to be the son of *Jupiter Hammon*, whom the heathens represented with two rams horns on his head. But this æra has no relation to *Alexander*, though by some ignorantly derived from him, and also called by his name; for *Alexander* was dead twelve years before *Seleucus* recovered *Babylon*, from which recovery the æra of the *Seleucidæ* commenced. Others theretore, with better grounds, derive the *Arabic* name *Taric debilkarnain* from *Seleucus*, who, as *Appian* informs us¹, was a person of such extraordinary strength, that, seizing a bull by his horns, he could stop him short in his full career; and therefore the statuaries usually represented him with two bulls horns on his head, which, without all doubt, gave rise to the above-mentioned denomination, that æra taking its origin from him, and not from *Alexander*. In the two books of the *Maccabees* it is called the *æra of the kingdom of the Greeks*^k; and they both use it in their dates, with this difference, however, that the first book begins the years of this æra from the spring, and the other from the autumn following (D). *Antignus*

* DIODOR. SICUL. l. xix. APPIAN in Syriac. p. 121. ¹ APPIAN. in Syriac p. 201. ^k MACCAB. l. i. c. i. ver. 10.

(D) The *Syrians*, *Arabians*, *Jews*, and all others who antiently computed, or still compute (for it is still in use among the eastern nations)

Antigonus, receiving an account from *Nicanor* of the success of *Seleucus* in the east, sent his son *Demetrius* with an army to *Babylon*, to drive him from that city, and dispossess him of the provinces which he had lately seized, while he himself advanced to the coasts of *Asia Minor*, to defeat the designs of the confederate princes, whose power began to be formidable in those parts. *Demetrius*, pursuant to his father's directions, having, with all possible expedition, assembled his forces at *Damascus*, marched from thence to *Babylon*, at the head of five thousand *Macedonian* foot, ten thousand mercenaries, and four thousand horse. His march was so expeditious, that, passing the *Euphrates*, he invested *Babylon* before the enemy had notice of his departure from *Damascus*. *Seleucus* himself was then in *Media*, and *Patrocles*, whom he had intrusted with the government of the place, no ways in a condition to make head against so powerful an enemy. The *Demetrius* wise governor therefore, instead of sacrificing the few troops *regains* he had under his command to no purpose, retired with them *Babylon* into the fens and marshes, ordering the citizens to follow him with their most valuable effects, and abandon the city to the enemy. *Demetrius* finding the city deserted, laid siege to the two castles, which stood on the two opposite banks of the *Euphrates*, and had been well garisoned by *Patrocles* before his retreat. However, one of these *Demetrius* took, and placed in it a garison of seven thousand men; but not being able to master the other, before the time was expired in which his father had appointed him to return with his troops into

nations) by this æra, began it from the autumn, excepting the author of the first book of the *Maccabees*, who begins it from the preceding spring, and *Ptolemy* of *Alexandria*, who, in his *great syntaxis*, places the beginning of this æra in the spring of the year following. *Ptolemy* did not reckon *Seleucus* thoroughly settled in the possession of *Babylon* till *Demetrius* made his retreat from thence; and this retreat happening in the spring of the following year, from that season he reckoned the years of the *Seleucidæ*. Some writers date the beginning of *Seleucus's* reign from his recovering of *Babylon*, when this æra began. Others from the partition which was made twelve years after, upon the death of *Antigonus* and defeat of *Demetrius*, in the battle of *Ipsus*: so that, according to some, he reigned twenty, according to others thirty two years; for he died twenty years after that battle, and thirty two after the recovery of *Babylon*. We have followed *Eusebius* and the learned *Lipper*, who compute the years of his reign from his recovering of *Babylon* (5)

But abandons it again.

The authority of Seleucus established in Babylon.

Extends his conquests into Media, Bactria, Hyrcania, &c.

Takes the title of king.

Invades India.

Asia Minor, he left *Archelaus*, one of his principal officers, with a thousand horse, and five thousand foot, to pursue the siege, and, with the rest of the troops, marched to the assistance of his father in *Asia Minor*. Before his departure, he allowed his soldiers to plunder the city, which proved very detrimental to his father's affairs, and greatly attached the inhabitants to *Seleucus*, even those who till that time had stood up for *Antigonus*; for they all looked upon this act of depredation as a tacit declaration of his having intirely abandoned them, since he would never have treated them as enemies, if he had looked upon them any longer as subjects; they therefore all unanimously declared for *Seleucus*, who, on his return to *Babylon*, after the retreat of *Demetrius*, without much ado, drove out the few troops he had left in the city, recovered the castle which he had garisoned, and thenceforth settled his authority in those parts upon so firm a foundation, that it could never after be shaken¹. From this year the *Babylonians*, as appears from *Ptolemy of Alexandria's syntaxis*, date the æra of the kingdom of the *Seleucidæ*, though all other nations place its commencement in the autumn of the preceding year.

AND now *Seleucus*, seeing himself in quiet possession of *Babylon* and its territory, advanced at the head of a considerable army into *Media*, where he engaged, and slew with his own hand, *Nicanor*, or, as others call him, *Nicator*, whom *Antigonus* had sent against him. Having reduced all *Media*, he pursued his march into *Persia*, *Bactria*, *Hyrcania*, &c. subjecting to his new empire these, and all the other provinces on this side the *Indus*, which had been formerly conquered by *Alexander*^m. From these conquests, and not from *Nicanor* or *Nicator*, whom he slew, he took the surname of *Nicator*, as *Appian* and *Ammianus Marcellinus* inform usⁿ. In the mean time *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* having assumed the title of kings, *Seleucus*, not to be behind-hand with them, took the same, stiling himself king of *Babylon* and *Media*.

Seleucus was now master of all the countries between the *Euphrates* and the *Indus*, but not of those large provinces which lay beyond the latter of these rivers, and had fallen to his share in the general partition. He was at this time closely united in point of interest with *Ptolemy*, *Cassander*, and *Lysimachus*; the forces of *Antigonus* were divided into several distant bodies, and *Demetrius* was employed in the

¹ DIODOR. SICUL. *ibid.* PLUT. in Demet. ^m DIODOR. SICUL. l. XIX. & XX. APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 124. JUSTIN. l. XV. c. 4. AMMIAN. MARCEL. l. XXIII. Histor

ⁿ AMMIAN. *ibid.* siege

siege of *Rhodes*. Having therefore no enemy to fear on this side the *Indus*, he resolved to cross that river, and, by a sudden irruption, make himself master of those vast provinces which were known by the name of *India*. These *Alexander* had formerly subdued; but, after his death, while his successors were engaged in mutual wars with each other, one *Sandrocottus*, or, as others call him, *Androcottus*, an *Indian* of mean extraction, under the specious pretence of delivering his country from the tyranny of foreigners, had raised a powerful army, and, having driven out the *Macedonians*, seized the *Indian* provinces for himself. To recover these provinces *Seleucus* marched over the *Indus*; but finding that *Sandrocottus* had made himself absolute master of all *India*, and, from the several provinces of it, drawn into the field an army of six hundred thousand men, with a prodigious number of elephants, he did not judge it adviseable to provoke so great a power, and therefore entering into a treaty with him, he agreed to renounce all his pretensions to that country, provided *Sandrocottus* furnished him with five hundred elephants; which proposal the *Indian* prince willingly agreeing to, a peace was concluded between them^o. *Seleucus* having thus settled matters in *India*, marched back into the west against *Antigonus*; and the absolute necessity he was under of engaging in this war, was what hastened the peace with *Sandrocottus*; for *Cassander* finding himself reduced to great straits by *Demetrius*, and not being able to obtain a peace but upon terms of surrendering himself, without reserve to the will and pleasure of *Antigonus*, agreed with *Lysimachus*, who was in no better condition than himself, to send ambassadors to *Seleucus* and *Ptolemy*, and by representing to them the situation of affairs, the ambitious views and exorbitant power of *Antigonus*, prevail upon them to enter into an alliance against him, as a common enemy. The alliance was soon concluded, for they were all under no small apprehension of the over-grown power of *Antigonus* and his son *Demetrius*, who had already driven both *Cassander* and *Ptolemy* out of all the places they possessed in *Greece*. This confederacy induced *Seleucus* to hasten a peace with the king of *India*, and march back into *Assyria*, to provide therefor the war^p, which was carried on with great vigour the last year by *Cassander* in *Europe* and *Lysimachus* in *Asia*, while *Seleucus* and *Ptolemy* were raising forces in their respective dominions,

Concludes a peace with Sandrocottus, and yields to him all India.

^o JUSTIN. l. xv. c. 4. APPIAN. in Syria. p. 117. 118. STRABO. l. v. p. 21. P. 1. in Alexand. GEORGIUS. p. 1. c. 1. EUL. l. xx. JUSTIN. l. xv. c. 1. in Syria.

*The battle
of Ipsus.*

Antioch
built by
Seleucus.
Year of
the Flood,
2699.
Before
Christ,
300.

with a design to come against *Antigonus* with their whole strength, and put all to the issue of a general engagement. Accordingly, in the beginning of the next summer, *Seleucus* having drawn together at *Babylon* twenty thousand foot, twelve thousand horse, and four hundred and eighty elephants, with an hundred chariots armed with scythes, advanced into *Cappadocia* and after joining the forces of the confederate princes pursued his march into *Phrygia*, where he met *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* near the city of *Ipsus*. The confederate army was commanded by *Seleucus* and *Lysimachus*, and consisted of sixty-four thousand foot, ten thousand five hundred horse, four hundred and eighty elephants, with an hundred and twenty chariots armed with scythes. The enemies forces, amounting to seventy thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and seventy-five elephants, were commanded by *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, who, as we have already related, behaved on this occasion with the utmost bravery; but their army being intirely defeated, and *Antigonus* killed, *Demetrius* was forced to save himself by flight, being attended only with five thousand foot and four hundred horse, the poor remains of seventy thousand men he had under his command at the beginning of the engagement ⁹.

AFTER this battle, the particulars whereof we have already related at length^r, the four confederate princes divided the dominions of *Antigonus* among themselves, adding them to what they enjoyed before; but, before this division, *Seleucus* marching into the upper *Syria*, made himself master of that rich province, and there built on the river *Orontes* the city of *Antioch*, which soon became, and continued to be for many ages, the metropolis of the east; for not only the *Syrian* kings, but afterwards the *Roman* governors, who presided over the affairs of the eastern provinces, chose it for the usual place of their residence: and, in the *Christian* times, it was the see of the chief patriarch of *Asia*. It stood on the *Orontes*, about twenty miles from the place where that river empties itself into the *Mediterranean*, being equally distant from *Constantinople* and *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, that is, seven hundred miles from each^s. *Seleucus* called it *Antioch*, either from his father's name, as *Malela*, *Cedrenus*, and the emperor *Julian* inform us, or from that of his son, as *Strabo*,

⁹ ARRIAN. l. vii. PLUT. in Pyrrho. APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 122. ^r See before, p. 302. & seq. ^s JOHANNES ANTIOCHENUS, MALLEA & LAUDRAND, Geogr. de Antioch. Mag.

Appian, and *Trogus* insinuate^c, or perhaps from both. He built sixteen other cities bearing the same name, whereof one, situate in *Pisidia*, is mentioned in scripture^d; but *Antioch* on the *Orontes* eclipsed all the others, being by far the most famous of the many cities *Seleucus* built. *Antigonus*, not long before, had founded a city in that neighbourhood, which, from his own name, he called *Antigonia*, and had designed for the capital of his empire. This city *Seleucus* razed to the ground, employing the materials to build, and transplanting the inhabitants to people, his new metropolis (E). Besides *Antioch*, *Seleucus* built in the same

Seleucia,
Apamea
and *Laodicea*
built.

^c JUSTIN, ubi supra. STRABO. l. xvi. p. 750. APPIAN. ubi supra.
^d ACTS. xiii. 14.

(E) *Johannes Malela*, a native of *Antioch*, tells us in his chronicle, that *Seleucus* coming to *Iopolis*, a city in the hilly country of *Siliphum*, offered there, on the first of the month *Artemisium*, a sacrifice to *Jupiter the Thunderer*, in a chapel said to have been antiently built by *Perseus* the son of *Danae*. From *Iopolis* he advanced to *Antigonia*, and there offering a sacrifice to *Jupiter*, on an altar newly built by *Antigonus*, he, together with *Amphion* the priest, begged *Jupiter* to shew him, by some sign, whether he should inhabit *Antigonia*, calling it by some other name, or build a new city in another place. They had scarce ended their prayer, when an eagle snatching up a piece of flesh from the altar, dropt it near the hill of *Siliphum*. Hereupon *Seleucus* on that spot, where antiently stood a town called *Botzia*, laid the foundation of his new city, on the twenty second day of the month *Artemisium*, that is, of our *May*. At a small distance from the city he built a magnificent temple in honour of *Jupiter Botzius*. These and many such things we read in *Johannes Malela* concerning the origin of *Antioch*. This metropolis of *Syria* was afterwards known by the name of *Tetrapolis*, being divided, as it were, into four cities, each of them having its proper wall, besides a common one, which inclosed them all. The first of these cities or quarters was built by *Seleucus Nicator*; the second by those who flocked thither on its being made the capital of the *Syro-Macedonian* empire; the third by *Seleucus Callinicus*, and the fourth by *Antiochus Epiphanes* (5). The place where it stood was very subject to earthquakes, by which it suffered greatly, and was often in danger of being intirely overwhelmed; however, it continued to be, as *Pliny* calls it, the queen of the east, for the space of sixteen hundred years, till it was taken in 1262, and utterly destroyed by *Bibaris* sultan of *Egypt* (6). The walls of each quarter, as well as those which surrounded the whole, are

(5) *Strabo*. l. xvi. p. 750.

(6) *Golii notæ ad Alfraganum*. p.

country several other cities, whereof three were more remarkable than the rest. One of these he called *Seleucia* (F) from his

still remaining ; but as the houses are entirely destroyed, those four quarters look like so many inclosed fields (7). It is now a small and contemptible villages known by the name of *Anthakia*, and remarkable for nothing but its ruins. *Aleppo* is become, in its stead, the metropolis of those eastern parts, the patriarchal see, which once adorned it, being translated to *Damascus*.

Daphne, mentioned in the second book of the *Maccabees* (8), was reckoned one of the suburbs of *Antioch*, tho' four or five miles distant from it. There *Seleucus* planted a grove ten miles in compass, and in the middle of the grove built a temple, which he consecrated to *Apollo* and *Diana*, making the whole an asylum. Thither the *Antiochians* resorted for their pleasures and diversions, as the *Romans* did to *Baiæ*, and the *Alexandrians* to *Canopus*. As persons of all ranks and conditions flocked to this delicious place, in process of time *Apollo* and *Diana* gave room to *Venus* and *Bacchus*, whereby it became so infamous, that *Daphnicis moribus vivere*, to live after the manner of *Daphne*, was used as a proverb, to express a most voluptuous and dissolute way of living. Such as had any regard for their reputation, avoided *Daphne* as they did the public stews, it being frequented only by young debauchees and women of professed incontinency ; insomuch, that when *Cassius* the *Roman* general came to *Antioch*, the very next day after his arrival, he took care to forbid, by a public proclamation, and under the severest penalties, any of his soldiers to enter, or even go near, that place, lest they should be corrupted by the horrid abominations practised there by the natives (9). It was so remarkable a place, that to distinguish *Antioch*, near which it lay, from other cities else where bearing the same name, the former was commonly called *Antioch near Daphne* (10).

(F) *Johannes Malela* tells us, that on the twenty-third day of our *April*, while *Seleucus* was sacrificing to *Jupiter* on mount *Casius*, and consulting him concerning a proper place to build a city in, an eagle snatching from the altar part of the sacrifice, flew towards the sea, and dropt it in a sea-town of *Pieria*, not far from *Palæopolis*, a small city, built in former ages by *Syrus* the son of *Agenor*. Hereupon *Seleucus* laid immediately the foundations of a great city on that spot, and called it from his own name *Seleucia*. Others tell us, that he was induced to build a city in that place, not by an eagle, but by a flash of lightning ; whence lightning was ever after adored there as a deity, and honoured with hymns and prayers by

(7) *Idem* *ilid*, p. 280.

(8) *Maccab. l. ii. c. 4. ver. 37*

(9) *Vide Chrysost. sermon. in Babyloniam martyrem.*

(10) *Strabo l. xv. p. 719.*

his own name ; another *Apamea* from his wife *Apama*, the daughter of *Artabazus* the *Persian* ; and the third *Laodicea* from his mother *Laodice*. *Apamea*, and *Seleucia* stood on the same river with *Antioch*, the former above it, and the latter fifteen miles below it, and five from the place where that river falls into the sea. *Laodicea* stood in the southern part of the same country. From these four cities, that quarter of *Syria*, in which they stood was called *Tetrapolis*, or the country of the four cities ; which indeed was but an occasional name, if we may so call it, the true name of that tract being *Seleucis*, a name given it by *Seleucus* himself ; for *Syria*, under the kings of the *Macedonian* race, was divided into three parts, viz. *Syria* properly so called, *Cælo-Syria* or the *Hollow-Syria*, and *Syria Palestina*. The first of these, called also the *Upper Syria*, contained *Commagena*, *Cyrrhestica*, *Seleucis*, and some other small districts, and extended from mount *Amanus* on the north, to mount *Libanus* on the south. It was, in after-ages, called also *Syria Antiochena*. The second reached from *Libanus* to *Antilibanus*, including the city of *Damascus*, and its large territory. As this tract consisted mostly of deep vallies between high mountains, it was on this account called *Cælo-Syria* or the *Hollow-Syria*. *Syria Palestina* extended from *Antilibanus* to the confines of *Egypt*. The maritime parts of the two latter, lying between *Aradus* and *Gaza*, were known to the *Greeks* by the name of *Phœnice*.

Antigonus being killed in the battle of *Ipsus*, and the power of *Demetrius* brought, by that dreadful overthrow, to a very low ebb, the confederate princes, having now no other enemy to fear, began to be jealous of each other. *Lyfimachus*, being under no small apprehension of the over-grown power of *Seleucus*, entered into a separate alliance with *Ptolemy*, taking to wife *Arsinoe* one of his daughters, and marrying his son *Agathocles* to another (G). This alliance gave umbrage to

Seleucus
enters into
an alliance
with *De-*
metrius.

the inhabitants (11). *Seleucus* allowed the *Jews* the same privileges and immunities in each of these new cities, as were enjoyed by the *Greeks* and *Macedonians*, especially at *Antioch* in *Syria*, where that people settled in such numbers, that they possessed as considerable a part of *Antioch* as their countrymen did of *Alexandria*.

(G) *Lyfimachus* married the daughter, not of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, as we read in *Memnon* (12) ; but of *Ptolemy* the first, the son of *Lagus*, and *Eurydice*, as *Plutarch* (13), *Justin* (14), *Pausanias* (15), and even *Memnon* himself elsewhere informs us (16).

(11) *Appian. in Syriac. p. 125.* (12) *Memnon in excerpt*
5. (13) *Plut. in Demet.* (14) *Justin. l. xvii. c. 2. & l. xxi*
c. 2. (15) *Pausan. in Attic. p. 8.* (16) *Memnon. in excerpt c. 9.*
p. 100. 101.

Seleucus, who thereupon entered into a treaty with *Demetrius*, marrying *Stratonice* the daughter of that prince by *Phila* the sister of *Cassander*. As *Demetrius* was at that time in a very low condition, he readily laid hold of *Seleucus's* proposal; and sailing from *Greece*, where he still held some cities, conveyed the new bride, with the few ships he had then remaining, into *Syria*. In his passage thither he made a descent on *Cilicia*, which then belonged to *Plistarchus* the brother of *Cassander*, the four kings having, in the general partition, bestowed it upon him. Hereupon *Plistarchus*, leaving *Cilicia*, went to complain to *Seleucus* of the wrong done him, and to expostulate with him for contracting an alliance with the common enemy, without the consent of the other kings, which he apprehended to be an infraction of the treaty. *Demetrius*, receiving intelligence of this journey, advanced directly to the city of *Quinda*, where the treasures of the province, amounting to twelve hundred talents, were kept. These he seized, and hastening back to his fleet with the booty, sailed to *Orasfus*, a maritime town of *Syria*, where he met *Seleucus*, and delivered to him his bride. After the two princes had spent several days there in nuptial rejoicings and mutual entertainments, without arms or guards, *Seleucus* returned in great pomp and magnificence to *Antioch*, and *Demetrius* with his fleet to *Cilicia*, which he intirely reduced, and thereby considerably increased his power in those parts, being, after this acquisition, master of all *Cilicia*, of the whole island of *Cyprus*, and of the two rich and strong cities of *Tyre* and *Sidon* in *Phœnice* *.

It was highly impolitic in *Seleucus*, to permit a prince of an unbounded ambition, of extraordinary parts, and great skill in military affairs, to settle at so small a distance from him, and usurp from one of his allies a province so near his own dominions as *Cilicia*. His eyes, however, were opened at last, and growing jealous of such a neighbour, he would fain have purchased *Cilicia* of him; but *Demetrius* rejecting the proposal, *Seleucus*, to pick a quarrel with him, insisted upon his yielding up to him the cities of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, as belonging to *Syria*, of which he was king. *Demetrius* was fired at this demand, and in a great passion replied, That though he were to be vanquished a thousand times over, he would never purchase a son-in-law at so dear a rate; and immediately sailed to both those cities, reinforced the garisons, and furnishing them with all things necessary for a vigorous de-

* PLUT. in Demet. SYRANO. l. xv. p. 719. MEMNON. in excerpt. c. 5. JUSTIN. l. xvii. c. 2.

fence, defeated,^w for the present, the designs of *Seleucus*, whose proceeding on this occasion was generally blamed; for as his dominions were of a vast extent, reaching from the river *Indus* to the *Mediterranean*, every one judged it base and mean in him to disturb his father-in-law, who was under a cloud of misfortunes, in the enjoyment of those poor remains of his broken fortune^w. But *Seleucus*, notwithstanding these public murmurs, falling upon *Cilicia*, made himself master of that whole country, while, on the other hand, *Lyfimachus* reduced all the territories belonging to *Demetrius* in *Asia*, and *Ptolemy* made himself master of the island of *Cyprus*, and of the cities of *Tyre* and *Sidon* in *Phœnice*. Thus was *Demetrius*, notwithstanding his alliance with *Seleucus*, stripped by the confederate princes of the best part of his dominions^z.

Demetrius being, by these losses, reduced so low as to give *Seleucia* *Seleucus* no further jealousy, that prince undertook the building on the Tigris of a new city, which he called from his own name *Seleucia*, gris built. and made the metropolis of all the provinces of his empire beyond the *Euphrates*. It was placed on the western side of the *Tigris*, about forty miles from *Babylon*, over-against the place where at present the city of *Bagdad* stands. This new city soon became one of the most populous and flourishing in those parts; for the country near *Babylon* being laid under water, by the breaking down of the banks of the *Euphrates*, and the branch of that river which passed through the middle of the city, rendered innavigable, most of the inhabitants, forsaking their antient habitations, settled at *Seleucia*; which *Seleucus* had not only made the place of his residence whenever he came into those parts, but distinguished it with many privileges above all the other cities of the east. By these means *Babylon*, soon after the building of *Seleucia*, was quite abandoned, nothing remaining of that antient city but its walls. *Pliny*^y tells us, that it was drained of its inhabitants, and brought to desolation by the neighbourhood of *Seleucia* on the *Tigris*, which *Seleucus Nicator*, to use *Pliny's* words, built there for that purpose. *Jerom*, who flourished in the fourth century of the *Christian æra*, writes, that, in his time, *Babylon* was intirely ruined, the walls only being kept up by the *Parthian* kings, who had made the space within a park for the

^w PLUT. *ibid.*
c. 26.

^z PLUT. in *Demet*

^y PLIN. l. vi.

keeping of wild beasts ² (H). On the other hand, *Seleucia* became so populous, that in *Pliny's* time, it had six hundred thousand

² *HIERONYM.* Comment in *Esaï.* c. 14.

(H) The first after *Jerom*, who mentions *Babylon*, is one *Benjamin*, a *Jew* of *Tudela* in *Navar*. This traveller, in his *Itinerary*, which he wrote about the middle of the twelfth century, tells us, that he was upon the spot where the city of *Babylon* stood, and that he saw only some ruins of *Nebuchadnezzar's* palace still remaining, which no body ventured to visit, by reason of the many serpents and scorpions that infested the place (15). *Texeira*, in the account he gives us of his travels from *India* to *Italy*, tells us, that, in his time, there was scarce any thing remaining of this great and famous city, and that the place on which it stood was the least frequented of any in all that country (16). *Rauwolf*, a *German* traveller, who visited those places in 1574, confirms what we read in the abovementioned writers. We shall quote his words: “ The village of *Elugo*, says he, stands on the place, where formerly *Babylon*, the metropolis of *Chaldea*, stood. The harbour is a quarter of a league off, whither those use to resort, who intend to travel by land to the famous city of *Bagdad*, which lies about a day and a half's distance to the east on the river *Tigris*. This country is so dry and barren, that it cannot be tilled, and so bare, that I should have doubted very much, whether this powerful and potent city (which was the most stately and famous one of the world, situated in the pleasant and fruitful country of *Sinar*) stood in that place, if I had not known it by its situation, and several antiquities still to be seen in that neighbourhood; first by the old bridge which was laid over the *Euphrates*, whereof there are some arches still remaining, built of burnt brick, and wonderfully strong.— Just before the village of *Elugo* is the hill, whereon the castle stood: and you may still see the ruins of its fortifications. At a small distance from the castle stood the tower of *Babylon*. This we see still, and it is half a league in diameter, but so ruined and full of venomous reptiles, that no body dares come within half a mile of it, except in two months of the winter, when the insects keep within their holes. Among these reptiles there are some called in the *Persian* tongue *Eglo*, bigger than our lizards, very poisonous, &c. (17). ” All this shews how fully the predictions of the prophet *Isaiab* relating to this place have been accomplished. His words are as follow; *And Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldees excellency, shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah; it shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation; neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there,*

(15) *Benjamin. Itiner.* p. 71. (16) *Texeira* c. 8. (17) See *Ray's edition of these travels in English.* part ii. chap. 7.

thousand inhabitants, and far excelled all the other cities of the east ^a. Besides *Seleucia*, *Seleucus* built several other cities, *And many sixteen other cities.*

^a PLIN. ubi supra.

neither shall the shepherds make their folds there ; but wild beasts of the desert shall be there, and their house shall be full of doleful creatures, and owls shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there, and the wild beasts of the island shall cry in their desolate houses, and dragons in their pleasant palaces, and her time is near to come, and her days shall not be prolonged (18). Thus far *Isaiah* ; and, besides him, several other prophets have uttered prophecies to the same purpose, foretelling the utter destruction of *Babylon*. 'Tis true, that *Lucan* (19), *Philostratus* (20), and others, mention the city of *Babylon* as still standing and flourishing in their time ; but those authors, and all others who speak of *Babylon* as a city still remaining after the time of *Seleucus Nicator*, are to be understood of *Seleucia* on the *Tigris*, and not of old *Babylon* on the *Euphrates* ; for that city becoming soon after it was built, the metropolis of the east, was called also *Babylon*, as *Pliny* and *Stephanus* inform us (21). It was first called *Seleucia Babylonia*, or *Seleucia* in the province of *Babylon*, to distinguish it from several other cities in different provinces bearing the same name. Afterwards it was known by the name of *Babylonia*, and at length by that of *Babylon* (22). That *Lucan* by *Babylon* in the place abovementioned means *Seleucia*, is very plain ; for the poet speaks there of the metropolis of the *Parthian* kingdom, where the trophies of *Crassus* were hung up after the defeat of the *Romans* at *Carrhæ* ; which can be understood only of the *Seleucian Babylon*, that city, and not the old *Babylon*, being the seat of the *Parthian* kings. The same author, speaking in another place of *Babylon* (23), describes it as surrounded by the *Tigris* ; which plainly shews, that by *Babylon* he meant *Seleucia* or the new *Babylon* ; for that city, and not the old *Babylon*, stood on the *Tigris*, as every one knows. As for *Philostratus*, he mistook *Seleucia*, then called *Babylon*, for the old *Babylon*, and therefore gives us the same description of it, which *Herodotus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Strabo* and others give of old *Babylon* ; but this is not the only blunder *Philostratus* is guilty of in his account, or rather romance, of *Apollonius Thyanæus*. As *Babylon* was drained of its inhabitants by *Seleucia*, so was *Seleucia* in process of time by *Ctesephon* and *Almadayan*, and these two again by *Bagdad*. This last city was first built in the same place where *Seleucia* or new *Babylon* stood, which without all doubt, gave rise to the common error, that *Bagdad* stands on the ruins of old *Babylon*. In the year of the

(18) *Isa.* . xiii. ver. 19—22. (19) *Lucan.* l. i. ver. 10. (20) *Philostrat.* l. i. c. 17, 18, 19. (21) *Plin.* l. vi. c. 26. & *Steph.* in *Babylon*. (22) *Vide Plin.* & *Steph.* *ibid.* (23) *Lucan.* l. vi. ver. 50.

sixteen of which he called *Antioch*, from the name of his brother *Antiochus*; nine *Seleucia*, from his own name; six *Laodicea*, from his mother *Laodice*; three *Apamea*, from *Apama* his first wife; and one *Stratonicea*, from his last wife *Stratonice*^b. In these, as well as in the other cities he built, *viz.* *Beræa*, *Edessa*, *Pella*, &c. he planted the *Jews*, allowing them most ample privileges; and hence it was that they were dispersed all over *Syria* and the *Lesser Asia*. They had been settled in the eastern countries beyond the *Euphrates*, and multiplied there in great numbers, ever since the *Assyrian* and *Babylonian* captivities; but *Seleucus Nicator* was the first, as *Josephus* informs us^c, who granted them settlements in the provinces of *Asia* on this side the *Euphrates*.

WHILE *Seleucus* was thus employed in building cities, *Demetrius* having, as he thought, settled his affairs in *Greece*, began to make great preparations for the recovering of his father's dominions in *Asia*. With this view he raised an army of an hundred thousand foot, and about twelve thousand horse, and fitted out a fleet of five hundred sail, which was the greatest force that had been seen since the time of *Alexander*. These formidable preparations alarmed *Ptolemy*, *Lysimachus* and *Seleucus*, who renewing their antient alliance for

^b APPIAN in Syriac. p. 201. ^c JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3. & contra APPIAN. l. ii. EUSEB. in Chron.

Christian æra 754, *Seleucia* was reduced to such a state of desolation, as to have nothing on the spot where it stood, but the cell of a monk called *Dad*, and a garden adjoining to it, whence it was called *Bagdad*; that is, in the language of the country, *the garden of Dad*. In this place *Abu Jaafar Almanfur*, caliph of the *Saracens*, not likeing *Hishemia*, where his predecessor had resided, built a new city, which has ever since been called from the place *Bagdad*. This he made the capital of his empire, raising it upon the very foundations of *Seleucia* or new *Babylon*, on the west side of the *Tigris*; but not long after it was translated to the other side, where it still stands, that part which was built on the west side, being at present no more than the suburbs of it. It was, for many years, the capital of the *Saracen* empire, and is still a place of great note; but such as take it for the antient *Babylon*, are greatly mistaken, that city standing on the *Euphrates*, and *Bagdad* on the *Tigris*, about forty miles from it (24).

(24) Vide Bochar. Geog. Sacr. part. i. l. i. c. 8. Gollii notæ ad Alfragan. p. 121, 122. Sionitæ descript. Bagdad. in Geog. Nubiensi.

their

their mutual defence against *Demetrius* as a common enemy, prevailed also upon *Pyrrhus* king of *Epirus* to join in the same confederacy. *Demetrius*, not being able to withstand so many enemies, was, after many great losses, obliged to abandon the conquests he had made in *Caria* and *Lydia*, and march into the east; but *Agathocles* the son of *Lyfimachus* following him close in his march, reduced him to such straits for want of provisions, that a sickness spreading through his army, swept off great numbers of his men; and when he attempted with the small remains of his troops, to pass mount *Taurus*, he found all the passes guarded by the enemy, which obliged him to return to *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, a city belonging to *Seleucus*, to whom he transmitted an account of the melancholy situation of his affairs, intreating that prince, in a very moving manner, to afford him the necessary subsistence for himself and the remainder of his troops. *Seleucus* at first pitying his condition, ordered his lieutenants in those parts to supply him and his army with all things necessary; but afterwards, being put in mind of the valour and enterprizing genius of this prince, instead of helping him, he resolved upon his destruction; and accordingly marching against him, reduced him to such difficulties, as we have already related, that he was obliged to surrender at discretion. *Seleucus* *Death of* caused him to be conducted under a strong guard to the *Sy-* *Demetri-* *rian Chersonesus*, where he was detained prisoner till he died, us. but allowed the freedom of a park to hunt in, and plenti- Year of fully supplied with all things necessary both for the support the Flood, and pleasures of life^d. Upon his death *Seleucus* took posses- 2715. sion of whatever he held in *Syria* and *Asia*, and of both these Before kingdoms made, to use the expression of *Eusebius*, one intire Christ, empire^e. 284.

A FEW months after *Demetrius*, died also *Ptolemy Soter* *War be-* king of *Egypt*, so that now two only of all *Alexander's* cap- *tween Se-* tains survived, viz. *Lyfimachus* and *Seleucus*. As they were *leucus and* now drawing near to the last period of their days, each of *Lyfima-* them being upwards of seventy, one would have thought *chus*. they should have closed the scene of their life in the union which had subsisted so long between them, for they had ever been closely united, and, to the utmost of their power, supported each other; but it happened quite otherwise, a war, which proved fatal to both, soon breaking out between them, on the following occasion: *Lyfimachus*, after the marriage

^d PLUT. in Demet. APPIAN. in Syriac. VAL MAX. l. v.

^e EUSEB. in Chron.

of his son *Agathocles* with *Lyfandra*, one of *Ptolemy's* daughters, married another of them called *Arfinoe* himself, and had by her several children. Hereupon great emulation arose between the two sisters, each of them striving to form a powerful party in their favour against the death of *Lyfimachus*. As they were sisters by different mothers, for *Lyfandra* was the daughter of *Eurydice*, and *Arfinoe* of *Berenice*, the disagreement of their mothers greatly contributed to the heightening and fomenting of the contention between them. In the height of their emulation, *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, the brother of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, arrived at the court of *Lyfimachus*, and his arrival, as he was brother to *Lyfandra* by both parents, made *Arfinoe* apprehensive, that his interest would prove too effectual to the party of *Lyfandra*, and enable them to destroy her and her children at the death of *Lyfimachus*. To prevent this she plotted the death of *Agathocles*, and effected it, by representing him to her husband as one who was forming conspiracies against his life and crown, which induced the old king to confine him to a castle, and there put him to death. Hereupon *Lyfandra* with her children, and *Ptolemy Ceraunus* her brother, took sanctuary in the court of *Seleucus*, and prevailed upon him to make war upon *Lyfimachus*. Many of *Lyfimachus's* chief officers, even those who had been most attached to his interest, were so much affected with the death of *Agathocles*, under whose conduct they had gained many glorious victories, that they went over to *Seleucus*, and backed the remonstrances of *Lyfandra* with their own complaints. *Seleucus* was easily persuaded to engage in this war, being already sufficiently inclined to it on other accounts; but before he imbarqued in so great an undertaking, he not only resigned to his son *Antiochus* a considerable part of his empire, but also, by an unparalleled example, his favourite queen *Stratonice*. The manner how this happened is thus related by *Plutarch*^f, *Appian*^g, and *Valerius Maximus*^h. As *Stratonice* was the most beautiful woman of her age, *Antiochus* fell violently in love with her; but not daring to own his passion, he silently languished under it, and at length fell dangerously ill. *Erasistratus*, an eminent *Greek* physician, who attended him, soon perceived that love was his distemper; but the difficulty was to discover the object of his flame: He therefore passed whole days in the apartment of his patient, and carefully watching the countenance of the prince when visited by the ladies of the court, he observed,

Seleucus yields his queen *Stratonice* to his son *Antiochus*, with all the provinces of the upper Asia

^f PLUT. in Demet. l. v. c. 7.

^g APPIAN. in Syriac.

^h VAL. Max.

that when *Stratonice* came alone, or in company with *Seleucus*, to make him a visit, great alterations happened in his pulse, in his countenance, in his behaviour, &c. and that nothing of this was seen when any other lady entered his room. From these infallible symptoms *Erasistratus* plainly perceived, that *Stratonice* was the object of his passion; and the first time he was alone with the sick prince after that discovery, he, with great dexterity, drew the secret from his own mouth. The prince owned his passion for *Stratonice* his mother-in-law, and declared that he had done all that lay in his power to vanquish it; that he had a thousand times had recourse to every consideration that could be represented to his thoughts in such a conjuncture, particularly the respect which was due from him to a father and a sovereign, by whom he was tenderly beloved; the shameful circumstance of indulging a passion altogether unjustifiable, and contrary to every maxim of decency and honour; the folly of harbouring a desire, which he never ought to gratify, &c. but that his reason, in its present state of distraction, being incapable of attending to any motives that could be suggested, he had resolved to put an end, both to his shameful passion and unhappy life, by abstaining from all kind of food. *Erasistratus*, plainly seeing that the prince neither could nor would live, unless some way were found out to apply the only remedy which was capable of curing him, for the bringing of this about thus managed the matter with great craft and dexterity. The first time *Seleucus* inquired of him after his son's health, he put on all the assurance he could, and told him, That the prince's disease was love, and that he was incurable, because it was impossible for him to have the person he loved, and he could not live without her. *Seleucus*, surprized at this answer, asked, Why his son could not have the person he loved? *Because she is my wife*, replied the physician, *and I am not disposed to yield her up to the embraces of another.* How! said *Seleucus*, will *Erasistratus*, my dear *Erasistratus* refuse to part with his wife to preserve the life of a son I so tenderly love? Is this the friendship you profess for me? Nay then, answered the physician, make it your own case; if *Antiochus* were thus desperately in love with *Stratonice*, would you part with her for the sake of *Antiochus*? would you take the counsel which you give me? No certainly; and if you, who are a father, and have all the tenderness imaginable for your son, would not part with your wife to save his life, how can you expect such a sacrifice from any other? Ah! my dear friend, subjoined *Seleucus*, may the gods put the safety of the prince upon that issue; I would part, not only with *Stratonice*, but my empire, to pre-
serve-

serve the life of Antiochus, my dearest Antiochus. In uttering these words he burst out into a flood of tears; when *Erasistratus* taking him by the hand, *You have then no need,* said he, *of any physician but yourself; for the love of Stratonice is the source of his distemper, and nothing can recover him but your yielding her up to him.* Hereupon *Seleucus* having, without much ado, prevailed upon *Stratonice* to accept of a young prince for her husband instead of an old king, the nuptials were solemnized with the utmost pomp and magnificence; after which *Antiochus* and *Stratonice* were crowned king and queen of *Upper Asia*, *Seleucus* willingly resigning to them all those provinces^s. From this incestuous marriage sprung all the kings of *Syria*, who so tyrannically oppressed the *Jewish* nation in *Judah* and *Jerusalem*, as we shall see in the sequel of this history (I).

*Seleucus
marches a-
gainst Ly-
simachus.*

Seleucus being now eased of this inquietude, thought of nothing but marching against *Lyfimachus*. Having therefore drawn together a powerful army, he advanced at the head of it into *Asia Minor*, where he easily reduced all the places belonging to *Lyfimachus*, most of the governors coming over to him out of hatred to that prince, on account of the murder of his son *Agathocles*, who was the darling of the army (K).
The

^s PLUT. & APPIAN. *ibid.* LUCIAN. *de dea Syra.*

(I) The emperor *Julian*, surnamed the *Apostate*, relates in a fragment of his writings, which is still extant, that *Antiochus* could not, by any means, be prevailed upon to marry *Stratonice* till after the death of his father; but herein he contradicts *Plutarch*, *Appian*, *Valerius Maximus*, *Lucian*, and all other writers (25). Some authors tell us, that *Leptinas* a mathematician, and not *Erasistratus*, discovered the secret passion of *Antiochus*. *Erasistratus* was the grandson of *Aristotle*, by a daughter of that philosopher, and, according to *Pliny* (26), a disciple of *Chrysippus*, or, as *Laertius* will have it (27), of *Theophrastus*. Against the followers of *Erasistratus*, known by the name of *Erasistratæans*, *Galen* wrote a book of *phlebotomy*, or opening the vein, which is still extant. *Plutarch* places the marriage of *Antiochus* and *Stratonice* before the death of *Demetrius*; but most other writers relate this adventure as happening at the time *Seleucus* engaged in a war with *Lyfimachus*; and these, with the learned *Usher*, we have followed.

(K) Amongst these was the eunuch *Philetærus*, by birth a *Paphlagonian*, whom *Lyfimachus* had trusted with all his treasures in

(25) *Julian. in Misopogone.*
Laertius in vita Theoph.

(26) *Plin. l. xxix. c. 1.* (27)

The city of *Sardis* was the only place that sustained a siege, which was carried on by *Seleucus* with such vigour, that the garison was soon obliged to capitulate, and surrender at discretion, putting *Seleucus* in possession of that important city, and of all the treasures which *Lyfimachus* had laid up there, as in a place of great safety. *Lyfimachus*, upon intelligence of this invasion, marched with all possible expedition to the *Hellepont*, in order to check the progress of *Seleucus*, and having crossed over into *Asia*, met the enemy at a place called *Europedion* in *Phrygia*. Both armies prepared for the engagement, being commanded by two generals, who, out of the thirty-six left by *Alexander*, were the only two captains now alive, and both seventy years old and upwards. The engagement was very bloody, and the victory long doubtful; but at last *Lyfimachus*, who had fought the whole time at the head of his troops with incredible bravery, being run through with a spear by one *Malacon* of *Heraclea*, and killed on the spot, his men betook themselves to a precipitous flight, and left *Seleucus* master of the field, and all their baggage. Thus died *Lyfimachus*, after having seen the death of fifteen of his children; and as he was, to use the expression of *Memnon*, the last stone of his house to be pulled down, *Seleucus*, without opposition, made himself master of all his dominions; but what gave him most pleasure on this occasion was, that he was now the only survivor of all the captains of *Alexander*; and that, by the event of this battle, he was become, as he stiled himself, *the conqueror of conquerors*. This last victory, which he looked upon as the effect of a peculiar providence in his favour, gave him the best title to the name of *Nicator* or *Conqueror*, by which historians commonly distinguish him from other kings of the same name, who afterwards reigned in *Syria* ^b.

Lyfimachus killed, and his army defeated.

^b POLYÆNUS l. iv. c. 9. JUSTIN. l. xvii. c. 1. APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 128, 131. MEMN. Excerpt. c. 9. PAUSAN. in Attic. p. 9. OROS. l. iii. c. 23. LUCIAN. in Macrob.

Pergamus. These *Philetærus* seized, and making himself master of the city, offered to put *Seleucus* in possession of both. *Seleucus*, not doubting of the sincerity of his offer, put off going to take possession of the place, and *Philetærus* improving this delay, raised with the money troops, by which he maintained himself in the sovereignty of *Pergamus* for the space of twenty years, and founded a new kingdom, as we shall relate in the history of that country. *Appian* calls him only prince or potentate of *Pergamus* (28); but in some antient medals we find him honoured with the title of king (29).

(28) *Appian. in Syriac. p. 129.* (29) *Vide Huber. Golxii, Thesaur.*
HIS

His triumph on this occasion did not last long ; for seven months after, as he was marching into *Macedon*, to take possession of that kingdom, with a design to pass the remainder of his life in his native country, he was treacherously slain by *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, on whom he had conferred innumerable favours ; for he had received him into his court on his flight thither, and maintained him suitably to his rank : he had likewise taken him with him in this expedition, designing, upon his finishing it with success, to employ the same forces in restoring him to his father's kingdom ; but the base traitor, having no sense of gratitude for these favours, conspired against his benefactor, and villainously murdered him in the following manner : *Seleucus* having crossed the *Hellepont*, in his way to *Macedon*, as he was pursuing his journey from thence to *Lyfimachia*, a city built by *Lyfimachus*, near the *Isthmus* of the *Thracian Chersonesus*, he spied an old altar standing at a small distance, on a very conspicuous place ; and being told that it was called *Argos*, he asked many questions about it, whether it was so named from the *Argonauts* who passed that way in going with *Jason* to *Colchos* ; or from the *Argivi* who went to the siege of *Troy* ; or from the ship *Argos*, which was cast away in that neighbourhood ; or finally, because that was the country of the *Atridæ*, *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus* ? What made him thus inquisitive was, that he had been warned by an oracle to *beware of Argos* (L), which he had ever understood of the city of *Argos* in *Peloponnesus* ; but while he was thus inquiring about the origin of that name, *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, who stood behind him, ran him through with his sword, and before those, who stood round the king, recovered from the surprize and consternation they were in, got, by the help of a swift horse, into *Lyfimachia*, whence he soon returned to the army with a crown on his head, and a strong guard about him. The troops, being destitute of a general, and in the utmost confusion ; not only received the traitor, but saluted him king of *Macedon*, the soldiers, who had served under *Lyfimachus*, looking upon him as the revenger of that prince's death ; but providence did not suffer this and many other barbarous

Seleucus
murdered
by Ptolemy
Ceraunus.
Year of
the Flood,
2719.
Before
Christ,
280

Justin. l. xxiv. c. 2. MEMN. Excerpt. c. 15.

(L) We are told, that the oracle was uttered in the ambiguous words of the following distich :

*Si fugias Argos, fatum superabis iniquum ;
Sin minus, ante disem tartara nigra petes.*

murders

murders he soon after committed, to go long unpunished, as we shall relate in the history of the *Ptolemies* of *Egypt*. Such was the end of *Seleucus*, the greatest general, in the opinion of *Arrian*, and the most powerful prince, after *Alexander*, of the age he lived in ^k. He died in the forty-third year after the death of *Alexander*, in the thirty-second of the *Grecian* or *Seleucian* æra, and seventy-third, or, as *Justin* will have it, seventy-eighth of his age ^l. *Philetærus*, the prince of *Pergamus*, having, with a great sum of money, purchased his body of *Ceraunus*, sent it to his son *Antiochus*, who, with extraordinary pomp, burnt it in *Seleucia* on the sea-coast, erecting on the place a magnificent chapel, which, from his surname, he called *Nicatorium* ^m. *Polybius* observes, that *Ptolemy* the first, *Lysimachus*, *Seleucus*, and *Ptolemy Ceraunus* died all in the CXXIVth olympiad; and that *Ptolemy* the first died in the first year of it, and *Lysimachus* and *Seleucus* in the last; but *Ceraunus* did not die till the latter end of the first year of the following olympiad; whence *Polybius* being, it seems, well apprized of his mistake, in mentioning elsewhere the concurrence of their deaths, omits *Ceraunus* ⁿ.

Seleucus was, without all doubt, a prince endowed with extraordinary qualities; for, without mentioning his military accomplishments, it may be justly said, that he distinguished himself above all the kings of his age by a very remarkable love for justice, a great sweetness of temper, and a peculiar regard for religion, which endeared him to his people. He had a taste for polite literature, and was a great encourager of learning, taking great pleasure in the conversation of *Erasistratus* and the famous *Megasthenes*. The latter he employed in his negotiations with *Sandrocottus* king of *India*. On this occasion it was, that *Megasthenes*, by residing some time in that country, and travelling over great part of it, gathered the materials for his history of *India* ^o (M).
His character.
Seleucus

^k ARRIAN. de reb. Alex. ^l JUSTIN. ubi supra. ^m ARRIAN. in Syriac. p. 129. ⁿ POLYB. l. ii. p. 128. & ib. p. 155. ^o Vide Voss. de Historicis Græcis.

(M) *Megasthenes* composed a history of the *Indies*, from the third book of which *Clemens* of *Alexandria* quotes a passage in the first book of his *Stromata*, where that author tells us, that whatever the antients have said concerning nature, was taught them, not by the *Greeks*, but by *Indian Brachmans* and the *Jews* of *Syria*. *Pliny* and *Solinus* inform us, that *Megasthenes* lived in *India* to gather

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Seleucus
murdered
by Ptolemy
Ceraunus.
Year of
the Flood,
1719.
Before
Christ,
50



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murders

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His character.

^k *ARRIAN. de reb. Alex.* ^l *JUSTIN. ubi supra.* ^m *ARRIAN. in Syriac. p. 129.* ⁿ *POLYB. l. ii. p. 125. & ib. p. 155.* ^o *Vide Voss. de Historicis Græcis.*

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Seleucus having found in *Persia* the famous library which *Xerxes* had taken from the *Athenians*, sent them it back, together with the statues of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*, whom they honoured as their deliverers. He is highly commended by *Polyænus*, *Seneca*, *Pliny*, *Valerius Maximus*, *Appian*, *Lucian*, and *Plutarch*. This last writer tells us, that he used to say, If men knew what trouble attends only the reading and writing of letters, which in those days was thought the indispensable duty of a king, no one would accept of a crown, though thrown at his feet, or think it worth taking off the ground.

Antiochus
Soter.

ON the death of *Seleucus*, *Antiochus* surnamed *Soter*, his son by *Apama* the daughter of *Artabazus* the *Persian*, took possession of the empire of *Asia*, and held it for the space of nineteen years. Having, upon the first news of his father's death, secured his dominions in the east, where he then

gather materials for his history. Some fragments of this history are preserved by *Josephus* (30), and *Eusebius* (31), wherein he makes mention of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and extols his great wealth and power. He is likewise quoted by *Strabo* (32) *Athenæus*, *Arrian*, *Cicero*, *Pliny*, and *Solinus*; but the book itself has not reached our times. *Annius*, a monk of *Viterbo*, who flourished about the end of the fifteenth century, counterfeited several books under old names, of which number were *Manetho*, *Berosus*, and *Megasthenes*, whom he, by mistake, calls *Metasthenes*, being led into this error by *Rufinus's* Latin version of *Josephus*, and this first gave occasion to the discovery of the imposture. These books he published with a comment upon them; and they were for some time looked upon as the genuine works of the authors whose names they bore, but are now every where exploded as fictitious and fabulous, being framed on purpose to impose upon the world. *Plutarch* seems to have entertained but a very indifferent opinion of those authors in general who have wrote of *India* (33); and *Strabo* (34) tells us, that all those who have wrote histories of *India* are great liars, but above all *Diamarchus*, and after him *Megasthenes*, *Onesicritus*, and *Nearchus*. To the two former, continues *Strabo*, we ought to give no credit at all, for they would make us believe, that there are men in *India*, whose ears are so large as to cover their bodies, that some have no mouths, nor noses, and but one eye; that their feet are of a monstrous size, and their toes turned inwards; that there are whole nations of men only three spans high, ants that search for gold, and birds with heads in the shape of a wedge, which swallow serpents, stags, and oxen.

(30) *Joseph. Antiquit. l. x. c. 11. Et contra Appian. l. i.*
 (31) *Euseb. Præp. Evang.* (32) *Strabo. l. xv. p. 68.*
 (33) *Plat. de Aemin.* (34) *Strabo. l. ii.*

was, he sent *Patrocles*, one of his generals, at the head of a powerful army, over mount *Taurus*, into *Asia Minor*, to settle affairs there. *Patrocles*, on his first arrival, marched against *Heraclea* in *Pontus*, at that time a powerful state, with a design to make himself master of its rich territory, the *Heracleans* having formerly entered into an alliance with *Mithridates* king of *Pontus*, and the cities of *Byzantium* and *Chalcedon* against *Seleucus*; but matters being made up between them by a treaty, *Patrocles*, led his army against the *Bitbynians*, and entering their territories, committed there, on what provocation we know not, great devastations; but the *Bitbynians* having drawn him into an ambush, cut off *His army* him and his whole army, not one man escaping the general *cut off by* slaughter. *Zipætes*, who was then king of *Bitbynia*, and *the Bitv-* in the seventy-sixth year of his age and forty-eighth of his reign, was so overjoyed at the news of this victory, that he died soon after, leaving behind him four sons, of which the eldest, by name *Nicomedes*, succeeding his father in the kingdom, caused, out of jealousy, two of his brothers to be put to death; but the youngest, called also *Zipætes*, having saved himself, by a timely flight, seized on part of his father's dominions, and there maintained a long war with his brother, who, hearing that *Antiochus* was making great preparations to attack him at the same time, and revenge the death of *Patrocles* and the loss of his army, called in the *Gauls* to his assistance; and on this occasion it was that the *Gauls* first passed into *Asia Minor*^P. With their assistance *Nicomedes* having overcome his brother *Zipætes*, and acquired the possession of all his father's dominions, bestowed upon them that part of *Asia Minor*, which, from their name, was called by some *Gallo-Græcia*, and by others *Galatia*. In process of time the latter name prevailed, whence the people were no more called *Gauls*, but *Galatians*. To their descendants *St. Paul* wrote one of his canonical epistles; and *St. Jerom* witnesses, that, near seven hundred years after they had settled in *Asia*, they continued to speak the same language, which, in his time, was spoke at *Treves*.

BUT to return to *Antiochus*; *Sosthenes*, who had defeated the *Gauls*, as we have related in the history of *Alacedon*, and reigned some years in that country, being dead, *Antiochus Soter* and *Antigonus Gonatus*, the son of *Demetrius*, laid claim to that kingdom, their fathers having held it, one at

^P APPIAN. in SYRIAC EUSEB. CHRON. MIMMON EXCERPT. p. 16. & 21. LIV. l. xxxviii.

ter the other ; but *Antigonus*, who had already reigned ten years in *Greece*, being nearest, first took possession of those dominions. Hereupon *Antiochus* being resolved to dispossess his rival, if possible, of his new conquests, and the other to support himself in them, each raised great armies, and contracted powerful alliances. On this occasion *Nicomedes* king of *Bithynia* having espoused the cause of *Antigonus*, *Antiochus* not thinking it adviseable to leave such an enemy behind him in *Asia*, instead of crossing the *Hellepont* to attack *Antigonus*, unexpectedly poured his troops into *Bithynia*, which then became the theatre of the war ; but both armies having there lain some time in sight of each other, and neither daring to attack

Antiochus the other, the two kings came to an agreement, in consequence of which *Antigonus* having married *Phila* the daughter of *Stratonice* by *Seleucus*, *Antiochus* renounced his pretensions to the crown of *Macedon*. In virtue of this renunciation *Antigonus* not only quietly enjoyed himself the kingdom of *Macedon*, but transmitted it to his posterity, who reigned there for several generations, till at length *Perseus*, the last of that race, was, by *Paulus Æmilius*, divested of his dominions, and *Macedon* reduced to a Roman province^q.

Antiochus, being thus freed from a threatening war, marched against the *Gauls*, who having, by the favour of *Nicomedes*, got settlements in *Asia*, harassed, with frequent incursions, the neighbouring princes. *Antiochus* defeated them with great slaughter, and delivered those provinces from their oppressions ; and hence he acquired the title of *Soter* or *Saviour*^r.

Antiochus, not long after this successful expedition against the *Gauls*, hearing of the death of *Philetærus* prince of *Pergamus*, laid hold of that opportunity to invade his territories, with a view to add them to his own dominions ; but *Eumenes*, nephew and successor to the deceased prince, having raised a considerable army, encountered him near *Sardis*, overthrew him in battle, and thereby not only secured himself in the possession of what he already enjoyed, but enlarged

his dominions with several new acquisitions^s. After this defeat, *Antiochus* returning to *Antioch*, there put to death one of his sons for raising disturbances in his absence, and

2738.

Before
Christ,
201.

^q MEMNON. c. 19. JUSTIN. l. xxv. c. 1. PLUT. in Demet.
PORPHYR. in GRÆC. EUSEB. p. 229. ^r APPIAN. in Syriac.
p. 130. ^s MEMNON. c. 21. STRABO. l. xiii. p. 624. LUCIAN.
in Zeux.

at the same time proclaimed the other, called also *Antiochus*, king of *Syria*. He died soon after, leaving his son in the sole possession of all his dominions. This young prince was his son by *Stratonice* the daughter of *Demetrius*, who, from his mother-in-law, became his wife, as we have related above.

Antiochus, on his coming to the throne, assumed the sur- Antiochus
name of *Theos*, that is, *God*; and by this he is distinguished Theos.
from the other kings of *Syria* who bore the name of *Antiochus*. The *Milesians* were the first who bestowed it upon him, for delivering them from the tyranny of *Timarchus*; for *Timarchus*, being governor of *Caria* for *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, rebelled against his sovereign, and, setting up for himself, chose *Miletus* for the seat of his tyranny. The *Milesians*, to deliver themselves from his oppressions, had recourse to *Antiochus*, who defeated and slew him; in acknowledgment of which favour, they rendered him divine honours, and by an impious flattery, conferred upon him the title of *Theos* or *God*. The *Lemnians* had not long before placed his father and grandfather in the number of their gods, and built temples to them, as the *Smyrnians* did to *Stratonice* his mother^r.

IN the beginning of this king's reign lived *Berosus* the famous *Babylonian* historian, and dedicated his history to him (N). *Pliny* informs us, that it contained the astronomical

^r TROG. in prologo. l. xxvi. POLYÆN. Statagem. l. viii. c. 50. APPIAN. ubi supra. JUSTIN. l. xxvii. c. 1. THEOCRIT. Idyll. 17. ATHEN. l. vi. c. 6.

(N) The words of *Tatian* are as follow: *Berosus the Babylonian, who was a priest of Belus at Babylon, and lived in the time of Alexander, dedicated to Antiochus, who was the third after him, his history, which he wrote in three books, of the affairs of the Chaldeans, and the actions of their kings* (35). Now, the third after *Alexander* was, without all doubt, *Antiochus Theus*: for *Seleucus Nicator* was the first, *Antiochus Soter* the second, and consequently the prince we are speaking of the third; but as *Berosus*, according to *Tatian*, lived in the time of *Alexander*, who died sixty four years before the beginning of the reign of *Antiochus Theus*, we must place this dedication as early as possible, that is, in the very first year of his reign; for if *Berosus* was but twenty at the death of *Alexander*, he must have been eighty four in the first year of *Antiochus Theus*.

(35) *Tatian. in Orat. advers. Græcos.*

observations of four hundred and eighty years. While the *Macedonians* were masters of *Babylon*, he learned of them the *Greek* language, and passing from *Babylon* into *Greece*, first settled at *Cos*, a place famous for the birth of *Hippocrates*, and there opened a school, in which he taught astronomy and astrology. From *Cos* he went to *Athens*, where he acquired such reputation by his astrological predictions, that the *Athenians* erected to him in their gymnasium a statue with a golden tongue *. *Josephus* and *Eusebius* have transmitted to us many noble fragments of this history, which illustrate several passages of the old testament, and, without which, it would be impossible to trace out the series of the *Babylonian* kings.

War be-
tween An-
tiochus
Soter and
Ptolemy
Philadel-
phus king
of Egypt.

IN the third year of the reign of *Antiochus Soter*, a bloody war, which was carried on for a long time with great vigour, broke out between him and *Ptolemy Philadelphus* king of *Egypt*, on the following occasion: *Magas* king of *Cyrene* and *Libya*, having waged war for many years with *Ptolemy Philadelphus* his half-brother, to support himself in the usurpation of those dominions, and being now grown very old and infirm, caused overtures of an accommodation to be tendered to *Ptolemy*, with the proposal of a marriage between *Berenice* his only daughter, and the eldest son of the king of *Egypt*, promising to resign all his dominions to her for her dowry. The proposal was approved of by *Ptolemy*, and a peace concluded on these terms; but *Magas* died the year following, before the execution of the treaty, after he had reigned fifty years over *Libya* and *Cyrene*, from the time that these provinces were first committed to his care. On his death his widow *Apame*, whom *Justin* calls *Arsinoe*, the sister of *Antiochus Theus*, resolved to put a stop to the marriage of her daughter with the son of *Ptolemy*, since it had been agreed on without her consent. With this view she sent into *Macedon* for *Demetrius*, half-brother to *Antigonus Gonatus*, promising him her daughter in marriage, and with her the kingdoms of *Libya* and *Cyrene*. This invitation soon brought *Demetrius* thither; but, as he was a beautiful young man, *Apame* no sooner saw him but she fell in love with him, and resolved to marry him herself. *Demetrius* finding himself highly favoured by the mother, intirely neglected the young princess, and imagining that her favour raised him above all controul, he began to treat the princess, as well as the ministers and officers of the army, in a most insolent and imperious manner. Hereupon they all conspired against him, and *Berenice* herself led the conspirators to the door of

* PLIN. l. vii. c. 36, & 37. VITRUV. l. ix. c. 7.

her mother's apartment, where they slew him in her bed, though *Apame* did all she could to save him, and even covered him from the swords of the conspirators with her own body. Upon his death *Berenice* went into *Egypt*, where she was married, according to the former agreement, to the son of *Ptolemy*, and *Apame* was sent to her brother *Antiochus Theus* in *Syria* ^w. On her arrival at his court, she so exasperated him against *Ptolemy*, that he proclaimed war against him. This war was carried on for many years with great fury, and proved at last very fatal to *Antiochus*, as we shall see anon. *Ptolemy* did not head his army in person, his declining state of health not permitting him to expose himself to the fatigues of a campaign, and the inconveniencies of a camp; for which reason he left the whole conduct of the war to his generals; but *Antiochus*, who was then in the flower of his age, took the field, at the head of a numerous army, having under his standards all the forces of *Babylon*, and the east. History has not transmitted to us the successes of this war on either side, probably because they were not very considerable; for if any signal events had happened, they would, in all likelihood, have been recorded in an age, when so many learned men and able historians lived, who would not have failed to commit them to writing.

WHILE *Antiochus* was thus engaged in a war with the king of *Egypt*, great commotions and revolts happened in the eastern provinces of his empire, which, as he was not at leisure to suppress them immediately, grew to such a head, that he could never afterwards master them. The lewdness of *Agathocles*, whom *Arrian* calls *Pherecles*, was the occasion of this great event. *Antiochus* had committed to his care the administration of all the provinces beyond the *Euphrates*; so that *Parthia* and the adjacent countries were under his government. As *Agathocles* was most viciously given, he was charmed with the gracefulness and beauty of a youth called *Teridates* to such a degree, that he made an attempt on his modesty. Hereupon *Arfaces*, the brother of the youth, enraged at the affront offered to his family, ran to arms, and being supported by some friends who engaged in his quarrel, fell upon the governor, and slew him. After his death, *Arfaces* prevailed upon several of his countrymen to stand by him, and by degrees his party grew so numerous, while neglected by *Antiochus*, that in the end he found himself strong enough to drive out the *Macedonians*,

The Parthians and Bactrians revolt from

Antiochus.

Year of the Flood,

2749.

Before

Christ,

250.

~~~~~

<sup>w</sup> JUSTIN lib. xvi. c. 3. ATHENÆUS ex Agatharclide l. xii. p. 550. PLUT. in Demet.



and set up for himself, which he accordingly did, fixing his residence at *Hecatompolis*, and there giving rise to the *Parthian* empire, which rose in process of time to so great a pitch of power, as to become formidable, not only to all the princes of the east, but to the *Romans* themselves. Much about the same time *Theodotus* revolted in *Bactria*, and, from governor, became king of that province, which, if we believe *Justin*, contained no fewer than a thousand cities, and strengthened himself so effectually in his new kingdom, while *Antiochus* was taken up with the *Egyptian* war, that he could never afterwards be dispossessed of his acquisitions. His example, and that of *Arsaces*, were followed by all the nations in those parts, each of them shaking off at the same time the *Macedonian* yoke, and setting up princes of their own; by which means *Antiochus* lost all the provinces of his empire lying beyond the *Euphrates* \*. The revolt of the *Parthians* happened, according to *Justin*, while *L. Manlius Vulso*, and *M. Attilius Regulus* were consuls at *Rome*; which period, as *Polybius* observes, coincides with the fourteenth year of the first *Punic* war. This *Arsaces* is called by the modern *Persian* writers *Aski* and *Askam*. *Mircondus* gives him the name of *Chapur*, and says, that he began his reign seventy two years after the death of *Alexander the Great*, which, according to the learned *Usber*, is one year before the consulship of *Manlius* and *Attilius*, and three years before the *CXXXIII*d olympiad, when, according to the calculation of *Eusebius*, *Arsaces* and his *Parthians* revolted from *Antiochus*; but as they annually solemnized the day on which *Arsaces* engaged and defeated *Seleucus Callinicus*, the son and successor of *Antiochus*, and looked upon it as the day that gave birth to their liberty, both *Justin* and *Appian* thought, that the *Parthians* first revolted under *Seleucus*, and not under *Antiochus* his father \*.

Antiochus  
concludes a  
peace with  
Ptolemy.

THESE troubles and commotions in the east made *Antiochus* weary of his war with *Ptolemy*; a treaty of peace was therefore concluded on the following terms; That *Antiochus* should divorce his former wife *Laodice*, who was his own sister by the father, marry *Berenice* the daughter of *Ptolemy*, and settle the crown upon the male issue of that marriage. *Antiochus*, pursuant to this treaty, put away *Laodice*, tho' she had already brought him two sons; and *Ptolemy* carrying his daughter to *Pelusium*, there put her on

\* *ARRIAN.* in *Parthicis* apud Phot. cod. 58. *SYNCELI.* p. 284. *JUSTIN.* l. xli. c. 4. *STRABO.* l. xi. p. 515. \* *JUSTIN.* l. xli. c. 4. *APPIAN.* in *Syriac* p. 175.



board his fleet, and sailed with her to *Seleucia*, a maritime city near the mouth of the *Orontes* in *Syria*, where he met *Antiochus*, delivered his daughter to him, and solemnized the nuptials with extraordinary magnificence. *Ptolemy*, as he had a tender affection for his daughter, gave, of his own accord, an immense sum with her by way of dowry; whence he was surnamed *Phernopheros*, or the *Dowry-giver* <sup>1</sup>. Besides, he ordered regular supplies of water from the *Nile* to be transmitted to her, where-ever she was, believing it to be more beneficial to her health than any other <sup>2</sup>.

Two years after this marriage *Ptolemy Philadelphus* died, which *Antiochus Theus* his son-in-law no sooner heard, than he removed *Berenice* from his bed, and recalled *Laodice*, with her children *Seleucus Callinicus* and *Antiochus Hierax*; but *Laodice* being well acquainted with his fickle temper, and fearing lest he might again alter his mind, and receive *Berenice*, resolved to improve the present opportunity, and secure the succession to her son; for by the late treaty with *Ptolemy*, her children were disinherited, and the crown settled on the children which *Berenice* should bear, and she had then a son. For the effecting of this design, she caused *Antiochus* to be poisoned, and when she saw him expiring, she ordered him to be privately conveyed away, and one *Artemon*, who greatly resembled him, as well in features as in the tone of his voice, to be placed in his bed. *Artemon* acted his part with great dexterity, and personating *Antiochus*, tenderly recommended his dear *Laodice* and her children to the lords that visited him. In the name of *Antiochus*, whom the people believed still alive, orders were issued, enjoining all his subjects to obey his beloved son *Seleucus Callinicus*, and acknowledge him for their lawful sovereign. The crown being by this means secured to *Callinicus*, the death of the king was publicly declared, and *Callinicus*, without any opposition, ascended the throne <sup>3</sup>. *Antiochus Hierax*, the other son of *Laodice*, had at this time the government of the provinces of *Asia Minor*, where he commanded a considerable body of troops.

*Antiochus Theus poisoned by his wife Laodice*

*Seleucus Callinicus ascends the throne.*

*Laodice* not thinking herself safe so long as *Berenice* and her son were alive, concerted measures with *Seleucus* to destroy

<sup>1</sup> Vide *HIERONYM.* in *Daniel.* c. 11.      <sup>2</sup> *ATHENÆUS.* l. ii. c. 2.      <sup>3</sup> *HIERONYM.* ubi supra. *PLIN.* l. vii. c. 12. *VAL. MAX.* l. ix. c. 14. *SOLINUS.* c. i. *APPIAN.* in *Syriac.* p. 130. *JUSTIN.* l. xxvii. c. i. *POLYB.* l. ii. p. 155.



Berenice  
with her  
son mar-  
dered by  
Liodice.

them likewise ; but *Berenice* being informed of their design, eluded the danger for some time, by retiring with her son to *Daphne*, where she shut herself up in the asylum built by *Seleucus Nicator*. There she was closely besieged by the forces of *Seleucus* ; which the cities of *Asia* hearing, and pitying her condition, they formed a confederacy, and sent a strong body of troops to *Antioch* for her relief. *Ptolemy Euergetes*, her brother, hastened thither likewise at the head of a formidable army ; but both *Berenice* and her son, with all the *Egyptians* who attended them, were barbarously cut off before either of the armies came to their rescue (O). When they

(O) The particulars of the marriage of *Antiochus* with the daughter of *Ptolemy*, and the fatal consequences that attended it, with the greatest events in the history we are now writing, were evidently foretold by the prophet *Daniel*. The words of the prophecy are (36) ; *And now I will shew thee the truth ; Behold, there shall stand up yet three kings in Persia, viz. Cyrus, who was then upon the throne ; his son Cambyses, and Darius the son of Hystaspes ; and the fourth shall be far richer than they all : and by his strength through his riches, he shall stir up all against the realm of Greece. The monarch here mentioned was Xerxes, who invaded Greece with a formidable army. And a mighty king shall stand up, that shall rule with great dominion, and do according to his will. And when he shall stand up, his kingdom shall be broken, and shall be divided towards the four winds of heaven, and not to his posterity, nor according to his dominion which he ruled ; for his kingdom shall be plucked up even for others besides those* This part of the prophecy evidently alludes to *Alexander the Great*, whose vast kingdom we have already seen broken by his death, and parcelled out into four great kingdoms, and, besides these, divided into a great many petty kingdoms, namely, *Cappadocia, Armenia, Bithynia, &c.* The prophet then proceeds to the treaty of peace, and the marriage, which we have mentioned. *And the king of the south shall be strong, and one of his princes, and he shall be strong above him, and have dominion ; his dominion shall be a great dominion. And in the end of years they shall join themselves together ; for the king's daughter of the south shall come to the king of the north to make an agreement : but he shall not retain the power of the arm, neither shall he stand, nor his arm ; but she shall be given up, and they that brought her, and he that begat her, and he that strengthened her in these times.* We must observe, that *Daniel*, in this passage, and through all the remaining part of the chapter before us, confines himself to the kings of *Egypt* and *Syria*, these being the only princes who engaged in wars against the people of

(36) *Dan. c. xi. ver. 2, 3, 4, &c.*

God



they saw all their endeavours for saving the queen and her child rendered ineffectual, they determined to revenge their death in a remarkable manner. The *Asian* forces joined the *Egyptian*, and *Ptolemy*, at the head of both, carried all before him; for he not only slew *Laodice*, but made himself master of all *Syria* and *Cilicia*, and then passing the *Euphrates*, subdued all the country as far as *Babylon* and the river *Tigris*; and if the progress of his arms had not been interrupted by a sedition, which obliged him to return to *Egypt*, he would have brought under subjection all the provinces of the

*Her death  
revenged  
by Ptole-  
my Euer-  
getes her  
brother.*

God. *The king of the south shall be strong.* This king of the south was *Ptolemy* the son of *Lagus*, the first who reigned in *Egypt* after *Alexander*; and that he was strong all historians testify; for he was master of *Egypt*, *Libya*, *Cyrene*, *Arabia*, *Palestine*, *Cælo-Syria*, and most of the maritime provinces of *Asia Minor*, together with the island of *Cyprus*, and several isles in the *Ægean* sea; and even possessed the cities of *Sicyon* and *Corinth* in *Greece*. The king of the north was *Seleucus Nicator*, of whom the prophet says, that he shall be more powerful than the king of the south, and his dominion more extensive; for such is the import of the prophet's expression, *and he shall be strong above him, and have dominion*; and that he had a more extensive dominion is plain from the large territories he possessed; for he had under him all the countries of the east, from mount *Taurus* to the river *Indus*, several provinces of *Asia Minor* between mount *Taurus* and the *Ægean* sea, and a little before his death the kingdoms of *Thrace* and *Macedon*. The prophet, in the next place, tells us of the coming of the daughter of the king of the south, and the agreement, or treaty of peace, which should thereon be made between these two kings. This plainly points out the marriage of *Berenice* the daughter of *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*, with *Antiochus Theus* king of *Syria*, and the peace, which, in consequence of that marriage, was made between them; every particular of which was exactly fulfilled, according to the holy prophet's prediction. *Daniel* afterwards informs us of the fatal consequences attending this marriage; that is, that *neither he, viz. Antiochus* king of the north, *nor she, that is Berenice* daughter of *Ptolemy* king of the south, *should continue in their power, but that he, viz. king Antiochus, should fall, and that she, viz. Berenice, being deprived of him that strengthened her, that is, of her father, who died a little before, should be given up with those that brought her, that is, who came with her out of Egypt, to be cut off and destroyed*; and so it happened to her and her attendants who came with her out of *Egypt*, as we have related. The king of *Egypt* is called by the prophet king of the south, and the king of *Syria* styled king of the north, which must be understood with respect to *Judæa*, that country having *Syria* to the north, and *Egypt* to the south.



Syrian empire. On his return he appointed *Antiochus*, one of his generals, to govern the provinces he had reduced on this side mount *Taurus*, and *Xantippus* to command in those he had possessed himself of beyond it <sup>b</sup>. He returned loaded with an immense booty; for he is said to have brought from *Syria* forty thousand talents of silver, with a prodigious number of gold and silver vessels, and two thousand five hundred statues, among which were many of the *Egyptian* idols, which *Cambyfes*, on his conquering *Egypt*, had carried from thence into *Persia*. These *Ptolemy*, on his return from this expedition, replaced in their antient temples, and thereby gained the hearts of his superstitious subjects, who, in acknowledgment of so great a favour, honoured him with the title of *Euergetes*, or *Benefactor* (P).

*Seleucus Callinicus*, who had succeeded his father *Antiochus Theus* after a reign of fifteen years, no sooner heard that *Ptolemy* was returned to *Egypt*, but he set sail with a mighty fleet, which he had fitted out at a vast charge, to reduce the revolted cities; but he had scarce advanced into the open sea, when his whole navy was destroyed by a violent storm; as if the gods, says *Justin*<sup>c</sup>, had made the winds and waves the

<sup>b</sup> JUSTIN. APPIAN. HIERONYM. ubi supra. POLYB. l. v. POLYÆN. l. viii. c. 50.      <sup>c</sup> JUSTIN. l. xxvii. c. 2.

(P) All this was likewise accomplished exactly, as the prophet *Daniel* had foretold it (37); for in that prophecy he tells us, That after the daughter of the king of the south should, with her attendants, be cut off, and he that strengthened her in those times, (that is, her father, who was her chief support) should be dead *there should one arise out of a branch of her roots in his estate*, that is, *Ptolemy Euergetes*, who, springing from the same root with her, as being her brother, did stand up in the room or estate of *Ptolemy Philadelphus* his father, whom he succeeded in his kingdom. And *he shall come with an army*, continues the prophet, *and shall enter into the fortress of the king of the north*, (who was *Seleucus Callinicus*) *and shall deal against them, and shall prevail; and shall also carry captives into Egypt their gods, with their princes, and with their precious vessels of silver and of gold; and he shall continue more years than the king of the north. So the king of the south shall come into his kingdom, and shall return into his own land.* How exactly all this was fulfilled, what we have related above sufficiently shews. As to the last part, viz. that the king of the south, on his return into his kingdom, should continue more years than the king of the north, this likewise happened as foretold by the prophet; for *Ptolemy Euergetes* out-lived *Seleucus Callinicus* four years.

(37) Dan. c. vii. ver. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29.

ministers



ministers of their vengeance. *Seleucus* himself, with a small number of his attendants, was, with the utmost difficulty, saved; but all the rest perished in the wreck; but this dreadful stroke, which seemed intended to overwhelm him, by a strange turn of fortune, contributed to the re-establishment of his affairs; for the revolted cities of *Asia*, which, out of the aversion and horror they had conceived against him on account of the murder of *Berenice* and her son, had declared for *Ptolemy*, no sooner received intelligence of the great loss he had sustained, than they turned their hatred into compassion, and thinking that crime sufficiently revenged, submitted to him anew<sup>d</sup>. Being again restored, by this unexpected revolution, to the best part of his dominions, he raised a great army to recover the rest; but this effort proved as unsuccessful as the former; his army was defeated by *Ptolemy*, and he obliged to save himself by flight to *Antioch*, with as few of his followers as when he escaped from the shipwreck, as if he had recovered his former power, says *Justin*, only to lose it a second time by a fatal vicissitude of fortune. In this condition he invited his brother *Antiochus* to join him with his forces, promising him all the provinces of the *Lesser Asia* that belonged to the *Syrian* empire, provided he found means to extricate him out of his present difficulties. *Antiochus* was then at the head of an army in those provinces, and being of an aspiring genius, and very ambitious, though then only fourteen years old, he readily accepted the proposal, and accordingly reinforced his army with great numbers of mercenary *Gauls*, not with a design to assist his brother in the recovery of his dominions, but to seize them for himself; for he was of a very greedy and rapacious temper, wresting from others whatever came in his way, without the least regard to justice or equity, and thinking every thing good prey which he could lay his hands on; whence he had the surname of *Hierax*, that is, the *Hawk*. At the same time the cities of *Smyrna* and *Magnesia* in *Asia Minor*, out of affection to *Seleucus*, formed a confederacy in his favour, by which they mutually stipulated to support him to the utmost of their power. This treaty they caused to be engraved on a large column of marble, which is still to be seen in *Oxford*, with the said league, in *Greek* capitals very legible (Q). When

*Ptolemy*

<sup>d</sup> JUSTIN l. xxvii c. 2.

(Q) This column was brought out of *Asia* by *Thomas* earl of *Hundel*, at the beginning of the reign of *Charles* the first, and presented,



*After having sustained several great losses, makes a truce with Ptolemy.* Ptolemy heard that *Antiochus* was preparing to join *Seleucus* against him, not caring to engage both these princes at the same time, he came to an agreement with *Seleucus*, and concluded a truce with him for ten years <sup>e</sup>.

BUT notwithstanding this truce, *Antiochus* continued his military preparations, which *Seleucus* now plainly seeing to be made against himself, marched, without delay, over mount *Taurus* to suppress them. The pretence for the war on the side of *Antiochus* was the promise which had been made him of the sovereignty of the provinces in *Asia Minor*, as a reward for assisting his brother against *Ptolemy*; but *Seleucus*, being delivered from the war without the aid of his brother, did not think himself obliged to any thing by that promise; but *Antiochus* persisting in his demand, and *Seleucus* refusing to comply with it, the controversy was brought to the decision of a battle, which was fought near *Ancyra* in *Asia Minor*.

*Defeated by his brother Antiochus.* In this battle *Seleucus* was intirely defeated, and most of his troops cut in pieces, he having very narrowly escaped falling into the enemies hands. *Antiochus* likewise was exposed to great dangers, even after his victory; for as the troops, to whose valour the victory was chiefly owing, was a body of *Gauls*, which he had taken into his pay, these *Barbarians*, on a false report that *Seleucus* was slain in the action, plotted the death of the other brother also, not doubting but in case both were cut off, they should easily make themselves masters of all *Asia*; *Antiochus* therefore was obliged to redeem his life with all the treasures he possessed <sup>f</sup>.

*Eumenes and Attalus seize great part of Asia Minor.* *Eumenes*, king or prince of *Pergamus*, taking advantage of these divisions, advanced with all his forces against *Antiochus*, and the *Gauls*, in hopes of crushing them both at once. The imminent danger which *Antiochus* saw himself exposed to on this occasion, obliged him to make a new treaty with the *Gauls*, in which it was stipulated, that he should renounce the title of their sovereign, and content himself with that of their ally, entering into an offensive and defensive league with them. This treaty, however, did not prevent *Eumenes* from falling upon them; and, as he attacked them before they had time to reinforce themselves with new levies after the loss they had sustained in the battle of *Ancyra*, he

<sup>e</sup> JUSTIN. ubi supra.      <sup>f</sup> TROGUS in prologo 27. STRABO, l. xvi. p. 750. POLYÆN. l. viii. c. 61.

sented, with other marbles, to the university of Oxford, by his grandson *Henry* duke of *Norfolk*, in the reign of *Charles* the second.

gained



gained a complete victory over them, which cost him but little, and laid all *Asia Minor* open to him. *Attalus*, who succeeded *Eumenes* in the sovereignty of *Pergamus*, improving the advantages gained by him over the *Gauls*, intirely subdued that people, and being by that means firmly established in his dominions, took upon him the title of king, which his predecessors had declined, though vested with sovereign power<sup>8</sup>.

WHILE *Eumenes*, and after him *Attalus*, were thus curtail-  
ing the *Syrian* empire in the west, *Theodotus* and *Arfaces*  
were doing the same in the east; for it being reported that  
*Seleucus* had been slain in the battle of *Ancyra*, *Arfaces* laying  
hold of this opportunity, possessed himself of *Hyrkania*, and  
annexed it to *Parthia*, which he had already dismembered  
from that empire, causing himself to be acknowledged king  
of both countries. *Theodotus*, who had possessed himself of  
*Bactria*, dying soon after, *Arfaces* entered into an alliance  
with his son bearing the same name for their mutual defence;  
by which means they supported each other in the possession of  
the dominions they had usurped. In the mean time the two  
brothers, *Antiochus* and *Seleucus*, pursued the war against each  
other with implacable hatred, not considering, that, while  
they were thus contending for their father's empire, it would  
be wrested from them both by their common enemy. This  
war was at length carried into *Mesopotamia*<sup>h</sup>, at the time  
when, in all likelihood, happened the battle in *Babylonia*,  
or the province of *Babylon*, which was a part of *Mesopotamia*,  
mentioned by *Judas Maccabæus* in his speech to his ar-  
my<sup>i</sup>. In this battle eight thousand *Babylonish Jews* joined  
with four thousand *Macedonians*, defeated the *Galatians*, and  
put to the sword an hundred and twenty thousand of their  
men. The *Galatians* indeed were joined in confederacy  
with *Antiochus Hierax*, as we have related above, and at  
this time came into *Asia* in such swarms as to fill the whole  
country, serving under such princes as thought fit to hire  
them. However, it is somewhat strange, that such a signal  
victory should not be mentioned by any one of the eminent  
writers who flourished under the kings of *Syria*, and trans-  
mitted their actions to posterity: but be that as it will, *Seleu-  
cus* at length prevailed over his brother *Antiochus*, who, af-  
ter several overthrows and losses, was obliged to shift from

*Antiochus  
and Seleu-  
cus conti-  
nue on the  
war.*

<sup>8</sup> JUSTIN. l. xxvii. c. 3. LIV. l. xxxiii STRABO, l. xiii p. 624  
VALESII excerpt. ex Polyb POLYÆN. l. iv. c. 19. <sup>h</sup> TRU-  
GUS in prologo 27. POLYÆN. l. iv. STRATAGEM. c. 17.  
<sup>i</sup> 2 MACCABVIII. 20.



place to place with the shattered remains of his army, till he was at last driven quite out of *Mesopotamia*. As he found no place within the *Syrian* empire where he thought himself safe, he retired to *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*, whose daughter he had married; but that prince, notwithstanding this alliance, growing soon weary of entertaining a guest who could bring him no advantage, and was very chargeable to him, ordered him to be cut off; but *Antiochus*, being informed of his design, escaped the danger by a speedy retreat into *Egypt*, chusing rather to put himself into the hands of *Ptolemy*, a professed enemy to his family, than to trust a brother whom he had so highly offended. He had soon reason to repent of this resolution; for immediately after his arrival, *Ptolemy* caused him to be seized, and kept him closely confined for several years, till at last, by the assistance of a courtesan, he made his escape; but, as he was retiring out of that kingdom, he had the misfortune to fall in with a band of robbers, by whom he was murdered \*.

Death of  
Antiochus

*Seleucus*, being now extricated out of the troubles his brother had created him, applied himself first to the establishing of good order and tranquility at home; and having repaired the disorders occasioned by the war, he turned his thoughts to the reduction of the eastern provinces which had revolted from him; but in this attempt he was attended with bad success. *Arfaces*, having been allowed too much time to strengthen himself in his usurpations, obliged him to return with shame and dishonour. He might perhaps have succeeded better, if he had made a longer stay in those parts; but new commotions arising at home in his absence, he thought it adviseable to make a speedy return to suppress them. *Arfaces* did not fail to improve this farther respite to his advantage, establishing his power so effectually, that all future efforts of the *Syrian* kings could never shake it †.

*Seleucus*  
defeated  
and taken  
prisoner by  
*Arfaces*.

HOWEVER, *Seleucus*, as soon as he was at leisure from his other affairs, undertook a second expedition against the usurper, which proved more unsuccessful than the former; for he was not only overthrown by *Arfaces* in a great battle, but taken prisoner. The day on which *Arfaces* gained this victory was, for many succeeding ages, observed annually by the *Parthians* with great solemnity, as being, in their opinion, the first day of their liberty; whereas it was in reality the first of their slavery; for the world never produced greater tyrants than the *Parthian* kings, under whose despotical government they thenceforth continued. From this time

\* JUSTIN. POLYÆN. ibid.

† JUSTIN. l. xli. c. 4.



*Arfaces* took upon him the title of king, having founded, and by this victory firmly established, an empire in the east, which, in process of time, counterbalanced the overgrown power of the *Romans* in the west <sup>m</sup>. *Seleucus* having, for the space of four years, continued prisoner in *Parthia*, died in that country, by a fall from his horse. *Athenæus* tells us, that *Arfaces* treated him during his confinement as a king <sup>n</sup>; but that he restored him to his liberty and kingdom, as some will have it, does not appear from antient records. *Justin* says in express words, that he died in the manner we have related, being then an exile, which cannot be otherwise understood than that he died out of his own dominions, being held in captivity by the *Parthian* king. He died, according to some, in the twentieth, according to others, in the twenty-first year of his reign, leaving behind him by his wife *Laodice*, the sister of *Andromachus* one of his chief generals, two sons and a daughter. The sons were *Seleucus* and *Antiochus*. The daughter he married to *Mitridates* king of *Pontus*, yielding *Phrygia* to him for her dowry <sup>o</sup>. He was surnamed *Pogon* from his long beard, and ironically *Callinicus*, or *the victorious*, being very unfortunate, and generally conquered in the battles he fought; however, some writers tell us, that the surname of *Callinicus* was given him after the victory which he gained over his brother *Antiochus*.

*Dies in captivity.*  
Year of the Flood,  
2772.  
Before Christ,  
227.

*Seleucus*, the eldest of the two sons, succeeded to his father's throne, and assumed the surname of *Ceraunus*, or *the Thunderer*, a name which no-ways suited his character; for he was a very weak prince, both in body and mind, and never did any thing worthy of that name. He reigned but three years, and during that time, had no great authority either in the army or the provinces; nay, he would have lost it intirely, had not *Achæus*, the son of *Andromachus* his mother's brother, who was a man of great courage and abilities, managed his affairs, as well as the bad state which his father's ill conduct had brought them into would admit. As for *Andromachus*, he was taken prisoner by *Ptolemy* in his wars with *Callinicus*, and kept in *Alexandria* all this reign, and some part of the next, till the *Rhodians*, to ingratiate themselves with *Achæus*, obtained his liberty. *Antiochus* king of *Pergamus* having made himself master of all *Asia Minor*, from mount *Taurus* to the *Hellespont*, *Seleucus* marched against him, leaving *Hermias*, a *Carian*, regent of *Syria* in his absence. *Achæus* attended him in this expedition, and forced

<sup>m</sup> JUSTIN. l. xli. c. 5. ATHEN. l. iv. c. 13.  
l. iv. c. 13.

<sup>n</sup> ATHEN.

<sup>o</sup> JUSTIN. l. xli. c. 5.



Seleucus  
Ceraunus  
poisoned.

Antiochus  
the Great  
ascends the  
throne of  
Syria.  
Year of  
the  
Flood,  
2775.  
Before  
Christ,  
224

him in it as well as the shattered state of his affairs would allow; but money being wanting to pay the army, and the king, on account of his weakness, despised by the soldiery, *Nicator* and *Apaturius*, two of the chief officers, formed a conspiracy against him, and, by poison, put an end to his life; but *Achæus*, who was then in the army, revenged his death, by cutting off the two ringleaders, and all those who were any ways concerned in the plot. After this he managed the army with such prudence, address, and resolution, that he not only kept all in order, but also prevented *Attalus* from reaping any advantage from this accident, which, had it not been for his prudent conduct, would have been attended with the loss of Syria. *Seleucus* dying without children, the army offered the crown to *Achæus*; and several of the provinces did the same: But he then generously refused it, tho' he afterwards judged it necessary, for his own safety, to act in a different manner. In the present conjuncture, instead of accepting the crown, he preserved it with great integrity for the lawful heir *Antiochus*, the brother of the deceased king, who was but in the fifteenth year of his age. When *Seleucus* set out for *Asia Minor*, he sent him to *Babylonia* to be educated there; and in that city he was when his brother died. He now was sent for to *Antioch*, where he ascended the throne after his brother, and reigned thirty-six years. This prince was afterwards, for his illustrious actions, surnamed *the Great*. *Achæus*, the better to secure him in the possession of the empire, sent a detachment of the army to him in Syria, under the command of *Epigenes*, one of the late king's most experienced generals. The rest of the army he kept with him in *Asia Minor*, to support the Syrian interest in those parts<sup>P</sup>.

*Antiochus*, seeing himself seated on the throne, sent *Molo* and *Alexander*, two brothers, into the east, appointing the former governor of *Media*, and the latter of *Persia*. All the provinces of *Asia Minor* he committed to the charge of *Achæus*. *Epigenes* had the command of the troops which the king kept about him; and *Hermias* the *Carian* was declared prime minister, which station he had held under the deceased king. *Achæus* soon recovered all the countries which *Attalus* had wrested from the Syrian empire, and confined him within the limits of his own kingdom of *Pergamus*; but *Alexander* and *Molo*, despising the young king, were no sooner

Alexander  
and Molo,  
two of the  
generals re-  
volt.

P POLYB. l. iv. p. 315. APPIAN. in Syriac. HIERON. in Daniel. c. 11. JUSTIN. l. xxix. c. 1.

fixed



fixed in their governments, but they refused to acknowledge his authority, and set up for themselves in their respective districts. They hoped that *Abeæus* would join them; but above all things, apprehended the cruelty and malice of *Hermias*, who bore a great sway at court, and therefore chose rather to withdraw their obedience to the king than obey so wicked a minister, against whose malice no man was safe. This *Hermias* was of a most savage disposition, punished the least faults with the utmost rigor, and, being himself a man of little genius and no merit, could not endure either merit or abilities in others. He was haughty, envious, full of himself, and so tenacious of his own opinion, that he thought it highly dishonourable either to ask or follow the advice of another. He suspected all those who had any trust, or share in the king's esteem; but the chief object of his jealousy and suspicion was *Epigenes*, who had the reputation of being one of the ablest generals of his time and in whom the troops reposed an intire confidence. It was this reputation that gave the prime minister umbrage, and he could not conceal the ill-will he bore him. News being brought of the revolt of *Molo* and *Alexander*, *Antiochus* assembled his council to deliberate on proper measures in so delicate a conjuncture; for he had great reason to apprehend a general revolt of the provinces. Every one being desired to deliver his opinion freely, *Epigenes* spoke first, and declared, That they had no time to lose; that it was absolutely necessary the king should, without delay, march in person against the rebels; that his authority on the spot would be of great weight; and that *Molo* and his followers would not have the assurance to persist in their rebellion, seeing the king himself at the head of his army; or should they continue obstinate, the soldiers themselves would mutiny, return to their duty, and deliver up their leaders to the king. *Epigenes* had hardly delivered his opinion, when *Hermias*, in a violent passion, replied, That this was not the first treacherous advice he had given; that he had long harboured evil designs against the king; that, however, he was now pleased to hear him openly declaring his bad intentions in the pernicious counsel he had given, wherein he plainly shewed his design of betraying the king into the hands of the rebels. He said no more then on that subject, being content to have thus sown the seeds of suspicion against him. The real motive of his opposing the opinion of *Epigenes* was, his being afraid to venture upon that expedition. As *Ptolemy Philopater*, who had succeeded his father *Ptolemy Lagertes* in the kingdom of *Egypt*, was a most vicious and effeminate prince, he thought him a much less formidable enemy, and therefore



The rebels  
defeat the  
troops sent  
against  
them.

advised the king to march in person against him, and attempt the recovery of Syria. He thought there would be no danger in invading a prince, who was wholly immersed in pleasures of all kinds. The opinion of *Hermias* prevailing, *Antiochus* marched in person into *Cæle-Syria* with one part of his army, and sent *Zeno* and *Theodotus*, two of his generals, with the other, to suppress the rebellion in the east <sup>1</sup>. Being arrived, on his march towards *Cæle-Syria*, at *Seleucia* near *Zeugma*, he there found *Laodice* daughter to *Mithridates* king of *Pontus*, who had been some time betrothed to him. He made some stay there to solemnize the nuptials; but the joy of his marriage was soon interrupted with bad news from the east; for his generals there, being overpowered by the joint forces of *Molo* and *Alexander*, had been forced to retire, and leave them masters of the field. *Antiochus* then saw the error he had committed in not following the advice of *Epi- genes*, and was for laying aside his expedition into *Cæle-Syria*, in order to march directly with all his forces into the east, and there crush the rebellion before it gathered greater strength; but *Hermias* persisting in his former opinion, and telling the king, that it became kings to march in person against kings, and to send their lieutenants against rebels, *Antiochus* was so weak as to acquiesce again in the opinion of *Hermias*, and, sending another army into the east, to proceed in his intended expedition into *Cæle-Syria*. The general who commanded this army was one *Xenætas* an *Achæan*. His commission was to join the forces which were there before under the two generals, and take upon him the command of the whole army. he had never before commanded in chief, and his only merit was his being the prime minister's friend and creature. Being thus raised to a post which he never expected, he behaved with great haughtiness towards the other officers, and by his insolent behaviour, incurred the hatred of the soldiery. The success was such as might be expected from so bad a choice; in crossing the *Tigris* he fell into an ambuscade, and was cut off with his whole army. This victory opened to the rebels the province of *Babylonia* and all *Mesopotamia*, of which they made themselves masters without the least opposition <sup>2</sup>.

Antiochus  
disappoint-  
ed in his  
attempt  
upon *Cæle*-  
*Syria*.

IN the mean time *Antiochus* having advanced into *Cæle-Syria*, as far as the valley which lies between the two ridges of mountains called *Libanus* and *Antilibanus*, found the parties

<sup>1</sup> POLYB. l. v. p. 387, 388, 389. JUSTIN l. xxx. c. 1. <sup>2</sup> POLYB. ubi supra p. 390, 391, 392, 393, &c.



there so well fortified and guarded by *Theodotus* the *Ætolian*, whom *Ptolemy* had intrusted with the government of this province, that he was obliged to march back, without attempting to make any farther progress that way. The bad news, which he had by this time received, of the defeat of his troops also hastened his retreat; being therefore now resolved to lay aside the *Syrian* enterprize, he turned his thoughts wholly on the war with the rebels; wherefore assembling his council once more to deliberate about it, and requiring every one to deliver their real opinion, *Epigenes* again spoke the first, saying, That it had been well for the king's service if they had followed his first advice without any delay or loss of time; for, in that case, the enemy would not have had time to strengthen himself in the provinces which he had usurped; that he was still of the same opinion, viz. that the king should desist from any other enterprize, and march without delay in person against the rebels. *Hermias* fancying himself affronted by the speech of *Epigenes*, began to exclaim against him, and renew the antient charge, as if he designed to deliver up the king to the rebels. He conjured the prince not to quit the enterprize of *Cæle-Syria*, since the abandoning of it would be ascribed to fickleness and inconstancy, a character which no ways suited a prince of his wisdom and knowledge; but notwithstanding all he could say, the advice of *Epigenes* prevailing in the council, the king resolved to put off his march into *Syria*, and head his army in person against his rebellious subjects. *Hermias*, *Resolves to* finding that all opposition would be vain, became all on a *march in* sudden quite another man, seeming the most sanguine of them *person a-* all in hastening the execution of what he had hitherto opposed *gainst the* with incredible warmth. Accordingly the troops were, with *rebels.* the utmost expedition, assembled at *Apamea*; but before they began their march, a sedition broke out in the army about the soldiers arrears. This unlucky accident threw the king into the utmost consternation, and filled him with the deepest melancholy; which *Hermias* perceiving, offered to satisfy the army out of his private fortune, provided he would not take *Epigenes* with him in this expedition, pretending, that the quarrel which had happened between them would be the occasion of new disputes, and greatly hinder him in the management of his affairs. His view in this was to lessen, by absence, the esteem and affection which *Antiochus* had shewn on all occasions for *Epigenes*, men being apt to forget, and especially princes, the services of such as are removed out of their sight. This proposal gave the king great uneasiness, he being very sensible how much he wanted the presence of such



a general as *Epigenes*, who was not only an experienced commander, but an able counsellor ; but as *Hermias* had a great ascendant over him, and had likewise gained those about him, he was not master of his own resolutions : Wherefore yielding to the present necessity, he complied with the request of *Hermias*, and ordered *Epigenes* to remain at *Apamea*. This incident alarmed the other officers, who were apprehensive of meeting with the same fate ; but the common soldiers having received all their arrears, expressed great obligations to *Hermias*, by whose means they had been satisfied<sup>c</sup>.

*Epigenes*  
treacher-  
ously mur-  
dered.

*Hermias* having thus gained the good-will of the soldiery, set out with *Antiochus* and the army, after having charged *Alexis* governor of the citadel of *Apamea*, a man entirely at his devotion, to destroy under some plausible pretence, *Epigenes* during the king's absence. *Alexis*, pursuant to his orders, having, by the promise of a great reward, bribed one of the domestics of *Epigenes*, gave him a letter, with orders to lay it among his master's papers. This was a forged letter from *Molo*, wherein he thanked *Epigenes* for forming a conspiracy against the king, and pointed out to him by what methods he might safely put it in execution. Some days after *Alexis* went to *Epigenes*, and asked him, whether he had not received a letter from *Molo*. *Epigenes* replied with the greatest indignation, that he had no intercourse with rebels ; but *Alexis* acquainting him that he had orders to look into his papers, entered his lodgings by force, and a search being made, the forged letter was found ; whereupon *Epigenes* without being tried, or even heard, was immediately put to death. The king, at the bare sight of the letter, approved of his death, and greatly commended the zeal of *Alexis* ; but the great men of the court understood the whole matter, tho' none of them dared to undeceive their master, being awed into silence by the great power of the minister<sup>d</sup>.

In the mean time, *Antiochus* arriving with his army at the *Euphrates*, joined the troops he found there, and pursuing his march, came to *Antioch* in *Mygdonia* (R), where, as the year

<sup>c</sup> POLYB. ubi supra.

<sup>d</sup> POLYB. l. v. p. 393, 394.

(R) *Antioch* of *Mygdonia* stood in the north part of *Mesopotamia*. St *Jerom* carries the antiquity of it as high as *Nimrod*. It was as considerable for the number of its inhabitants as its great extent. The *Tyro-Macedonians*, when they became masters of *Mesopotamia*, gave this city the name of *Antioch* in *Mygdonia*, to distinguish it from the capital of *Syria*. Before that time it was called *Nisibis*, or, as we find it wrote on some antient medals, *Nisbe*. It served as a barrier against the incursions of the *Parthians* and *Persians*. Down



year was now far spent, he put his troops into winter quarters, proposing to open the campaign very early next spring. As soon as the season allowed him to take the field, having assembled his troops, he advanced to *Liba* (S), and there summoned a council to deliberate with his officers what course was best to take to find out *Molo*, and by what means they might supply the army with provisions in their march, *Molo* being master of all the country about *Babylonia*. *Hermias* proposed to keep along the *Tigris*, by which means, said he, we shall have the benefit of that and two other rivers, the *Lycus* and the *Capros* (T), to cover our camp. Such danger there was in following this advice, that *Zeuxes*, though he had the fate of *Epigenes* before his eyes, could not help opposing it, and shewing the great difficulties they should meet with in holding their march along the river. He urged several reasons, chiefly, that after a long and tedious march through a continued desert, they should come to a place called the *King's Ditch*, which if it should happen to be possessed by the enemy, would put a stop to their further progress, and oblige them to return by the same desert, where they should be in great want of all things. On the other hand, he made it appear, that in case they passed the *Tigris*, they should be well supplied with provisions; and besides, that it was more than pro-

to the time of the emperor *Julian*, who, by a shameful treaty, gave it up to the latter. Some modern writers, by mistake, place it on the *Tigris*; but it is plain, both from *Polybius* and the emperor *Julian's* first oration, that it stood on the river *Mygdonius*, which springs from mount *Mafius* between the *Tigris* and the *Euphrates*, and running from north to south, discharges itself into the latter of these rivers. The *Mygdonius* divides *Mygdonia*, which is a small province of *Mesopotamia*, into two unequal parts. *Pliny* is of opinion, that this country was originally peopled by a colony of the *Mygdonians* in *Macedon*. *Antioch* of *Mygdonia* still retains its most antient name, being called by the people of the east *Nassibin*, which is plainly a corruption of *Nasibis*.

(S) *Liba* was a chief city of *Carmania*, a province lying beyond *Persia*, and bounded by *Parthia* on the north, by *Gedrosia* on the east, and by the *Persian* and *Indian* seas on the south. The city of *Liba* stood near the confines of *Gedrosia*.

(T) The *Lycus* and *Capros* were two rivers of *Affyria*, properly so called, running between the cities of *Ninus* and *Seleucia*, and discharging themselves into the *Tigris*, they were so called by the *Greeks*, as *Strabo* (38) and *Pliny* (39) inform us, from two rivers of the same name in *Phrygia*.

(38) *Strabo*, l. xii. in fine. (39) *Plin* l. v. c. 29

habile,



Molo being overcome, lays violent hands on himself.

bable, that those of the country of *Apollonia* would return to their duty, since it was very plain, that out of necessity, and not by inclination, they had declared for *Molo*. He added, that when *Molo* should see his passage back into *Media* cut off, and find himself straitened for want of provisions, he would be constrained, either to venture a battle, or to see himself abandoned by his troops<sup>u</sup>. The advice of *Zeuxes* was approved of; and accordingly the army being divided into three bodies, passed the *Tigris* in three different places, and pursued their march to *Dura* (U), which was at that time besieged by one of *Molo*'s officers, who, on their approach, raised the siege, and retired. From *Dura* they advanced to *Orricum*, and from thence to *Apollonia*. *Molo* being informed of the king's arrival, marched with all possible expedition to the mountains of *Apollonia*; but, before he reached them, was overtaken by the king, who encamped over-against him. *Molo* apprehending it dangerous for rebels to march against their prince in broad day, and give him battle, resolved to fall on *Antiochus* in the night, and accordingly putting himself at the head of a body of chosen troops, he marched, by private ways, towards the neighbouring mountains, with a design to fall on the enemy's camp from those eminences; but his soldiers deserting in troops to the king, he thought it advisable to return by break of day to his camp. In the mean time the king being resolved to venture an engagement, drew out his forces, and advanced in battalia to the enemy's trenches. *Molo* likewise, at the approach of the king, marched out in good order to meet him. Both armies engaged with the utmost fury; but a body of chosen men, which *Molo* had placed on his left to make head against the king, going over to him, that wing was soon put in disorder, and obliged to retire. Hereupon *Molo*, after having attempted several times, in vain, to lead them back to the charge, was obliged to retire with them; but being closely pursued by the king, and fearing to fall alive into his hands, out of despair killed himself, as did many of his accomplices; so that the king gained a complete victory without any considerable loss. *Neolaus* or *Nicolas*, the brother of *Molo*, escaping from the battle, fled to *Alexander*, another of their brothers, who was then in *Persia*, and carried

<sup>u</sup> Idem. ibid. p. 395.

(U) *Dura* was a city in the province of *Affyria*, called by *Ptolemy*, *Apolloniatis*, no doubt from the city of *Apollonia* its metropolis. Some writers place *Dura* in *Mesopotamia*.



him the bad news of the death and defeat of their brother. These two finding their affairs quite desperate, first killed their mother, afterwards their wives and children, and lastly dispatched themselves, to prevent their falling into the hands of the conqueror. After the king had pillaged the camp, he ordered *Mala's* body to be fixed on a cross, and placed on one of the highest mountains of *Media*; which was done accordingly, the body being carried into the country of the *Chalontidi* (W), and there placed on a cross on the most conspicuous part of mount *Zagra*. Such was the end of this rebellion, which proved the ruin of all who had engaged in it. After this victory, the remains of the conquered army submitted to the king, who, after having severely reproved them, granted them his pardon, ordering them into *Media*, under the command of those he sent to regulate the affairs of that province. He then returned to *Seleucia* on the *Tigris*, and having spent some time there in re-establishing his authority in the provinces which had revolted, and settling all things on their former foot, he resolved to attack the *Barbarians* bordering on his dominions, in order to deter them for the future from taking part with his rebellious subjects, or entering into alliance with them. He proposed to begin with *Artabazanes* king of the *Atropatis* (X) and other neighbouring nations, and by far the most powerful of all those princes. *Hermias* was at first very unwilling to engage in this war, in regard of the danger that attended it, and because he was still bent on the

(W) *Chalontidis* was the most southern province of *Assyria*, so called, according to *Isidorus Characenus* (40), from the city of *Chala* its metropolis, and divided from *Media* by mount *Zagrus* or *Zagra*, the highest in the whole country.

(X) *Atropatis* was a part of *Media*; for *Strabo* (41) divides all *Media* into two parts; the one he calls *Media Magna*, and the other *Media Atropatis* and *Atropatane* (42). It borrowed this name from one *Atropatus*, who being governor of that province for the king of *Persia* in *Alexander's* time, defended it against that conqueror, and, upon the downfall of the *Persian* empire, seized it for himself and transmitted it to his posterity. *Artabazanes* was one of his descendants, and another of the same race reigned in *Strabo's* time, the kingdom being held even then by the same family. This country, according to *Polybius* (43), extended on one side as far as the *Pontus Euxinus*, and on the other to the *Caspian* sea, was plentifully stored with all sorts of provision, and its inhabitants were deemed good soldiers.

(40) *Isidor. Charac. p. 5.* (41) *Strabo. l. xi. p. 360.* (42) *Idem ibid. p. 363.* (43) *Polyb. l. v. p. 402.*



recovery of *Cæle-Syria* ; but on the news of the queen's being brought to bed of a son, he changed his mind, and warmly promoted a war with the *Barbarians*, in hopes that the king might lose his life in that dangerous expedition, in which case the regency and tuition of the infant prince would fall to his share. All things therefore being got ready for this invasion, the army marched over the mountain *Zagra*, and entered the country of the *Atropatii*. *Artabazanes* their king being then very old, and greatly terrified at the approach of the king at the head of a victorious army, made his submission, and concluded a peace on such terms as *Antiochus* thought proper to impose w.

By this time *Hermias*, through his insolent and haughty behaviour, growing intolerable to his master, as well as to his fellow-subjects, *Apollophanes* the king's physician, in whom he reposed great confidence, and who, by his employment, had free access to him, took a proper time to represent to him the general discontent of his subjects, and the danger he himself was in from his ambitious and wicked minister ; he therefore advised him to take care of himself, lest the same fate should attend him which his brother had met with in *Phrygia*, he having fallen a victim to the ambition of those on whom he most relied. He added, that it was plain to every one, that *Hermias* was hatching some wicked design, and that no time was to be lost in the preventing of it. *Antiochus*, as we have already observed, had begun to entertain some suspicions of his chief minister, but had suppressed them, not knowing whom to trust, though surrounded with courtiers whom he had loaded with favours. He was therefore extremely well pleased that his physician had given him this advice, and after having commended him for the care he shewed for his safety, and his resolution in opening so frankly his thoughts, immediately entered on measures with him for the ridding himself of a minister who was so universally detested, and whose attempts were so much to be dreaded. Accordingly the very next morning, the king, under pretence of taking the air, walked out of the camp, and *Hermias* not failing to attend him, as he usually did, when they came to a solitary place where none of the minister's creatures could lend him any assistance, the king stepping aside as on some necessary occasion, those who attended him falling upon *Hermias*, as it had been agreed on before-hand, put him to death, to the great satisfaction of all the provinces of the *Syrian* empire. He had governed, not only the kingdom, but the king himself, with great

*Hermias*  
put to  
death by  
the king's  
order.

w Idem, *ibid.* p. 398 ---400.

haughtiness,



haughtiness, treating him on several occasions in a very insolent manner ; and whoever of the subjects dared to oppose his sentiments or designs, was sure to fall a sacrifice to his resentment, which drew on him an universal hatred ; but nowhere was there a more signal instance of it than at *Apamea* in *Syria*, for there they no sooner heard of his death, than the whole city rose with the utmost fury, and the women, falling upon his wife and children, stoned them to death\*.

*Antiochus* having now happily re-established his affairs in the east, and raised to the government of those provinces persons of merit, in whom he could repose the greatest confidence, marched back into *Syria*, and putting his army into winter-quarters, spent the remaining part of the year in consulting with his ministers and officers about the operations of the ensuing campaign ; for he had two other very dangerous enterprises to put in execution for the restoring of the *Syrian* empire to its former splendor ; one was against *Ptolemy*, for the recovery of *Cœle-Syria*, and the other against *Achæus*, who had usurped the sovereignty of *Asia Minor* ; for *Ptolemy Euergetes* having seized on all *Syria* in the beginning of the reign of *Seleucus Callinicus*, as we have related above, a great part of it was still held by his successor *Ptolemy Philopator*. And as to *Achæus*, we have already observed how he refused the crown that was offered him on the death of *Seleucus Callinicus*, and with great fidelity put it on the head of *Antiochus* the lawful heir, who, to reward his zeal and services, appointed him governor of all the provinces of *Asia Minor*. In this station he wrested from *Attalus* king of *Pergamus* all the countries in *Asia* which he had seized, and annexed them again to the crown of *Syria*. The success that attended him on this occasion drew on him the envy of the prime minister, and others, who had the king's ear at court ; and therefore, resolutions being taken to ruin him, forged letters were produced to prove, that he entertained treacherous designs against his prince, and held a correspondence with *Ptolemy*. *Achæus* Achæus having notice of what was plotting against him at court, causes him- thought that he had no other way to secure himself against self to be the evil designs of his enemies than by doing what he was proclaimed charged with, and accordingly, in his own defence, taking king of *Asia*. the crown, which he had before refused, he caused himself to be proclaimed king of *Asia*, and was crowned at *Laodicea* in *Phrygia*, assuming ever after the regal title in all his letters to the cities of *Asia*, and obliging them to give it him in all their addresses†. These were the two dangerous wars *Anti-*

\* Idem ibid. p. 400, 401.

† Idem ibid.



Antiochus  
resolves on  
a war  
with Pto-  
lemy  
king of  
Egypt.

Antiochus had on his hands ; and which of these he should first undertake was the matter under debate in the king's council. Upon mature deliberation it was resolved, first to reduce all the countries belonging to the Syrian empire on that side mount *Taurus*, before they marched over it against *Achæus*, to whom, for the present, they only sent menacing messages. Pursuant to this scheme all the forces were ordered to assemble at *Apamea*, and hold themselves in a readiness to march into *Cæle-Syria*. Before they set out, a council of all the chief officers was assembled, to consult about the first operations of the campaign, when *Apollophanes*, the king's physician, represented, that the design on *Cæle-Syria* was vain, and would prove an unprofitable expedition, while they left *Ptolemy* in quiet possession of *Seleucia*, a royal city, and in effect the metropolis of the kingdom ; that, not to mention the dishonour of leaving that city in the hands of an *Egyptian* king, the recovery thereof would redound greatly to the king's advantage ; that, while it was held by the enemy, it would be a great hindrance to the progress of his arms in the enterprize he was upon ; for which way soever he had a mind to carry his arms, he would find it necessary, over and above all other preparations, to strengthen all his towns with numerous garisons, merely on account of the danger which would threaten them from *Seleucia* : Whereas if *Antiochus* made the recovery of that place his first business, it would not only serve as a bulwark and frontier against the enemy, but enable him to prosecute the enterprize both by sea and land. This city stood on the same river as *Antioch*, at the distance only of fifteen miles below it, near the mouth of the *Orontes*. When *Ptolemy Euergetes* invaded *Syria*, as we have related above, to support the rights of his sister *Berenice*, he seized upon that important place, and having put a strong *Egyptian* garison into it, kept it full twenty seven years. As it was the port of *Antioch*, it not only was a constant annoyance to the *Antiochians*, but entirely cut off their communication with the sea, and quite ruined their trade. All which things being set forth by *Apollophanes*, the king and council resolved to follow his plan, and open the campaign with the siege of *Seleucia*<sup>2</sup>. Accordingly the whole army marched thither, invested the place, and carried it by a general assault, some of the officers, who commanded in the city, having been gained over by *Antiochus*. The king treated the inhabitants with the utmost humanity, and restored them to their antient privileges<sup>3</sup>.

*Seleucia*  
taken.

<sup>2</sup> POLYB. ubi. supra. p. 405.

<sup>3</sup> Idem. p. 406.



*Antiochus* being now master of this important place, marched with all possible expedition into *Cæle-Syria*, being invited thither by *Theodotus* the *Ætolian*, whom *Ptolemy* had appointed governor of that province. We have seen above how vigorously he repulsed *Antiochus* the year before; nevertheless the court of *Egypt* had not been satisfied with his conduct on that occasion, and therefore called him to *Alexandria* to answer for it at the peril of his head. 'Tis true he was acquitted, and sent back to his government; but nevertheless he was so exasperated at the affront, that he resolved to revenge it. The luxury and effeminacy of the court, to which he had been an eye-witness while he attended his cause in *Alexandria*, heightened his resentment and indignation, it being intolerable to him to depend on so base and contemptible a set of men: And indeed the most abominable debaucheries of every kind were practised by *Ptolemy Philopator* during his reign; and the whole court followed his example. *Theodotus* therefore could not but abhor so vile a conduct, and being a gallant man, resolved to seek for a new master, who might better deserve his services. Accordingly he was no sooner returned to his government, but he seized on the cities of *Tyre* and *Ptolemais*, and declaring for *Antiochus*, dispatched a messenger to him, inviting him into those parts. *Nicolaus*, one of *Ptolemy's* generals, though of the same country with *Theodotus*, would not join with him in this defection; but still adhering to *Ptolemy*, according to his first engagement, marched against *Theodotus*, and closely besieged him in the city of *Ptolemais*, which he had lately taken. *Antiochus* hastened to his relief, but met with a vigorous resistance from *Nicolaus*, who, on the news of his march, had seized *Ptolemais* the passes of mount *Libanus*. However the *Ætolian*, after a most gallant defence, being bore down by the superior power of *Antiochus*, was at length obliged to retire; whereupon *Antiochus* the cities of *Tyre* and *Ptolemais* were by *Theodotus* delivered into the king's hands, and with them the magazines which *Ptolemy* had prepared in those two places for the support of his army, and likewise a fleet of forty sail which lay in the two harbours. The ships he delivered to *Diognetus* his admiral, ordering him to sail to *Pelusium*, whither he himself intended to march by land, with a view to invade *Egypt* on that side; but being informed, that at that time of the year the inhabitants used to cut down the banks of the *Nile*, and lay the whole country under water, and consequently that the invading of *Egypt* was at that season impracticable, he abandoned this project, and employed all his forces in reducing the rest of *Cæle-Syria*. Some places surrendered of their own accord,



accord, others were taken by force, and *Damascus* itself, the capital of that province, fell into his hands by a stratagem with which he over-reached *Dion*, who was governor of it for *Ptolemy* <sup>b</sup>. The last action of this campaign was the siege of *Dura*, a maritime city in the neighbourhood of mount *Carmel*, called *Dor* in scripture <sup>c</sup>; but the place being well fortified by *Nicolaus*, and defended by a numerous garison, the king could not master it, and was therefore glad to accept of a proposal which was offered him, of making a truce for four months with *Ptolemy*. This served him as an honourable pretence to march back to *Seleucia* on the *Orontes*, where he put his army into winter-quarters, after having appointed *Theodotus* the *Ætolian* governor of all the places he had taken in this campaign <sup>d</sup>.

DURING this truce a treaty was set on foot between the contending princes, but with no other view on either side than to gain time, which *Ptolemy* wanted to make the necessary preparations for the carrying on of the war, and *Antiochus* to put a stop to the conquests of *Achæus*; for he, not satisfied with *Asia Minor*, of which he was already master, was making great preparations to invade *Syria*, and dispossess *Antiochus*, if possible, of all his dominions. To check these ambitious views, it was necessary for the king to give over all thoughts of distant conquests.

IN this treaty the main point was, to whom *Coele-Syria*, *Phœnice*, *Samaria*, and *Judæa* did belong, in virtue of the partition of *Alexander's* empire between *Ptolemy*, *Seleucus*, *Cassander* and *Lysimachus*, after the death of *Antigonus*, and defeat of *Demetrius* in the battle of *Ipsus*. *Ptolemy* claimed these provinces, as having been, by that division, allotted to *Ptolemy Soter* his great-grandfather. On the other side, *Antiochus* pretended, that they had been given to *Seleucus Nicator*, and were therefore his right, he being heir and successor to that prince in the kingdom of *Syria*. The affair of *Achæus* was likewise a great clog to the negotiation; for *Ptolemy* insisted upon his being comprized in the treaty, while *Antiochus* could not brook so much as to hear him named, thinking it a scandalous thing that *Ptolemy* should entertain the least thought of giving protection to one in rebellion against his prince <sup>e</sup>.

Both kings  
prepare for  
war.

WHILE these pretensions and contests were carrying on by both parties, and neither would yield to the other, the time of the truce elapsed, and nothing being concluded by

<sup>b</sup> POLYB. l. iv. c. 15.      <sup>c</sup> JOSHUA xi. 2. xii. 22. JUD. i. 27, &c.      <sup>d</sup> POLYB. ibid. p. 408.      <sup>e</sup> POLYB. p. 409, 410, 411.



the treaty, they began again to provide for the war. *Nicolaus* the *Ætolian* had given such proofs of his valour and fidelity in the last campaign, that *Ptolemy* appointed him commander in chief of all his forces, and committed to his care the government of the contested provinces. The command of the fleet was given to *Perigenes*, who was ordered to carry on the war by sea, and supply *Nicolaus* with provisions, and such military stores as he should stand in need of. *Nicolaus* having assembled his forces at *Gaza*, whither all the necessary provisions had been sent from *Egypt*, marched from thence to mount *Libanus*, and seized on all the passes between that chain of mountains and the sea, through which it was necessary for *Antiochus* to pass, firmly resolved to wait for him there, and, by the advantage of the place, obstruct his farther progress that way<sup>f</sup>.

In the mean time *Antiochus* was not inactive; but having made the necessary preparations for a vigorous invasion both by sea and land, he gave the command of his fleet to *Diognetus* his admiral, and then marched himself with his army by land. On his arrival at *Marathum*, the *Aradians* met him with tenders of their friendship and alliance; and he not only received them with great kindness, but composed, by his mediation, some differences of a long standing between them and the neighbouring cities. From *Marathum* he continued his march into *Syria*, by that pass which is called by *Polybius* *Thott-prosopon*, arrived at *Berytus*, and, advancing to *Botris*, possessed himself of that city, after having burnt *Trieres* and *Asclaniis*. From *Botris* he dispatched *Theodotus* and *Nicarchus*, with orders to seize on the streights which lead to the river *Lycus*, while he himself, pursuing his march, reached the river *Damura*, where he encamped, his fleet keeping always near him. From thence, taking with him *Nicarchus* and *Theodotus*, he advanced at the head of the light-armed troops to view the streights where *Nicolaus* was posted, and returned the same day to his camp. Early next morning, leaving *Nicarchus* with the command of his heavy-armed troops, he marched with the rest to the streights possessed by *Nicolaus*, and having, in sight of the enemy, divided his army into three bodies, he ordered *Theodotus*, at the head of one, to attack the enemy's forces which were posted on the eminences; the other he gave to *Menedemus*, enjoining him to dislodge *Nicolaus*, who had fortified himself in a narrow pass between mount *Libanus* and the sea; the third he kept for a reserve under the command of *Diocles*, who was

<sup>f</sup> Item, *ibid.* p. 413.



The Egyptians  
defeated by  
Antiochus.

to carry succours where-ever they should be wanted. *Antiochus* himself, attended only by his guards, posted himself on an eminence, whence he had a fair view of all that passed either by sea or land; for the two admirals, *Diognetus* and *Perigenes*, had drawn their fleets up in a line as near the shore as they could, that they might be ready at hand to assist their land-forces. By this means the battle by land and sea became, as it were, one single engagement. The signal being given, they advanced to the attack on all sides. At sea it was a drawn battle, the fleets being pretty equal; but at land the forces of *Antiochus* having dislodged *Nicolaus*, that brave commander was obliged, after a most gallant defence, to retire to *Sidon*, whither *Perigenes* followed him with the Egyptian fleet. About two thousand Egyptians were slain in the engagement, and the like number taken prisoners. The rest, under the conduct of *Nicolaus*, who retired in good order, got safe into *Sidon*. *Antiochus* pursued them, with a design to lay siege to that city; but finding it well stored with all sorts of provisions, and *Nicolaus* resolved to hold out to the last extremity, he altered his mind, and sending his fleet to *Tyre*, marched with his army into *Galilee*, where he reduced the cities of *Philoteria*, *Scythopolis*, and *Attabyrium*, which struck such terror into the inhabitants, that the whole country submitted to the conqueror. From *Galilee* he crossed the *Jordan*, and entering *Gilead*, possessed himself of all that country, which had been formerly the inheritance of the tribes of *Reuben* and *Gad*, and the half tribe of *Manasseh* on that side of the river. He afterwards marched against *Rabbah* of the children of *Ammon*, which *Polybius* calls *Rabath-ben-Ammon* or *Rabatamana*, which, as it was a very strong and populous place, made a vigorous defence against the victorious army, but was at length obliged to submit for want of water. As the season was now far advanced, *Antiochus*, leaving the government of *Samaria* to *Hippolechus* and *Keræas*, who had lately come over to him from *Ptolemy*, and five thousand men to keep the country in subjection, marched back to *Ptolemais*, where he put his troops into winter-quarters<sup>6</sup>.

EARLY in the spring both armies again took the field. *Ptolemy*, having drawn together an army of seventy thousand foot, five thousand horse, and seventy three elephants, advanced to *Pelusium*, whence he led them in person through the deserts which part *Egypt* from *Palestine*, and encamped at *Raphia*, a city lying between *Rhinocorura* and *Gaza*. Here

<sup>6</sup> *Idem*, *ibid.* p. 414, 415.



*Antiochus* met him with an army somewhat superior to his; for he had with him seventy two thousand foot, six thousand horse, and an hundred and two elephants; he encamped first within ten furlongs, and afterwards within five of the enemy. While they lay thus near each other, many skirmishes happened between parties as they went out to forage; but without any considerable advantage on either side. Here *Theodotus* the *Ætolian*, who had served many years under *Ptolemy*, gave a signal instance of his intrepidity and resolution; for being well acquainted with the customs of the *Egyptians*, he took the advantage of a dark evening, when he could not be well known, and, entering the enemy's camp with two companions, advanced as far as *Ptolemy's* tent, with a design to kill him, and, by this bold attempt, put an end to the war; but the king lying that night elsewhere, he killed his first physician, mistaking him for *Ptolemy*, wounded two other persons, and then, amidst the alarm and confusion which this attempt occasioned, escaped to his own camp. At length both kings agreed to a decisive battle, and drew up their armies accordingly; both rode before their respective lines, encouraging their soldiers to behave manfully. *Arsinoë*, the sister and wife of *Ptolemy*, not only exerted herself in animating the *Egyptians* before the engagement, but did not abandon her husband even in the heat of the battle, attending him in the midst of the greatest dangers. *Antiochus*, at the head of his right wing, defeated the enemy's left; but while he pursued them too far, *Ptolemy*, who had been as successful in the other wing, charged in flank the center of *Antiochus*, which was then uncovered, and broke that body before it was possible for the prince to succour it. An old officer of *Antiochus's* army, observing which way the cloud of dust flew, concluded from thence that the main body was routed, and shewed it to the king, who faced about that instant; but came too late to retrieve his error, the rest of his army being broke and put to flight before his arrival. Hereupon he was obliged to retreat first to *Raphia*, and next to *Gaza*, after ten thousand of his men had been cut to pieces, and four thousand taken prisoners. After this defeat *Antiochus*, being no longer in a condition to make head against *Ptolemy*, abandoned all his conquests, and withdrew with the remains of his shattered army to *Antioch*. This battle was fought at the same time, according to *Polybius*, that *Hannibal* defeated *Flaminius* the Roman consul at the lake of *Thrasymenus* in *Ætruria*<sup>b</sup>.

*The battle of Raphia.*  
Year of the Flood  
2782.  
Before Christ  
217.

*Antiochus defeated.*

<sup>b</sup> Idem, p. 424, 425. & 3 MACCAB. c. iii. ver. 5, 6.  
VOL. VIII.



UPON the retreat of *Antiochus* the cities of *Cœle-Syria* and *Palestine* strove, as it were, which of them should first submit to *Ptolemy*, being more inclined to him, as they had been long subject to the *Egyptians*, than to *Antiochus*, whom they had received after the defeat of *Nicolaus*, only because they were not in a condition to oppose him. *Ptolemy's* court, as soon as the news of this victory was spread abroad, was crowded with ambassadors from all the cities of *Cœle-Syria* and *Judæa*, making their submission to him, and congratulating him on his late success. The conqueror not only received them all with great kindness, but resolved to make a progress through all the provinces which had submitted to him; and accordingly visited all the states and cities of note, and, amongst the rest *Jerusalem*, where he took a view of the temple, and even offered sacrifices to the God of *Israel*, making at the same time oblations, and bestowing rich donations on that holy place. But not being satisfied with viewing it only from the outer court, beyond which no *Gentile* was allowed to pass, he shewed a great inclination to enter the sanctuary, and even the holy of holies itself, to which no one was allowed access but the high-priest, and he only once a year on the day of the great expiation. This occasioned a great uproar all over the city: the high-priest informed him of the holiness of the place, and the express law of God, by which he was forbid to enter it. The priests and levites drew together in a body to oppose his rash design, which the people also conjured him to lay aside. But this opposition serving only to inflame his curiosity, he forced in as far as the second court, where, while he was preparing to enter the temple itself, he was struck by God with such terror, that he was carried off half dead. On this he left the city, highly exasperated against the whole *Jewish* nation, on account of the accident which had befallen him, and loudly threatening to revenge it at a more proper season<sup>1</sup>.

*Concludes a peace with Ptolemy.* *Antiochus* no sooner returned to *Antioch*, but he sent ambassadors to *Ptolemy* to sue for a peace. What prompted him to this was his suspecting the fidelity of his own people, finding on his return his authority and interest much lessened by his late defeat. Besides, it was high time for him to turn his arms against *Achæus*, and put a stop to his conquests. For he being already master of all *Asia*, *Antiochus* foresaw, that if he gave him time to settle his authority in those provinces, it would not be long ere he must expect him in *Syria*, there to push for the whole empire. To prevent this he thought it advise-

<sup>1</sup> Idem. p. 426, 427. & 3 MACCAB. c. i. & ii.



able to strike up a peace with *Ptolemy* upon any terms, lest having two such powerful enemies to contend with at the same time, he might be at last overpowered and stript of all his dominions. He therefore invested his ambassadors with full powers to give up to *Ptolemy* all those provinces which were the subject of their contest, that is, all *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine*. *Cæle-Syria*, as we have hinted before, comprehended that part of *Syria*, which lies between the mountains *Libanus* and *Antilibanus*; and *Palestine* all the country, which was antiently the inheritance of the children of *Israel*; and the coast of these two provinces was what the *Greeks* called *Phœnice*. All this country *Antiochus* was willing to part with to purchase a peace in his present circumstances, chusing rather to give up his claim to one part of his dominions, than run the risk of losing the whole. Accordingly a truce was agreed on for a year, and before that expired a peace concluded on the same terms. *Ptolimy*, who might have taken advantage of this victory, and easily conquered all *Syria*, was no less desirous than *Antiochus* of putting an end to the war, that he might be again at liberty to follow his pleasures<sup>k</sup>.

*Antiochus* having thus concluded a peace with *Ptolemy*, bent all his thoughts and attention on carrying the war into *Asia Minor* against *Achæus*, and having made vast preparations for that expedition, he crossed mount *Taurus*, and having concluded a league with *Attalus* king of *Pergamus*, by virtue of which they were both to act with all their forces against the common enemy, he so distressed *Achæus*, that he was obliged to quit the field, and shut himself up in *Sardis*, where he was closely besieged by the confederate princes. However, he held out above a year in spite of the utmost efforts of two victorious armies, during which time frequent battles were fought under the walls, and many brave men killed on both sides. At length the city being taken by a stratagem of *Ligoras*, one of *Antiochus's* commanders (Y), *Achæus* retired in-  
Marches against A-  
chæus.  
Takes Sar-  
dis.

<sup>k</sup> Idem, p. 428. JUSTIN. l. xxx. c. 1.

(Y) The castle, and the adjoining wall of the city, were on the top of a rock deemed inaccessible, both hanging over a deep valley, into which dead horses and other beasts were usually thrown. *Lagoras*, who was stationed on that side, observed that the ravens, and other rapacious birds, which haunted that valley for the food they found there, used to fly from thence up to the top of the rock, and pitch upon the walls, resting there undisturbed. From thence



Achæus  
betrayed by  
two Cre-  
tans.

to the castle, where he defended himself with incredible bravery, till he was by the treachery of two crafty *Cretans* delivered up to *Antiochus* in the following manner. *Ptolemy Philopator*, who had entered into a strict alliance with *Achæus*, was much concerned to hear he was so closely blocked up in the castle of *Sardis*, and therefore enjoined *Sofibius* his prime minister to deliver him at all events from the imminent danger he was in; he added, that if he could but rescue his person he cared for no more, knowing that if he only appeared in the countries about mount *Taurus*, he would soon have an army strong enough to keep *Antiochus* employed. There being at that time in *Ptolemy's* court a crafty *Cretan* called *Bolis*, well acquainted with the roads of that country and the by-paths among the rocks, on which the castle of *Sardis* stood, *Sofibius* consulted him about this matter, and asked him whether he could not think of some method to procure *Achæus's* escape. The *Cretan* desired time to consider of it, and at the next conference undertook the business, and communicated to *Sofibius* in what manner he designed to proceed in it. He told him, that he had an intimate friend, who was also a near relation of his, *Cambylus* by name, a captain of the *Cretan* mercenaries in *Antiochus's* army, and at that time commanding a fort behind the castle of *Sardis*; and that he would prevail with him to let *Achæus* make his escape that way. *Sofibius*, approving of the project, sent *Bolis* with the utmost expedition to *Sardis* to put it in execution, and gave him ten talents to defray his

thence he concluded, that those parts of the wall were left unguarded, as being thought inaccessible, and acquainted *Antiochus* with what he had observed. Hereupon in a council of the chief officers it was resolved that a general assault should be made, during which *Lagoras*, with such men as he thought proper for the enterprize, should attempt to scale the rocks on that side, and enter the town. The success was agreeable to what *Lagoras* had imagined; for having with great difficulty scaled the rocks, he entered the city on that side without resistance, and then advancing at the head of his men into the market place, struck the inhabitants with such terror, that in many places they abandoned the walls, and gave an opportunity to the rest of *Antiochus's* army to enter the city and join their companions, by which means the place was reduced. In the same manner had *Sardis* been taken many ages before by the *Persians* under the conduct of *Cyrus*, when *Cressus* thought himself secure on that side. But the citizens had forgot what had happened so many ages before (44).

(44) *Polyp. l. xvii. p. 506, 507.*

expences.



expences. At the same time he wrote to *Achæus* by a trusty messenger called *Arianus*, whom *Bolis* found means to convey into the castle. As the letter was wrote in characters, or rather cyphers, which none were acquainted with, save he and *Sosibius*, he was very well assured that this was no feigned device of his enemies in the name of his friends. As for the messenger, he was a trusty man, and one, whom *Achæus* found upon examination, heartily affected to his cause. But the contents of the letter, which were, that he should repose an entire confidence in *Bolis* and one *Cambylus*, whom *Bolis* had won over from *Antiochus*, gave him no small uneasiness. They were both quite strangers to him, and the *Cretans* he thought, were not blindly to be relied on. However, as he could not escape any other way, he resolved to follow their directions; the messenger therefore having often passed to and fro, it was at length concluded that *Bolis* himself should come and conduct *Achæus* out of the castle. This being agreed on, the two treacherous *Cretans* consulting together how to make their most of it, resolved in the first place to share equally between them the ten talents, which they had already received in hand, and then to reveal the whole matter to *Antiochus*, and on his promising a suitable reward, to turn the plot, and put *Achæus* into his hands. *Antiochus* was overjoyed when they first made their proposal, and promised them most ample rewards. At length when all things were ready on both sides, *Bolis*, *Cambylus*, and *Arianus*, went privately up into the castle, in order to convey from thence *Achæus* that very night. As *Achæus* was not acquainted either with *Bolis* or *Cambylus*, he had a long conference with them about the business in hand, and after having examined them on several heads, concluded that he had no reason to distrust their fidelity or judgment. However, to proceed with all possible caution, he told them, that he designed to stay in the castle a little longer, and send in the mean time with them three or four of his friends, from whom, when he should receive an account of their being safely got out, he would then, and not till then, venture his own person. Accordingly he appointed three of his friends to go that night with *Bolis* and *Cambylus*, and disguising himself, so as not to be known by his guides, as he had agreed with his friends before-hand, joined them when they were ready to depart. The other three were likewise disguised, and one of them only took upon him to understand the *Greek* tongue, the others feigning to be *Barbarians*, lest *Achæus* should be known by his speech. At length they set out, *Bolis* and *Cambylus* being very greatly per-



And delivered up to Antiochus.

Achæus put to death by Antiochus.

The Expeditions of Antiochus into Media, Parthia, Hyrcania, &c.

perplexed, as not knowing whether *Achæus* was there or no. If they betrayed those they were conducting into the hands of *Antiochus*, they well knew that *Achæus*, if he was not among them, would never trust himself with them; if they conveyed them away, they might, for ought they knew, by that means save *Achæus*, and lose the reward promised them by *Antiochus*. While they were under this uncertainty, *Bolis* observed, that where the paths among the rocks were dangerous, three of them were very officious to the other, lending him their hands to help him up or down, and taking such care of him as gave *Bolis* to understand that he was *Achæus*. Accordingly when they came to a certain place, where *Cambylus* had posted some soldiers that served under him, *Bolis* clasping *Achæus* about the middle, gave the signal agreed on, and the soldiers falling out of the ambuscade, put him in irons, and carried him to *Antiochus*, who had watched all night expecting the issue of this affair. The king, when he saw *Achæus* loaded with chains, burst out into a flood of tears, and seemed to be touched with compassion at the misfortunes of a man to whom he was indebted for his crown. But motives of state prevailing over his natural tenderness, he caused him to be beheaded that very morning, and thereby put an end to the war of *Asia*. For as soon as those who were in the castle heard of his death, they surrendered to *Antiochus*, and all the places in the *Asiatic* provinces, which had declared for *Achæus*, did the same. Thus the king recovered his dominions in *Asia*, and having left persons to govern them, whom he could confide in, returned with his army to *Antioch*<sup>1</sup>.

*Antiochus*, being now disengaged from this troublesome war, began to make the necessary preparations for the reducing of those provinces in the east, which had shaken off the Syrian yoke. As the *Parthians* had lately seized on *Media*, his first attempt was upon that province. *Arsaces*, the son of that *Arsaces* who first founded the *Parthian* empire, was at that time king of *Parthia*, and, taking advantage of *Antiochus*'s being engaged in war with *Ptolemy* and *Achæus*, had entered *Media*, and made himself master of that country. On the approach of the enemy he commanded all the fountains and wells in the desert, through which they were to pass,

<sup>1</sup> POLYB. *ibid* p. 445, 446. & l. vii. p. 506, 507. & l. viii. p. 522, 523.



to be stopped and spoiled (Z) ; but *Antiochus* having sent before several parties of horse to secure them, marched safely through those great deserts with his whole army, and entering *Media*, drove *Arsaces* from thence, and spent the remainder of the year in settling all things there in their former order, and providing for the further operations of the war. Early next spring he marched into *Parthia*, where he was as successful as he had been the year before in *Media*. *Arsaces* was forced to retire into *Hyrkania*, where he thought to secure himself behind the mountains, which parted that country from *Parthia*, and accordingly posted parties in all the passes, through which the *Syrian* army was to march, not doubting but by that means he should obstruct their further progress that way. But *Antiochus*, as soon as the season would permit, taking the field, advanced to the narrow passes, and dividing his army into as many bodies as there were attacks, he soon forced them all. He then assembled his army again in the plains, and with all his forces invested *Syringis* the capital of *Hyrkania*, which he soon obliged to surrender at discretion. In the mean time *Arsaces* was not idle, but all the way as he retreated having gathered what forces he could, made up at length an army of an hundred thousand foot and twenty thousand horse. With these thinking himself strong enough to make head against the enemy, he took the field, and with great bravery put a stop to their further progress. His resistance drew out the war into a great length, insomuch, that no further advantage being gained by *Antiochus*, after many conflicts, he began to think it would be impossible for him to over-power so valiant an enemy, and drive him quite out of the provinces, in which he had by length of time so well established himself. He therefore gave ear to the overtures which were made him for the putting an end to so troublesome a war, and a treaty being set on foot, it was agreed, that *Arsaces* should hold *Parthia* and *Hyrkania*, on condition of

(Z) We are told by *Polybius* (45), that the *Persians*, when they first conquered *Asia*, finding many parts of it quite destitute of water, engaged to allow those, who should either discover water in places where none was then known to be, or find means to convey it thither, the profits arising from thence to the fifth generation. Our author adds, that the inhabitants, animated by this promise, spared neither labour nor expence to convey water under ground from mount *Taurus* as far as the desert here mentioned, there being no springs in that vast tract of country.



his assisting *Antiochus* to recover the other provinces which had revolted <sup>m</sup>.

*Antiochus*, having thus concluded a peace with *Arsaces*, turned his arms against *Euthydemus* king of *Bactria*. We have already shewn in what manner *Theodotus* first usurped the province of *Bactria*, caused himself to be acknowledged king of that country, and left it to a son of the same name. This son had been vanquished and driven out by *Euthydemus*, who, as he was a man of great courage and prudence, maintained a long war against *Antiochus*, who carried it on with great vigour, and on several occasions gave proofs of an extraordinary courage. In one of the battles fought with this prince his horse was killed under him, and in another he was dangerously wounded in the mouth, while he was encouraging his men in the first line. At length finding that he wasted his army without gaining any advantage by it, he grew weary of the war, and therefore admitted ambassadors from *Euthydemus* to treat of an accommodation. These represented to him, that the war he was carrying on against their sovereign was not just, since he had never been subject to the kings of *Syria*; that *Bactria* had thrown off the yoke under other monarchs long before him; that he possessed the kingdom by right of conquest, having vanquished and driven out the descendants of those who first revolted, and held it as the reward of a just victory, &c. They likewise insinuated, that the *Scythians*, taking advantage of the war, by which they were now weakening each other, were preparing to invade *Bactria* with a powerful army, and that therefore, if they persisted obstinately in contesting for it, a fair opportunity would be offered those *Barbarians* to take it from both. This consideration, added to the desire which *Antiochus* had to get rid, under some honourable pretence, of this tedious and unprofitable war, induced him to agree to such terms as ended in a peace; for the confirming and ratifying of which, *Euthydemus* sent his son to *Antiochus*, who, being taken with his majestic mein and agreeable conversation, gave him one of his daughters in marriage, and granted his father the title of king. The other conditions were agreed on to the great satisfaction of both princes, and confirmed by the usual oaths. After this, *Antiochus*, having received all the elephants of *Euthydemus*, which was one of the articles of the peace, crossed mount *Caucasus*, and entered *India*, where having renewed his alliance with *Sophagasenus* king of that country, and received likewise his elephants, which, with those he

<sup>m</sup> JUSTIN. l. xli. c. 5.



had from *Euthydemus*, amounted to an hundred and fifty, he marched from thence into *Arachosia* (A), afterwards into *Drangiana*, and lastly into *Carmania*, settling in all those countries due order and discipline. He passed the winter in *Carmania*, and thence returned by *Persia*, *Babylonia*, and *Mesopotamia* to *Antioch*, after having spent seven years in this expedition. The boldness of his attempts and the wisdom of his conduct, during the whole course of this long war, gained him the reputation of a wise and valiant prince; so that his name became formidable to all *Europe*, as well as *Asia*. And thus far by his whole conduct he well deserved the surname of *Great*, which was given him, and which he might have carried with great glory to his grave, had he not unfortunately engaged in a war with the *Romans*.

Not long after the return of *Antiochus* died *Ptolemy Philopator* king of *Egypt*, and was succeeded by *Ptolemy Epiphanes* his son, a child but five years old. Hereupon *Antiochus*, taking advantage of his minority and the domestic troubles which rent the kingdom into several factions, entered into an alliance with *Philip* king of *Macedon*, in virtue of which they were to strip the infant king of his dominions, and divide them between them: *Philip* was to have *Caria*, *Libya*, *Cyrene*, and *Egypt*, and *Antiochus* all the rest. Pursuant to this agreement, *Antiochus* marched forth with into *Cæle-Syria*, and *Palestine*, and in less than two campaigns made an intire conquest of these provinces with all their cities and dependencies. In the mean time, *Scipio* having put an end to the second punic war in *Africa*, the name of the *Romans* began to be every-where known, and their victories spoke of not only in *Europe* and *Africa*, but all over *Asia*. The guardians therefore of the young king, finding themselves reduced to great straits by the confederate princes, sent an embassy to *Rome*, imploring the protection of that republic, and offering them the guardianship of their king and the regency of the kingdom during his minority; and lest the senate should refuse the offer, they added, that the deceased king had recommended both to them at his death. The *Romans*, thinking this would redound greatly to their glory, complied with the request of the ambassadors, and taking on them the tuition of the young king, immediately acquainted *Antiochus* and *Philip* therewith, requiring them to desist from

*Antiochus enters into an alliance with Philip of Macedon against*

*Ptolemy Epiphanes.*

Year of the Flood, 2797.

Before Christ, 202.



(A) We shall have occasion to describe *Arachosia*, *Drangiana*, *Paropamisus*, *Aria*, *Gedrosia*, and other countries on this side of the river *Indus*, when we come to the history of *Bactria*, *Hyrcania*, *Olshos*, &c.



invading the dominions of their pupil, otherwise they should be obliged to make war upon them for his protection. *Marcus Æmilius Lepidus*, who was one of the ambassadors sent to both kings, after having delivered his embassy, repaired, agreeable to the instructions he had received from the senate at his first setting out, to the court of *Egypt*, there to take upon him the office of guardian to the young king, and regent of the kingdom (B). After he had regulated affairs there in the best manner he could, he appointed *Aristomenes* an *Acarnanian* to be chief minister to the king, and then returned to *Rome*. *Aristomenes* was an old experienced minister of that court, and, being well acquainted with the affairs of *Egypt*, acquitted himself in this charge with great prudence and fidelity <sup>o</sup>.

THE first thing he did was to provide against the invasion of the two confederate kings; and for this purpose he took care to recruit the army with the best soldiers he could raise;

<sup>o</sup> POLYB. l. iii. p. 159. & l. 15. p. 707. LIV l. xxxi. JUSTIN. l. xxx. c. 3. VAL. MAX. l. vi. c. 6. HIERONYM. in cap. 11. Daniel.

(B) *Livy* takes no notice of the guardianship of *Lepidus*, whence the authors of the *Roman* history, which is now publishing in *France*, call in question the truth of the fact, thinking *Livy*'s silence a strong proof against the single testimony, say they, of *Justin*. But herein they are greatly mistaken; for *Valerius Maximus* (46) tells us in express words, that *Lepidus* was appointed by the senate guardian of the young king of *Egypt*, and sent into that kingdom to take upon him the regency. *King Ptolemy*, says he, having left the people of *Rome* guardian to his son during his minority, the senate sent *M. Æmilius Lepidus* high pontiff, and one who had been twice consul, to *Alexandria* to take care of their pupil's kingdom, depriving themselves of a most upright man, who had been long conversant with their own affairs, &c. Besides, there are still extant several medals representing *Lepidus* putting a crown on a young man's head with this inscription, S. C. M. *Lepidus* Pont. Max. Tutor Reg. On the reverse of these medals is the city of *Alexandria*, where the kings of *Egypt* resided in those days. Our author here supposes, that *M. Lepidus* executed the office of guardian to the young king while he was high pontiff, and after he had been twice consul; whereas *Ptolemy Epiphanes* was dead before that time; perhaps he had seen some of the coins we have mentioned, and was by them led into this mistake (47).

(46) *Valer. Max. l. vi. c. 6.* (47) *Vide Usher. Annal. ad Ann. I andi. 3803.*



he sent *Scopas* an *Ætolian* with vast sums of money into *Ætolia* to levy there all the troops he could, the *Ætolians* being reputed the best soldiers of that age. *Scopas* had been formerly prætor of *Ætolia*, and was famous all over *Greece* for his skill in military affairs; when the time of his prætorship was expired, being disgusted with his countrymen for not confirming him, as he expected, in that office, he left *Ætolia* and went into the service of the king of *Egypt*, and being employed on this occasion, he had such success in his levies, that he brought in a very short time six thousand chosen men from *Ætolia*, which was a considerable reinforcement, to the *Egyptian* army<sup>p</sup> (C).

In the mean time *Antiochus* having passed into *Asia Minor*, and there engaged in a war with *Attalus* king of *Pergamus*, *Aristomenes*, taking advantage of the king's absence, sent *Scopas* with an army into *Palestine* and *Cæle-Syria* to recover those provinces. In this expedition the *Ætolian* was attended with such success, that he recovered several cities, reduced all *Judæa*, put a garison into the castle of *Jerusalem*, and on the approach of winter returned to *Alexandria*, loaded with the spoils of the conquered provinces. But it soon appeared, that the success of this campaign was chiefly owing to the absence of *Antiochus*, and the small resistance the *Egyptian* army met with. For *Antiochus* no sooner marched in person into *Cæle-Syria*, but the face of affairs was changed, and victory declared in his favour. *Scopas*, who returned with a powerful army, was defeated at *Paneas* near the source of the *Jordan*, and great part of his army cut in pieces. The general himself with much ado escaped to *Sidon*, where he shut himself up with ten thousand of his men, all the rest having been killed or taken prisoners. *Antiochus* laid siege to the city, and reduced the numerous garison to such straits, that they were forced by famine to surrender on terms of having

<sup>p</sup> L L V. l. xxxi. HIERONYM. ibid. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3  
L l V. l. xxxii.

(C) *Livy* tell us, that *Scopas* would not have left one man in the country able to bear arms, had not one *Damocritus* put his countrymen in mind of the war which *Ætolia* itself was ready to engage in, and represented to them the danger to which their own country would be exposed, if left naked and destitute of so many brave men. Hereupon great numbers, who had determined to follow *Scopas* into *Egypt*, remained at home. *Scopas* had not bribed and courted *Damocritus* as he had done the other heads of the *Ætolian* state.



only their lives spared. Accordingly they delivered up the city to *Antiochus*, who dismissed them stript of their effects and quite naked. However the regency of *Alexandria* was not wanting in using their utmost efforts for the relief of the place. They no sooner heard that *Scopas* was besieged, but three of their best generals at the head of the choicest troops of the state were sent to raise the siege. But *Antiochus* had disposed things so that all their attempts proved unsuccessful, and *Scopas* was obliged to submit to the dishonourable terms abovementioned <sup>9</sup>. From *Sidon* *Antiochus* marched to *Gaza*, and being provoked at the resistance he met with there, he gave up the city, after he had taken it, to be plundered by his soldiers. From *Gaza* he sent several detachments to secure the passes through which troops might be sent out of *Egypt* to disturb him in the possession of his conquests, and then marching back reduced *Betanea*, *Samaria*, *Abila*, *Gadera*, and the remaining parts of *Palestine* and *Cæle-Syria* <sup>1</sup>.

*The Jews* THE *Jews*, who were at this time much alienated from  
*submit to* the *Egyptians*, probably on account of the ravages committed  
*Antiochus* the year before by *Scopas*, when he took *Jerusalem*, no  
*who treats* sooner heard that *Antiochus* was advancing towards their  
*them kind* country, but they went in crowds to meet him, delivering  
*ly.* to him the keys of their cities; and when he approached *Je-*  
*Year of* *rusalem*, the priests and elders received him with great de-  
*the Flood,* monstrations of joy, paid him all kinds of honours, and enter-  
*2801.* tained both him and his whole army in their city, supplying  
*Before* them plentifully with all sorts of provisions; nor was this all,  
*Christ,* they even took up arms and joined his forces in reducing the  
*198.* castle, which had been strongly garisoned by *Scopas*. In re-  
 turn for these services, *Antiochus*, in a decree directed to *Pto-*  
*lomy* one of his lieutenants, granted them many privileges and  
 favours; and in another he particularly ordained, that no  
 stranger should be allowed access to the inner part of the  
 temple; a prohibition which seems to have been made on ac-  
 count of *Philopator's* attempt which we have mentioned a-  
 bove. *Antiochus* had in his eastern expedition granted most  
 ample privileges to the *Jews*, who were settled in *Babylonia*  
 and *Mesopotamia*, and by that means gained the affection of  
 the whole nation; no wonder therefore that, contrary to  
 their former inclination, they were more desirous of having  
 him to rule over them, than the *Egyptian* king who had used

<sup>9</sup> VALESII Excerpt. in POLYB. p. 77, 78. &c. HIERON. in cap. 11. Daniel. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xi. c. 3. JUSTIN. l. xxxi. c. 1. LIV. l. xxxiii. POLYB. Legat. 72. p. 893.

them





them ill. *Antiochus* depended so much on their fidelity, that, when a sedition broke out in *Phrygia* and *Lydia*, he sent two thousand *Jewish* families out of the provinces of *Babylonia* and *Mesopotamia*, to quell it and keep the country in peace. They were transported thither at the king's charges, and by his order placed in the strongest fortresses of the country, had lands and possessions divided among them for their subsistence, and maintained at the king's expence, till they received the fruits of the lands allotted them<sup>r</sup>. From these *Jews* were descended those whom we find scattered in great numbers all over *Asia*, when the gospel was first preached in those parts.

*Antiochus* having thus reduced all *Cœle-Syria* and *Palestine*, *Antiochus* conceived hopes of doing the same in *Asia Minor*, his great invader aim being to restore the *Syrian* empire to the full extent, in *Asia Minor* which it had been held by any of his ancestors, especially by *nor. Seleucus Nicator* its founder. But as he could not succeed in this design, unless he found some means to prevent the *Egyptians* from molesting him in his new conquests, while he was at a distance from them, he sent *Eucles* the *Rhodian* to *Alexandria* with proposals of a marriage between *Cleopatra* his daughter and king *Ptolemy*, to be consummated as soon as they were both of age, promising to give up those provinces on the day of the nuptials, by way of dowry with the young princess. This proposal being approved of at *Alexandria*, the treaty was concluded and ratified; and the *Egyptians*, relying on the promises of *Antiochus*, suffered him to carry on his conquests without molestation<sup>u</sup>.

*Antiochus*, having thus settled all in peace behind him, early next spring sent his two sons, *Arduas* and *Mithridates*, before him to *Sardis* with his land-forces, ordering them to wait for him there; while he himself set out with a fleet large enough to strike terror into all the coasts of the *Mediterranean*; for it consisted of an hundred large ships of war and two hundred other vessels of all sizes. His design was first to conquer the cities of *Cilicia* and *Caria*, and then advance in person to the assistance of his old ally *Philip*, who was engaged in a war with the *Romans*. As he sailed along the coasts of *Cilicia*, *Pamphylia*, *Lycia*, and *Caria*, many of the maritime cities of those provinces voluntarily submitted to him. Among these were *Zephyrium*, *Soli*, *Aphrodisias*, and *Corica*. From the latter he doubled the promontory *Anemurium*, and

<sup>r</sup> JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3. Daniel.

<sup>u</sup> Hieron. in cap. 11.



made himself master of the city of *Selinus*. Upon the bare report of his approach the cities sent deputies to him from all parts, acknowledging his authority, and declaring themselves ready to receive his troops within their walls. *Coracesium* (D) was the only city in those parts, which sustained a siege, though invested with all the forces of that mighty monarch. While he was employed before this place, the *Rhodians*, not in the least terrified at his formidable power, sent an embassy to him, requiring him not to extend his conquests farther, and to withdraw his troops out of *Cilicia*, else they should be obliged to take up arms against him, and put a stop to his further progress. The proud monarch, who was used to give law to others, was highly provoked at this bold message from so small a state; but, however, had command enough over his passions not to express any great resentment; he only answered, that he desired not to quarrel with the *Rhodians*, but to keep up always a good intelligence with them, and would therefore take care to order his ambassadors to renew the antient treaties his ancestors had made with *Rhodes*. He then sent ambassadors to *Rhodes*, but in the mean time continued the siege of *Coracesium*, which was at length taken by assault; several other cities of *Ionia* and *Æolis* underwent the same fate; but *Caunus*, *Myndus*, *Halicarnassus*, and the island of *Samos* were preserved by the good offices of the *Rhodians*, and the large supplies of men and provisions, which they sent them. *Antiochus*, having thus reduced most of the maritime cities of *Asia Minor*, at length failed to *Ephesus*, and having likewise made himself master of that city, took up his winter-quarters there, spending the remainder of the year in concerting with his officers such measures as might be most proper for the pursuing and accomplishing of his vast designs; for nothing less than the intire conquest of all those kingdoms, which had formerly belonged to the *Syrian* empire, would satisfy his ambition \*.

*The free cities of Asia implore the protection of the Romans.*

*Smyrna*, *Lampsacus*, and other *Greek* cities of *Asia*, which at that time enjoyed their liberty, finding that *Antiochus* designed to reduce them all to the condition they were in under his ancestors, resolved to stand out against him; but not be-

\* LIV. l. xxxiii. HERON. in cap. xi. DANIEL. APPIAN. SYRIAC.

(D) *Coracesium* was a strong place situated near the sea on the top of a steep rock, which, according to *Strabo*, parted *Cilicia* from *Pamphylia*. This fort is now called *Scandeleers*.



ing able to resist so powerful an enemy with their own strength, they implored the protection of the *Romans*, who willingly granted them it; for they plainly saw that it was their interest to check the progress of *Antiochus* towards the west, and that if they suffered him to settle on the coast of *Asia*, according to the plan he had laid down, he would have an easy passage from thence into *Europe*, and disturb them in the possession of the provinces they had already conquered, or might for the future conquer in *Thrace* and the adjacent countries. They therefore gladly laid hold of this opportunity, which the free cities offered them, of opposing his further progress; and immediately dispatched ambassadors to him; but before their arrival, *Antiochus* having sent two detachments from his army to besiege *Smyrna* and *Lampsacus*, had with the rest left *Ephesus*, and, crossing the *Hellepont*, seized all the *Thracian Chersonesus*. His pretence for it was to take possession of the old inheritance of his ancestors. We have already observed, that *Seleucus Nicator* had vanquished in *Phrygia* *Lyfimachus* king of *Thrace*; and this *Antiochus* thought a sufficient title to justify his claim upon *Thrace* as being his great-grandfather's conquest. The city of *Lyfimachia* which stood on the isthmus leading into the *Thracian Chersonesus*, had been founded by this *Lyfimachus*, but then lay in ruins, having been taken and reduced to this condition a few years before by the *Thracians*. *Antiochus* therefore had a design to rebuild *Lyfimachia*, and make it the capital of a great kingdom, which he intended as a portion for his second son *Seleucus*. He was bent upon these projects when he left *Ephesus*, and brought his troops by land into the *Chersonesus*, his fleet arriving before him at *Lyfimachia*. Here he made it his first business to rebuild and repopulate that great city. It was by its situation the most advantageous place he could have pitched upon in *Europe*; he therefore undertook to make it a convenient port for ships of all sizes, and a magazine of arms and provisions for the armies he intended to employ in the recovery of *Thrace*. With this view he assembled together its old inhabitants, who were dispersed and scattered in several places, rescued from slavery such as had been made captives, brought thither new citizens from the neighbouring countries, gave them most ample privileges, and furnished them with cattle, with instruments of husbandry, and whatever else was necessary for their encouragement\*.

WHILE *Antiochus* was thus busied in the restoring of *Lyfimachia*, the *Roman* ambassadors, with some deputies from

\* L. IV. & APPIAN. ubi supra.

*Embassadors sent from*

*Rome to Antiochus.*

*Year of the Flood, 2803.*

*Before Christ, 195.*

the 



the *Greek* cities in *Asia*, arrived in *Thrace*, and finding *Antiochus* then at *Selymbria*, a city of that country, did all that lay in their power to dissuade him from settling in *Europe*. *Antiochus* received them very graciously, and entertained them in an hospitable and polite manner ; but in the very first conference their minds were sowed against each other, the *Romans* giving themselves those imperious airs, which they assumed where-ever they came. They told him, that their republic was dissatisfied with his conduct ever since he came into *Europe*, demanded the restitution of all the cities and provinces which he had taken from *Ptolemy* during his minority, and above all, insisted upon his giving up those places which he had usurped from *Philip* ; since the *Romans*, who had conquered the *Macedonian*, had a right to dispose of them. What ! said *L. Cornelius*, who spoke on this occasion, shall *Rome* have been at all the expence of the war with *Philip*, and *Antiochus* reap the advantages of it ? We should perhaps have connived at your conquests in *Asia*. But those you are come to make in *Europe* we will not suffer. Is not this step a declaration of war with the *Roman* senate and people ? To this *Antiochus*, putting on a haughty air in his turn, replied, I have long observed that *Rome* is very watchful of my steps, but quite regardless of her own. Know then, proud *Romans*, that it no more concerns you to examine what I do in *Asia*, than it concerns me to controul you in any of your undertakings in *Italy*. You complain of my proceeding with regard to the king of *Egypt* ; he is my friend, and will soon become my son-in-law ; and then we shall settle our differences between ourselves. As to the *Thracian* cities, which I have lately taken from king *Philip*, I must let you know, that the *Chersonesus* was never a part of his dominions : *Nicator*, my great-grand-father, formerly conquered it, and took it from *Lyfimachus*, whom he overcame in *Phrygia*. *Ptolemy*, indeed, and *Philip* divided *Thrace* between them, while my predecessor was busy elsewhere. But that does not alter the nature of their usurpation ; and I am come now justly to recover what they unjustly invaded. The *Thracians* have demolished *Lyfimachia*, a city belonging to me ; and I am come to rebuild it. I will make it the capital of a kingdom, which is my right, and which I design for my younger son. The *Romans* desired that the ambassadors from *Smyrna* and *Lampsacus* might be called in ; and they, being admitted accordingly, spoke with so much freedom, that *Antiochus*, not able to bear it, cried out in a violent passion, that the *Romans* were not to be his judges ; upon which the assembly broke up in great disorder, no satisfaction being given on either



ther side, but all things tending to an open rupture <sup>1</sup>. It must be owned, that according to the laws settled among the captains of *Alexander*, who survived that prince and divided his conquests, the claim of *Antiochus* to *Thrace* was not ill grounded. The strongest took from the weakest the share he had usurped upon the division of *Alexander's* dominions; and by this rule *Thrace*, which *Lyfimachus* had seized belonged to *Nicator*, who had conquered him, and consequently to *Antiochus* his great-grandson. Nevertheless this dispute would have lasted a great while, if *Antiochus* had not been obliged to leave *Lyfimachia* for another enterprize, which was of more consequence to him than even this <sup>2</sup>. A report was spread, that the king of *Egypt* was dead; whereupon *Antiochus* looking upon *Egypt* as his own, hastened on board his fleet to take possession of it, and having left his son *Seleucus* with the army at *Lyfimachia* to carry on the work begun there, he first sailed to *Ephesus*, where he joined to his fleet all the ships he found in that harbour, and made all the sail he could for *Egypt*; but on his arrival at *Patera* in *Lycia*, certain advice being brought him, that the report which was spread of *Ptolemy's* death was false, he changed his course, and made for the island of *Cyprus*, with a design to seize it; but meeting in his way thither with a violent storm, his fleet suffered shipwreck near the mouth of the river *Sarus*, which discharges itself into the *Cilician* sea. After a considerable loss of ships and men, he was glad to put in at *Seleucia* (E), to repair his shattered vessels, and from thence return to *Antioch*, without attempting any thing else that year <sup>3</sup>.

WHAT occasioned the report of *Ptolemy's* death was, a conspiracy which had been formed against the life of that prince, and was first supposed, and afterwards reported, to have taken effect. *Scopas* the *Ætolian* was the author of this conspiracy, who being commander in chief of all the

<sup>1</sup> POLYB. Legat. 10. p. 800. & l. xvii. p. 769. LIV. & APPIAN. ibid. <sup>2</sup> LIV. & APPIAN. ubi supra. <sup>3</sup> POLYB. l. xvii. p. 771, 772. & VALESII Excerpt. p. 61.

(E) Several cities, as we have observed elsewhere, bore this name, being all built by *Seleucus Nicator*. The city here spoke of stood in *Cilicia*, about twelve miles from the sea, on the banks of the *Calicadnus*. The ancient geographers, to distinguish it from the other cities of the same name, call it *Seleucia Trachiotis*; an appellation which well agrees with the mountainous and rocky country in which it stood.



foreign forces in the service of the *Egyptian* king, most of which were *Ætolians*, imagined, that with so formidable a body of well-disciplined troops, it would be easy for him to usurp the crown, and make himself master of the whole kingdom during the king's minority. He had already formed his scheme for the attempt, and no doubt would have succeeded in it, had he executed his treason with the same boldness and resolution with which he contrived it. But though he was a very bold and daring man, yet when he came to the execution, his heart failed him, and, instead of going resolutely through with it, as such a desperate attempt required, he began to consult at home, and debate with his friends and accomplices, how he might best manage it, and by that means let slip the opportunity. For *Aristomenes*, the prime minister, having in the mean time got information of the plot, caused *Scopas* to be seized, and, having examined him before the council, and found him guilty, ordered him and all his accomplices to be executed. As for the rest of the *Ætolians*, they having forfeited the good opinion which the *Egyptians* had entertained of them on account of their fidelity till that time, most of them were disbanded, and sent back into their own country. *Scopas* was found at his death possessed of vast riches, which he had amassed by plundering the countries where he commanded as general. As he had, during the course of his victories, reduced *Judæa* and *Jerusalem*, the greatest part of his treasures arose, no doubt, from thence. One of his chief accomplices in this plot was *Dicæarchus*, who had formerly been admiral in the service of *Philip* king of *Macedon*. We are told by *Polybius*, that *Philip* having commanded him to make war on the *Cyclades*, contrary to the most sacred and solemn treaties, to shew how little he regarded either piety or justice, before he sailed out of the port on that expedition, he erected two altars, one to *iniquity*, and the other to *impiety*, and sacrificed on them both, to insult, we may say, at the same time both gods and men. As this wretch had so signally distinguished himself by his crimes, *Aristomenes* very justly distinguished him from the rest of the conspirators in his punishment. For the others were dispatched by poison; but *Dicæarchus* tormented to death <sup>b</sup>.

Hannibal  
puts him-  
self under  
the protec-  
tion of  
*Antiochus*.  
Year of  
the Flood,  
2804.  
Before  
Christ,  
195.

EARLY next spring *Antiochus* set out from *Antioch* on his return to *Ephesus*, and was scarce gone, when *Hannibal* arrived there, claiming his protection. This great general had lived six years unmolested at *Carthage*, ever since the last

<sup>b</sup> Idem ibid.



peace with the *Romans*. But being now suspected to hold a secret correspondence with *Antiochus*, and in concert with him to form projects against *Rome*, his enemies sent privately advice of this to the senate. Hereupon ambassadors were immediately dispatched to *Carthage*, under pretence of settling some small differences between *Masinissa* and the *Carthaginians*, but in reality to watch *Hannibal's* conduct. If they found that he had entered into any engagements with *Antiochus*, the ambassadors were ordered to demand him to be delivered up to them. But *Hannibal* no sooner heard of their arrival than he suspected their business, and knowing that he was guilty of the practices which had been laid to his charge, resolved to withdraw before the ambassadors could make any inquiries. As he was *Suffes*, that is, the chief magistrate of the republic, he was obliged to appear continually in public; and this made his escape the more difficult. He therefore managed it with a great deal of address; he ordered his gold and silver to be carried to *Thapsus*, a city near a country-seat, which he had on the sea-shore at a small distance from *Carthage*. There he equipped two small vessels, manned them with good rowers, and concealed them in a little gulf within reach of his house. When the day came on which he designed to set out, he appeared before the senate and people as usual, and even had a conference with the *Roman* ambassadors. In the evening he went out on horseback, as it were to take a turn to *Thapsus*, from whence he was to return immediately, and therefore he ordered his attendants as *Suffes* to wait for him at the gate of the city. Being arrived at his country-house, he immediately imbarqued with a few chosen servants, and set sail for the island of *Cercina*; from *Cercina* he steered his course to *Tyre*, where he was received with all the respect due to so great a warrior, the *Tyrians*, who were originally the founders of *Carthage*, looking upon him as one of their own citizens. However, he did not stay long there, but pursued his journey to *Antioch*, hoping to find *Antiochus* there. But he being already gone for *Ephesus*, one of the king's sons kept him some days at *Antioch*, being desirous that this great man should be present at the festival celebrated near *Daphne* in honour of *Apollo* and *Diana*. As soon as the ceremony was over, *Hannibal* set sail for *Ephesus*, where he found *Antiochus* yet wavering between peace and war. But *Hannibal's* presence, and the reasons that great adversary of the *Romans* offered him, with the high opinion *Antiochus* had of his conduct and valour, soon determined the king's resolution for war. He did not doubt but, with the counsel and



assistance of a man, who had so often defeated the *Romans*, and thereby justly gained the reputation of being the greatest general of the age, he should be able to accomplish all his designs. He now thought of nothing but victories and conquests; accordingly war being resolved on, all that year and the following were employed in making the necessary preparations: (F).

*Embassadors sent by Antiochus, first to Flaminius and afterwards to Rome.*

IN the mean time, *Antiochus* being informed at *Ephesus* that *Flaminius*, who was then at the head of the *Roman* troops in *Greece*, was making great preparations for a new war, and apprehending that he might fall upon his son *Seleucus*, who was busy in rebuilding *Lysimachia* in *Thrace*, sent deputies to *Flaminius* to propose an alliance with *Rome*. By this embassy *Antiochus* designed only to gain time, and discover what the *Romans* were doing. *Flaminius* answered the envoys, that his power was expired since the departure of the ten commissioners, who had been sent to settle the affairs of *Greece* and *Macedon*; wherefore, if their master desired to treat with the republic, he might send an embassy to *Rome*, where the senate would examine his proposals<sup>d</sup>. When the ambassadors returned to *Ephesus* with this answer, *Antiochus*, not having yet made the necessary preparations for the war he designed, in order to gain more time, resolved to send a new embassy to *Rome*, and accordingly ordered *Menippus*, *Hegesianax*, and *Lysias* to depart immediately, and desire of the *Roman* senate in his name the friendship and alliance of the republic. On their arrival at *Rome* they were not received with that civility and regard, which the dignity and reputation of their master deserved; the proposal they made was not at all relished by the major part of the senators; the senate pretended to compound with them, and set bounds to their master's pretensions;

<sup>c</sup> LIV. l. xxxiii. in fine. JUSTIN. l. xxxi. c. 1. & 2. *ÆMIL. PROB.* in Hannib. <sup>d</sup> LIV. l. xxxiv. c. 24.

(F) *Cicero* tells us (48), that, while *Hannibal* was at *Ephesus*, a peripatetic philosopher by name *Phormio*, having made an elegant and, as he thought, wise speech in his school, concerning the duty and office of a commander, how he should draw up his men in battalia, advance against the enemy, retire, rally, &c. *Hannibal*, who was present, after having heard him some time with a great deal of patience, could not help crying out at last, I have heard in my days many an old fool, but never such a fool as *Phormio*. Whence *Tully* concludes, that the military art is not to be learned from books in the closet, but by action in the field.

(48) *Cic. de Oratore*, l. ii.



may, before they gave their answer, they took indirect means to affront the ambassadors, they would not admit them into the senate, but referred them to the ten commissioners, who had been formerly sent into *Macedonia*, to conclude a peace with *Philip* and settle the affairs of *Greece*. *Flaminius*, who was then at *Rome*, was at the head of the commission, which did not a little displease the ambassadors; for they remembered how he had received the embassy sent him by their master, while he commanded the *Roman* forces in *Greece*. However, the ambassadors appeared before this new court, when *Menippus* expressed himself in the following manner: Why are all these delays made, and indirect methods taken to give us a plain answer? Our proposal is very plain, and contains no manner of difficulty; we desire the friendship and alliance of the *Roman* people. We do not come to treat with you as a conquered people with their conqueror, or as nations at war with one another, to settle their differences in an amicable manner. *Antiochus* and the *Romans* are neither upon the foot of enemies, or of conquerors. Why then do you pretend to give law to us? What right have you to dispose of the cities of *Asia* and *Europe*? What authority have you to direct us to withdraw our garisons from some places, and not to seize others? You may indeed treat *Philip* in this manner; but do the laws of nations give you a right to assume such an authority over *Antiochus*? *Flaminius* answered this discourse of *Menippus* with an imperious air, in the following terms: Since you insist upon a direct answer, I will give you one: *Antiochus* shall not be our friend and ally, but upon two conditions. The first is, that he keep within the bounds of *Asia*. The second, that if he comes into *Europe*, he shall not take it amiss, that the *Romans* protect the *Greek* cities in *Asia*, and enter into an alliance with them. At these words *Hegesianax* could not help crying out, What injustice! your design plainly is to dispossess *Antiochus* of the dominions of his ancestors. The *Chersonesus* and all *Thrace* belonged to his great-grandfather, whose right has descended intire to him. The possession which he has lately taken of his inheritance, was no more than rescuing it out of the hands of usurpers. Has *Rome* so good a right as this to the *Greek* cities in *Europe* and *Asia*? By what title do you pretend to justify your conquering them, or your depriving the king of *Syria* of them? He desires indeed your friendship, but in an honourable way; he is not fond of purchasing it at so dear a rate. To these solid reasons *Flaminius* could give no other answer, but that *Rome* was determined to pursue the resolution she had taken of procuring all the *Greeks* their liberty. *Æolis* and *Ionia*, said he, are inhabited



inhabited by colonies from *Greece* ; and we have formed a design of setting all the *Greeks* at liberty. Those of *Europe* are already secured against the tyranny of *Philip*, and it is now our business to protect those of *Asia* against the power of *Antiochus* : what can be more humane or commendable ? This speech of *Flaminius* confounded, if *Livy* is to be credited, *Hegesianax*, who, by his silence, says he, shewed his confusion. But, with that great historian's leave, nothing can be weaker than the principle on which *Flaminius* argued ; for if *Thrace*, *Æolis*, and *Ionia* belonged to *Antiochus* by an antient conquest, could the pretence of restoring them to their liberty be a just reason for withdrawing them from their obedience to their lawful sovereign ? the design of setting a prince's subjects at liberty, is not surely a sufficient reason for others to make war upon him : it must therefore be owned, that the war, which *Rome* waged with *Antiochus*, was founded on ambition, and not on justice. The final answer of the ten commissioners was this : Take your choice, either let *Antiochus* forbear ever setting foot in *Europe*, or not be surprized if we send our troops over into *Asia*. The ambassadors declared, That their master would not enter into an alliance with *Rome* upon such dishonourable terms, but would prefer a war to the loss of his antient right to vast countries in *Europe* and *Asia*<sup>c</sup>. It is not improbable, that *Antiochus* made these first advances in asking the friendship of the *Romans*, purely to throw all the blame of a rupture upon them ; for in effect he was already determined upon a war, and making great preparations for the carrying it on both by sea and land.

Hannibal  
endeavours  
to draw  
Carthage  
into a con-  
federacy  
with An-  
tiochus.

*Hannibal*, who kept constantly with *Antiochus*, encouraging him to declare war with *Rome*, and inspiring him with the hatred he himself bore to that imperious republic, made an attempt to engage his own nation in the party he had lately embraced. He had still many friends at *Carthage* ; however, he did not think it safe to treat with them by letters, but pitched upon a foreign merchant, who was come to trade at *Ephesus*, where *Hannibal* was then residing with *Antiochus*. His name was *Aristo*, and he seemed to be mighty well qualified for any difficult negotiation. As he was by birth a *Tyrian*, he understood the *Carthaginian* language, the *Tyrians* and *Carthaginians* being, as it were, but one people. Besides, he was a man of great address, intrepidity and resolution, and *Hannibal* had more than once experienced his skill in business, having employed him in the execution of several important

<sup>c</sup> Liv. *ibid.* c. 59

commissioners.



commissions; he therefore gave him proper instructions, told him the names of those he might confide in, and of such as he ought to suspect, and, without committing any thing to writing, taught him several signs, by which he might satisfy his friends that he acted in his name. *Aristo*, with these instructions, set out for *Carthage*, and arriving there was taken for a *Carthaginian*. He did not therefore make himself known to any but *Hannibal's* friends, soliciting them, in his name, to take up arms once more against their old enemy, and join many other nations that were ready to fall upon *Rome*, and in all likelihood to overpower her. He discovered to them the design *Antiochus* had formed of sending *Hannibal* to revive the war in *Italy*, &c. But tho' the *Tyrian* carried on his negotiation with all the secrecy and circumspection he could, yet his frequent visits to the leading men of *Hannibal's* faction betrayed him, and at length one of the opposite party declared in the public senate, that he had certain intelligence of dangerous intrigues, which were carrying on by one *Aristo* in favour of *Antiochus*, and that a storm was ready to break out, which would utterly destroy the *Carthaginian* republic. Hereupon the senators all with one voice cried out, that *Aristo* ought to be seized, and ambassadors sent to *Rome* to deliver him up to the senate. *Aristo* was therefore cited to appear, which he did without betraying the least fear; nay, he defied them all to produce any proof of his being sent by *Hannibal*, or carrying on intrigues of any sort whatsoever; but as he could not give a good account of his business at *Carthage*, and had been observed to make frequent and private visits to those of *Hannibal's* faction, some were for seizing, and punishing him, as an emissary sent by *Hannibal* to draw their republic into new troubles; but others pleaded in his behalf, remonstrating, that, if they arrested him upon bare suspicions, no foreign merchants would, for the future, venture to come into their ports, by which means they should be deprived of the most valuable branch of their revenues; besides, as the subjects of their republic were continually trading to all the ports of the *Mediterranean*, other nations, especially the *Tyrians*, would not fail to make reprisals, which would put a stop to their trade, without which their republic could not subsist. These considerations suspended, for some days, the arrest of the *Tyrian*, who took this opportunity to make his escape, having kept, the whole time he was at *Carthage*, his ship in a readiness to set sail; but, before he went off, he made use of a stratagem, which seemed calculated to make the *Romans* suspect the whole senate. In the dusk of the evening he went privately into the hall where public audiences were



were given, and, over the president's seat, affixed the following words in capitals: *Aristo had no orders to treat with private persons, but with the senate of Carthage.* His design in this was to prevent *Hannibal's* friends from being suspected, or brought into trouble, and to raise disturbances in the city. Accordingly the sight of this writing put the whole city in a ferment; some were for taking part with *Antiochus* in his wars with *Rome*, others for keeping to their late engagements with a republic, whose superiority they had already experienced, and whose vengeance they dreaded. The latter party prevailed, and an embassy was sent to *Rome*, to inform the senate of what had passed. As for *Aristo*, he set sail that very night, and got safe to *Ephesus*, where he was amply rewarded by *Hannibal*, though his negotiations had failed of the desired effect<sup>f</sup>.

*Antiochus* in the mean-time, without declaring his intentions, continued his preparations for the war he was resolved to make upon the *Romans*; and, in order to strengthen himself by new alliances, went to *Raphia* (G), and there married his daughter *Cleopatra* to *Ptolemy Epiphanes* king of *Egypt*, to whom she had been some years before betrothed. The princess's portion was *Cœle-Syria*, *Phœnice*, *Judæa* and *Samaria*, but upon this condition, that the revenues of these four provinces should be equally divided between the father and son-in-law. Some writers tell us, that *Antiochus* had no other view at first in marrying his daughter to *Ptolemy*, but to have a fair opportunity, by her means, of dispatching him, and seizing the kingdom for himself; but that the virtuous queen preferred the regard she owed to her husband to the ambitious designs of her father. On his return from *Raphia* to *Antioch*, he married *Antiochis* his second daughter to *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*. The third was designed for *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus*, in order to draw off that brave prince from his ancient alliance with *Rome*. With this view he caused the match to be proposed to the king of *Pergamus* and his two brothers *Attalus* and *Philetærus*. His two brothers highly approved of it, thinking it a very honourable and an advantageous match; but the young king himself judged otherwise of it.

<sup>f</sup> LIV. l. xxxiv. JUSTIN. l. xxxi. c. 3 4. APPIAN. in Syria p. 89, 90.

(G) *Strabo* and *Livy* place *Raphia* in *Phœnice*; *Ptolemy* makes it a city of *Samaria*, and *Pliny* of *Idumæa*; but as it stood near *Gaza*, it is counted by other geographers among the cities of *Palæstine*.



thinking it adviseable to prefer the alliance of the *Romans* to that of *Antiochus*. He told his brothers, that, if he married the daughter of *Antiochus*, he could not help engaging with him in his wars against the *Romans*, who, if they should get the better of *Antiochus*, as he had reason to believe they might, would certainly drive him out of his kingdom. On the other hand, if *Antiochus* should conquer, no advantage would accrue from thence to him, it being manifest, that *Antiochus* aimed at the sovereignty of all *Asia*; and if he accomplished his designs, he might perhaps leave him, as being his son-in-law, on the throne, but would, at the same time, require such subjection and dependance from him, as would, sour all the pleasure of reigning. These reflections made *Eumenes* reject the offer made him by the king of *Syria*, and continue attached to the *Romans*. The event sufficiently proved the wisdom of his choice <sup>8</sup>.

*Antiochus* had no sooner solemnized these marriages, but he hastened back into *Asia Minor*, and arrived at *Ephesus* in the depth of the winter. From thence, in the beginning of the spring, he marched against the *Pisidians*, who still held out against him, and made himself master of all the country round *Selga*, a city on the banks of the river *Cestrius* (H). The *Romans*, hearing of the progress he made in *Pisidia*, and being informed by their friends in *Asia*, that most of the eastern princes were ready to declare for *Antiochus*, in order to avert the evil consequences of an alliance, into which all *Asia* seemed to have entered, and at the same time to have a certain knowledge of the state of affairs in those distant regions, thought it necessary to send ambassadors to the king of *Syria*, with orders to visit the coasts of *Asia* and *Greece*, and there see what states or republics seemed to waver between *Antiochus* and *Rome*. Three persons of distinction, who had been already employed in negotiations with the princes of the east, were pitched upon for this embassy, viz. *P. Sulpicius*, *A new em-  
bassy sent  
by the Ro-  
mans to*

<sup>8</sup> LIV. l. xxxv. & xxxvii. APPIAN. in Syriac p. 88. HARTON. in Daniel. c. 11. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3. POLYB. chos. legat. 25.

(H) The name of *Selga* is corrupted in most copies of *Livy*. *Gelenius* is of opinion, that *Livy* means the city of *Selga*, which stood on a mountain near the borders of *Pamphylia*; and for this reason some modern geographers place it among the cities of that province. *Niger* calls it *Philadelphia*. *Glarean*, instead of *Sica* and *Sita*, which we find in the text, reads *Sida*, which was a city of *Pamphylia* near *Pisidia*, at a small distance from the mouth of the river *Eurymedon*.



Hannibal  
convinced  
that by the  
Roman en-  
voys.

*P. Villius*, and *P. Ælius*, three of the ten commissioners who had settled affairs in *Greece* and *Macedon*. *Livy*, on the authority of some historians, tells us, that *Scipio* was in this embassy, and that, on this occasion, *Hannibal* gave him that celebrated answer, when, speaking of great commanders, he named *Alexander* in the first place, *Pyrrhus* in the second, and himself in the third. Some authors are of opinion that *Scipio* was not in this commission, and consequently look upon the conference between him and *Hannibal* as a mere fiction; but this point we shall examine in a more proper place. The ambassadors set out from *Rome*, and, pursuant to their directions, landed at *Elæa* (I) in the kingdom of *Pergamus*, where they found king *Eumenes* ready to take up arms against *Antiochus*. As this prince was still in *Pisidia*, and *Hannibal* waited for him at *Ephesus*, the *Roman* ambassadors went thither to visit *Hannibal*, being ordered by the senate to gain him over, if possible, or at least, by their civilities, to make *Antiochus* suspect him as keeping a secret intelligence with his enemies. The last of these designs had the desired effect, as we shall soon see, *Villius*, and, if *Claudius Quadrigarius* is to be credited, *Scipio* paying him frequent visits, and shewing a particular regard for him. In one of these visits they reproached him, in a friendly manner, with his flight from *Carthage*, assuring him, that *Rome* would have protected him against his domestic enemies; they advised him to return to his own country, where he should, under the protection of *Rome*, be reinstated in all his former honours; they told him, that *Rome* never spoke of him but with admiration, the terror which he had formerly struck into her, being changed into esteem, &c. *Hannibal* was greatly pleased with these fine speeches; but nevertheless could not be prevailed upon either to return to *Carthage*, or abandon the cause of *Antiochus*, which he had espoused. He often appeared in public with the *Roman* ambassadors, frequently conversed with them in private, and lastly, even suffered them to lodge with him in the same house, not being well apprized, as cautious as he was, of the bad consequences that might attend his conversing thus familiarly with the *Roman* envoys. In effect, *Antiochus* was informed of it in *Pisidia*, and, from

(I) *Elæa* bordered upon *Great Mysia*, about twenty miles from *Pergamus*, and stood on the *Ægean* sea, near the mouth of the *Gaius*, over against *Metelinæ*, and had a convenient harbour. It is at present a small village, known by the name of *Alca*. The ancient city of *Elæa* was divided from *Lesbos* by an arm of the sea, called the gulf of *Elæa*.



that time, began to suspect him, fancying that he had reconciled himself to *Rome*; he was therefore no more employed in making the necessary preparations for the war, *Antiochus* not thinking it safe to depend upon him in matters of such importance.<sup>b</sup>

FROM *Ephesus* the embassadors advanced to *Apamea* in *Phrygia*, with a design to wait there for *Antiochus*, who being informed of their arrival, went thither to hear their proposals. As the *Romans* were too proud to abate any thing of their pretensions, they still insisted on *Antiochus's* confining himself to *Asia*; on his giving up some cities which he actually possessed, and his renouncing all his rights in *Europe*, particularly to *Thrace* and the *Cher'sesus*; so that the conference between the king and the embassadors was warm, but not long, a melancholy piece of news which the king received having soon put an end to it. He received advice, that his son *Antiochus*, a prince of great merit, and one who had signalized himself by a conduct worthy of an hero, was dead in *Syria*, whither he had been sent to keep those provinces in their duty. What heightened the king's grief on this occasion was, a report spread abroad, that he, growing jealous of his rising merit, had caused him to be poisoned by the eunuchs of his court. Tho' this report had no good foundation, it was necessary for the king to destroy it, by the appearance of an extraordinary grief. The embassadors were therefore dismissed without concluding any thing, and *Antiochus* pursued his rout to *Ephesus*, where *Hannibal*, who was still in that city, soon found, that he was not the same favourite as formerly; for *Antiochus*, under pretence of solitude, shut himself up in his palace, and refused the *Carthaginian* admittance. The king spent his whole time there in private conferences with one *Minio* his sole confidant. *Minio* was a courtier, who had no knowledge of foreign affairs, and judged of his master's war with the *Romans* only by the victories he had gained in the east. He did not doubt in the least, but *Antiochus*, who had defeated *Achæus*, *Molo*, *Alexander*, and often the king of *Egypt*, would, in like manner, humble the haughty *Romans*; being therefore big with this expectation, he desired the king to send for the *Roman* embassadors, who were then at *Pergamus*, and undertook to answer them in his name. *Antiochus*, being tired with so many useless conferences, and his mourning serving him for a just pretence to treat with the *Romans* for the future only by his

<sup>b</sup> Liv. l. xxxiv, xxxv. Justin. l. xxix c. 4. Front. Strateg. l. i. c. 8. Appian. in Syriac. p. 90, 91.



favourites, complied with his request, and the ambassadors were accordingly sent for. When they arrived, the proud *Minio* received them with more haughtiness than *Antiochus* himself would have done. What he chiefly urged in behalf of his master's pretensions was, That he had as good a right to the countries possessed by the eastern *Greeks*, whom he or his ancestors had conquered, as the *Romans* had to those of the western *Greeks* in *Italy* and *Sicily*. All the *Greek* colonies, said *Minio*, have, according to you, a right to the general liberty of *Greece*; but does not *Rome* herself act in a direct opposition to this pretty speculation? Are there not cities in *Italy* which are as much *Grecian* as those in *Asia*? Were not *Rhegium*, *Naples*, and *Tarentum* built by *Greeks*? and yet you exclude them from this general enfranchisement, and keep them in subjection to your republic. What! can you keep the eastern part of *Italy*, and *Sicily*, the finest island in the sea, in slavery, and, at the same time, make war upon *Antiochus*, because he keeps *Ionia*, *Æolis*, and *Thrace* under his jurisdiction? What is the difference between the slavery of *Smyrna* and *Lampsacus* on one side, and that of *Tarentum* and *Syracuse* on the other? The right *Antiochus* has to *Ionia*, *Æolis*, and *Thrace* was derived to him from his ancestors; whereas *Rome* owes her possessing of *Great Greece* in *Italy*, and all the whole island of *Sicily*, to conquest. He concluded his speech by desiring them not to use querks or impertinent words, but to give a direct answer to this question, Why does not *Rome* maintain the liberty of the western *Greeks*, since she is so zealous for that of the eastern? *Sulpicius* endeavoured to answer this demand, by saying, That *Rome*, ever since she conquered those cities, had held them without any interruption, they never having passed into any other hands from the time they were first subdued by the republic; whereas the *Greek* countries possessed or claimed by *Antiochus*, tho' formerly conquered by his ancestors, had undergone, since that time, many changes. Some, said he, have been subject to *Philip* or *Ptolemy*; others have recovered their liberty; can therefore any thing be more just and humane than to restore it to them? The reasoning of the *Roman* was, as every one sees, more specious than solid; so that all things considered, the war which the *Romans* made upon the king of *Syria* was unjust, and the effect only of their unbounded ambition. However, *Minio*, by his master's order, offered to give up his claim to some *Greek* cities in *Asia*, and to maintain the liberty of *Rhodes*, *Byzantium*,



and *Cyzicus*; nay, he even consented, that these free states should enter into an alliance with *Rome*; but the ambassadors were not satisfied, and still insisted, that *Ionian* and *Æolis* should partake of the common liberty of *Greece*. This *Antiochus* opposed, and the ambassadors returned to *Italy*, leaving matters in the same situation they had found them on their first arrival<sup>k</sup>.

THEY were no sooner gone but *Antiochus* called a council of war, composed of all the chief officers of his army, as well foreigners as *Syrians*. *Hannibal* alone was excluded from it, his too familiar conferences with the *Roman* envoys having made *Antiochus* jealous of him. The question which the king put to the council was, Whether it was proper to make war with the *Romans*? The council knew the king's inclinations, and were therefore all zealous for a war, that being the surest way to make their court, and gain his confidence. *Alexander* of *Acarnania*, who had formerly served *Antiochus Philip* and was now in great favour with *Antiochus*, assured <sup>resolves</sup> the king, that the *Macedonians* would join him as soon as he <sup>upon a war</sup> landed in *Greece*; and that, as the *Ætolians* and *Nabis* tyrant <sup>with the</sup> of *Sparta* had taken up arms, and were ready to declare for *Romans* him, he could not fail of success; but at the same time he advised him to dismiss *Hannibal*, and send him back to his own country. His presence there, said he, will alone be sufficient to keep the *Romans* in awe, and increase their diffidence. The hopes, in all likelihood, of commanding the army himself, was what induced the *Acarnanian* to give this advice; but, however that be, *Antiochus* from that time resolved to declare war with the *Romans*.

IN the mean time *Hannibal* plainly seeing, by the king's *Hanni-* behaviour to him, that he had taken umbrage at his conduct, *bal's speech* thought it necessary to undeceive him; having therefore de- <sup>to Antio-</sup> manded, and, with much-ado, obtained a private audience, *chus, whom* he told the king, that when he was scarce nine years old, he <sup>distrusted</sup> began to be an irreconcilable enemy to the *Romans*, his fa- <sup>him.</sup> ther *Hamilcar* having made him swear upon the altars, that he would never lay aside his hatred to *Rome* but with his life; that he had ever acted suitable to that oath, having made war with those republicans for thirty years together; that he had now left his native country for no other reason but to keep more strictly to these engagements; that this animosity brought him into *Asia*, and the eager desire he had of doing what mischief he could to that proud and imperious republic, had led him into his dominions. If you, said the *Carthaginian*,

<sup>k</sup> Idem ibid.



*His opini-  
on with  
relation to  
the war.*

disdain my assistance, guided by the same hatred, I will fly to every part of the world where there are soldiers and arms, to raise up new enemies against *Rome*. I hate them, and am hated by them. So long as you are resolved to make war upon them, you may consider *Hannibal* as the first of your friends; but if there be any motives which incline you to peace, take counsel of others, not of me. I seek for nothing but war, and if I cannot find it here, I will be gone, and leave the place, I ought to hold near you, to courtiers, who seek my ruin only to aggrandize themselves. *Antiochus*, struck with these words, seemed to be reconciled to him. He then told the king, That he did not, by any means, approve of the advice which *Alexander* the *Acarnanian* had given him. No, said he, it is not in *Greece*, but in *Italy* that you can make yourself formidable. The *Romans* are invincible every-where but on their own continent. You must employ the forces of the *Italians* against the masters of *Italy*. Indeed any other nation would find it difficult to transport troops into the east; but the *Romans* will tire you out even here by their constancy. Their troops will over-run these countries like a torrent in a few months. This I take the liberty to tell you now in private, and shall not be afraid to repeat the same things in public in the face of your court. Have I not some right to teach your generals how to make war with the *Romans*? They were never able to conquer me so long as I kept footing in *Italy*; but *Carthage* recalled me and I met with a conqueror in *Africa*, who could not hurt me in *Italy*. Take therefore my advice, carry your troops over into *Italy*, and stop the inundation which threatens you at the spring head<sup>1</sup>. This discourse would have made a lasting impression in the mind of *Antiochus*, had not the many flatterers about him, who were jealous of *Hannibal*, effaced it; and lucky it was for *Rome* that *Hannibal's* scheme was thus opposed; for the *Brutii*, *Salestini*, *Lucani*, *Samnites*, and the greatest part of the east of *Italy* were ready to follow his standards, while the *Gauls* in the west would have obliged the *Romans* to divide their forces; so that *Rome* would have relapsed into the same danger from which *Scipio* had delivered her.

THE *Romans*, not knowing yet for certain whether *Antiochus* would accept or not the conditions offered him, made no preparations for war till the return of their ambassadors; but then they began to take proper measures to prevent the evils that threatened them, both in *Greece* where the *Ætolians*

<sup>1</sup> LIV. *ibid.*



were ready to revolt, and in *Asia*, where *Antiochus* was making vast preparations. Nothing now kept this prince in *Asia*, but an expedition which he had undertaken against the cities of *Smyrna*, *Lampsacus*, and *Alexandria* in *Troas*, which *Antiochus* thought dangerous to leave behind him un-reduced. The *Ætolians* being, from confederates of the *Romans*, now become their enemies, had sent ambassadors to him, inviting him over into *Greece*. *Thoas*, the brother of *Dicæarchus*, then prætor of *Ætolia*, who was at the head of this embassy, assured *Antiochus*, that the *Ætolians* would join him, as soon as he landed in *Greece*, with all their forces, and act in concert with him; that *Philip* king of *Macedon*, *Nabis* king of *Lacedæmon*, and several other *Greek* powers, who hated the *Romans* in their hearts, would declare against them. He observed in his speech to the king, that the *Romans*, by drawing their forces out of *Greece*, had left it in a defenceless condition; that this was the best opportunity he could wish for to possess himself of that country; that the *Greeks* would all receive him with open arms the instant he came among them, &c. This soothing description of the state of *Greece*, prevailed so far with *Antiochus*, that he resolved to drop the design of reducing the three above-mentioned cities, and hasten into *Europe*, without even waiting for the forces that were in full march from *Syria* to join him. According-  
 having first gone to *Ilium*, and there offered a sacrifice to *Jupiter*, he embarked for *Greece* with no more than ten thousand foot, five hundred horse, and six elephants, which were scarce enough to take possession of the country, had it been wholly unguarded. With these forces he arrived in the island of *Eubæa*, about the end of the summer, and from thence passed to *Demetrias* in *Thessaly*, where he summoned all the chief officers of his army, to consult with them about the future operations of the war. On this occasion *Hannibal*, who was admitted to the council, and asked his opinion in the first place, insisted on what he had often declared, viz. That the *Romans* were not to be conquered but in *Italy*, and therefore it had been his constant advice to begin the war there; however, since other measures had been taken, and the king was then in *Greece* it was his opinion, in the present state of affairs, that the king should send immediately for all his forces out of *Asia*, without depending upon the *Ætolians*, or other *Greek* allies, who, he foresaw, would deceive him; and that the instant these forces arrived, he should march with them to those coasts of *Greece* which lie over-against *Italy*, and there likewise keep his fleet, one half of which should be employed to ravage and alarm the coasts

*Antiochus crosses over into Greece.*

Year of the Flood, 2807.

Before Christ, 192.





coasts of *Italy*, and the other kept in some harbour near him, to make a shew of passing over, and to be, in effect, ready to cross over, in case a favourable opportunity should offer. By this means, said he, the *Romans* will be kept at home to guard their own coasts; and this, at the same time, will be the best method of carrying the war into *Italy*, the only place where they can be conquered. This advice was undoubtedly the best that could then be given to *Antiochus*; but he complied with it only in that particular which related to the troops of *Asia*, sending immediately orders to *Polyxenus* his admiral to transport them into *Greece*. With regard to all the rest of *Hannibal's* plan, the flatterers about the court diverted the king from putting it in execution, assuring him, that he could not fail of success; that, should he follow *Hannibal's* plan, all the glory would be ascribed to the *Carthaginian* who had formed it; that it was proper the king should have all the honour of this expedition, and therefore they advised him to follow his own counsels, without hearkening any more to *Hannibal*. After this the king went to *Lamia*, and there being invested with the chief command of the *Ætolians*, and declared their generalissimo, he returned to *Eubæa*, where he made himself master of *Chalcis*, and took up his winter-quarters in that city<sup>m</sup>. There he fell in love with the daughter of a *Chalcidian* called *Cleoptolemus*, in whose house he lodged; and, notwithstanding the disproportion of her age, she being under twenty, and he upwards of fifty, married her, and passed the remainder of the winter in nuptial rejoicings and revellings, with as much security as in the most peaceable times. The example of the king infected the whole army, both officers and soldiers abandoning themselves to idleness and debauchery. He was not roused out of this lethargy, till news was brought him, that *Adius* the *Roman* consul was advancing full march against him at the head of twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse. All he could do on this alarm, was to seize the famous straits of *Thermopylæ*, and send to the *Ætolians* for more forces; for the inclemency of the weather, and contrary winds having prevented the arrival of the *Asiatic* troops, which *Polyxenus* was bringing over, the king had only those forces with him which he had brought the year before: but before the *Ætolians* could come to his assistance, the *Romans* having forced, with incredible bravery, the passes of *Thermopylæ*, cut the king's army in pieces, *Antiochus* himself

Antiochus  
defeated at  
Thermo-  
pylæ.  
Year of  
the  
Flood,  
2808.  
Before  
Christ,  
191.

<sup>m</sup> LIV. l. xxvi. JUSTIN. l. xxxi c. 5, & 6. APPIAN  
in Syriac. p. 93, 94.

having



having narrowly escaped with only five hundred men to *Chalcis*<sup>a</sup>. But of this battle, and the surrender of the cities and strong holds that followed it, we have already given a particular and distinct account in our history of *Greece*.

*Antiochus* did not stay long at *Chalcis*, but from thence made all the haste he could to his fleet, and, going on board with the poor remains of his shattered army, passed over to *Ephesus*, carrying with him his young wife, and, thinking himself safe there from the *Romans*, he entirely neglected every thing that could secure him against so formidable an enemy. His flatterers had made him believe, that they would never venture over into *Asia*; but *Hannibal*, who had regained his confidence, roused him out of the idle and indolent life, into which he was relapsed, telling him, that as the *Roman* fleet was no less formidable than their land-forces, he was surprized that they had not yet crossed over into *Asia*; that they would, without all doubt, soon appear on the coasts, and oblige him to fight both by sea and land for the dominion of *Asia*; and that he must resolve either to renounce his pretensions to so wealthy a country, or to defend it sword in hand. The king was struck with this speech, and therefore sent to hasten the march of his troops from the eastern provinces, which were not yet arrived. He likewise caused his fleet to be equipped with all possible expedition, and, going on board of it himself, set sail for the *Thracian Chersonesus*, where he fortified *Lyfimachia*, as also *Sestos* and *Abydos*, and the other cities in that neighbourhood, to prevent the *Romans* from crossing the *Hellepont* into *Asia*. In the mean-time *Polyxenidas*, who was then at *Ephesus*, having received advice, that the *Roman* fleet had appeared off *Delos*, dispatched a messenger to acquaint *Antiochus* therewith. Upon this intelligence the king hastened back to *Ephesus*, and having there summoned a council of war, it was unanimously resolved, that *Polyxenidas*, the *Syrian* admiral, should sail out in search of the *Roman* fleet, and venture an engagement. Accordingly the fleet, to the number of an hundred, or, as others will have it, two hundred sail, weighed anchor, steering their course towards *Phocæa* in *Æolis*. The *Roman* fleet, commanded by *C. Livius*, and consisting of fourscore ships, upon intelligence that the *Syrians* were in search of them, left the road of *Delos*, and, having doubled the cape of *Corycus* in *Ionia*, met the enemy's fleet near *Cyffus*. Both fleets advanced in line of battle, and engaged with the utmost fury; victory was long doubtful, *Livius* having the advantage

<sup>a</sup> Liv. ibid. PLUT. in Catone. APPIAN. ibid. FRONT. l. ii. stratag.

<sup>o</sup> See Vol. VI. p. 583. & seq.



*The fleet of Antiochus defeated by that of the Romans.*

in the right wing, and *Polyxenidas* in the left. At length *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus*, who had been placed in the rear with fifteen ships, falling upon *Polyxenidas*, put the enemy's right wing in disorder, and thereby determined the fate of the day. The *Syrians* on all sides betook themselves to flight, and *Livius*, pursuing them, took thirty of their ships, after having sunk ten in the engagement. The *Romans* lost but one ship, which was taken in the very beginning of the fight; but the whole crew leaped over-board, and escaped slavery by swimming to the other *Roman* vessels. *Polyxenidas* put in no-where till he got to *Ephesus*, whither *Livius* pursued him; but, finding that he would not venture out, he sent *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians* home, and retired himself to *Cænæ*, a port in *Mysia*, where he drew his ships ashore for the ensuing winter, after having fortified the place with a ditch and rampart<sup>p</sup>.

IN the mean time *Antiochus* was at *Magnesia* assembling there his land-forces. When news was brought him, that his fleet had been defeated at *Corycus*, he hastened to the sea-coast, and applied himself with great care to the fitting out of a new fleet, being unwilling to part with the mastery of those seas. He refitted the ships which had escaped the late defeat, built new ones, and dispatched *Hannibal* into *Syria* to bring from thence the *Syrian* and *Phœnician* fleets for their reinforcement. He likewise ordered his son *Seleucus* with one part of the army into *Æolis*, to watch the *Roman* fleet, and keep that country in awe; the rest of the troops he kept some time with himself, and then put them into winter-quarters in the neighbouring towns of *Phrygia*<sup>q</sup>.

THE next year the *Romans* appointed *L. Cornelius Scipio* consul to command the land-forces in room of *Acilius*, and *L. Æmilius Rhegillus* to carry on the war by sea in the place of *C. Livius*. The great *Scipio Africanus* served under *Cornelius* his brother in quality of his lieutenant, to the unspeakable joy of the *Romans*, who were highly delighted with the expectation of seeing *Scipio* and *Hannibal* once more enter the lists. They were now both subalterns, one under a consul, the other under a king; and this new scene drew the attention of all nations.

THE two brothers imbarqued at *Brundisium* with thirteen thousand men, including auxiliaries and volunteers, and landed at *Apollonia*. From thence they marched through *Epirus* and *Thessaly* to *Amphissa*, where *Acilius*, who was

<sup>p</sup> LIV. l. xxxvi. APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 99. xxxvi, & xxxvii. APPIAN. ibid. & p. 100.

<sup>q</sup> LIV. l.

besieging



besieging that place, resigned the command of his two legions to the consul. The two *Scipios*, who were in haste to pass over into *Asia*, which was the chief object of their ambition, granted the *Ætolians* a six months truce, that they might have full time to send a new embassy to *Rome*, and pursued their march through *Macedon* and *Thrace* to the *Hellepont*. *Philip* had prepared every thing that could render their passage through his dominions agreeable to them. He came in person to meet them on his frontiers, and seemed to make it his duty, as well as pleasure, to attend them, discovering in the entertainments, which he gave the chief officers of the army, such a politeness as was very pleasing to *Scipio Africanus*. In return for the extraordinary kindness he had shewn them, the two brothers remitted him, in the name of the republic, the sums which yet remained to be annually paid by him, according to the agreement between him and *Flaminius*. In the mean time *Livius*, the *Roman* admiral, being joined by the *Rhodian* fleet and that of *Eumenes*, sailed with the latter from *Canæ* in *Mysia*, where he had wintered, to secure the straits of the *Hellepont*. With this view he made himself master of *Sestos* on the side of *Europe*, and invested *Abydos* on the opposite shore; for these two cities stood opposite to one another in that part of the strait where the passage into *Asia* was the safest. While *Livius* was thus employed on the *Hellepont*, *Polyxenidas*, having repaired the *Syrian* fleet, and being in a condition to put to sea again, destroyed by a piece of treachery the greatest part of the *Rhodian* fleet, with *Pausistratus*, who commanded it, as we have related at length in the history of *Rhodes*<sup>1</sup>. This disaster obliged *Livius* to raise the siege of *Abydos*, and hasten to the defence of the ships he had left in the harbour of *Canæ* in *Mysia*. Besides, *Seleucus* was making some progress on the coast of *Asia*, and had already taken *Phocæa*, *Cyme*, and some other maritime places. It was therefore necessary to put a stop to the progress of the young prince, and retake *Phocæa*. But *Livius* finding, upon his arrival, the garison of *Phocæa* very numerous, he only made a descent, and ravaged the neighbouring territory. From thence he sailed to *Samos*, being attended thither by the fleet of the king of *Pergamus*. As for the *Rhodians*, the defeat of their fleet, and the loss of their admiral, sunk them almost into despair. However, they did not renounce their alliance with *Rome*, but fitting out twenty new gallies, they gave the command of them to *Eudamus*, who immediately joined the *Roman* fleet at *Samos*.

<sup>1</sup> See Vol VII. p. 345, & seq.



*Livius* with this reinforcement left *Samos*, and, sailing to *Ephesus*, insulted the *Syrian* fleet in that harbour. Some of the *Romans* landed, and laid waste the neighbouring country; but the garison of *Ephesus*, marching out against them, obliged them to quit their booty, and retire with precipitation on board their ships. The next day *Livius* challenged the *Syrians* to an engagement ashore, but they declining it, he returned to *Samos*, and there resigned the command of the fleet to *Æmilius* his successor (K), who immediately detached him with some ships to attempt the reduction of *Patara* in *Lycia*, a place which was a great check upon the *Rhodians*, while in the enemy's hands. But *Livius* failed in his attempt, and soon after returned to *Rome*. As for *Æmilius*, he first appeared before *Ephesus* with the rest of the *Roman*

(K) *Livy* tells us (49), that *Æmilius* no sooner took upon him the command of the fleet, but he summoned a council of war, to advise with the chief officers about the first enterprize he should undertake. On this occasion *Livius*, whose command was just expired, being asked his opinion the first, gave it, says our historian, like an artful man, who was jealous before-hand of the success *Æmilius* might have. His pretence was very specious, but his real design was, to make *Æmilius* lose the whole campaign by engaging him in a trifling project; and it was therefore rejected. Had I continued in the command, said *Livius*, my design was to shut up the mouth of the port of *Ephesus*, and there keep the *Syrian* fleet confined. To this end I would have sunk some old barks filled with stones at the entrance into the harbour. Being by this means become sole master of the seas, I would have ravaged the coasts, and forced the maritime cities to surrender. *Eumenes*, who saw into *Livius*'s design, replied thus: After we have stopped up the mouth of the port, shall the *Roman* fleet continue before it, or not? If it continues there, the enemy's fleet will be in better condition than ours. They will be covered and sheltered by a great city, which will be supplied by land from all parts of *Asia*. Whereas we shall be exposed to winds and tempests, and lose time in a road without gaining any advantage but that of continuing inactive, and giving the enemy leisure to make the necessary preparations against the ensuing campaign. If we do not continue before *Ephesus*, the *Syrian* fleet will, without all doubt, clear the mouth of the port, and sail out; so that we shall have lost our time, labour, and expence to no purpose. *Eudamus*, the *Rhodian* admiral, disapproved the project of *Livius*, without proposing any other. But *Epicrates*, an inferior officer in the *Rhodian* fleet, was for sending part of the fleet against *Patara*, and reducing that city. This proposal was approved of, and *Livius* ordered to put it in execution.



fleet, but was forced by a storm to put out to sea. Then calling to mind the affront the *Romans* had received before *Patara*, he flew thither with a design to besiege the place ; but the officers remonstrating against the enterprize as dangerous to the allies, who, in the absence of the *Roman* fleet, would be left to the mercy of the enemy, he returned to *Samos*, where he was near enough to watch the motions of the *Syrians* <sup>c</sup>.

WHILE these things were doing, *Antiochus* on one side, *Antiochus* and his son *Seleucus* on the other, thinking that the *Roman* invades the fleet was engaged in the siege of *Patara*, invaded the king- kingdom of *Pergamus*. *Seleucus* passing the *Caicus* from *Æolis*, *Pergamus*, where he had wintered, entered the dominions of *Eumenes* by the way of *Elæa*, while *Antiochus* advancing to *Sardis*, and from thence to the banks of the *Caicus*, incamped at a small distance from his son. The king had in his army about four thousand *Gauls* , whom he employed in plundering and laying waste the country, while *Seleucus* at the head of his body appeared before *Pergamus*, the capital of the kingdom, threatening to besiege it. But *Eumenes*, upon the first notice of the danger from his brother *Attalus*, whom he had left to take care of his dominions during his absence, sailed back to the port of *Elæa*, landed there, and reached his capital before the enemy had notice of his march. The *Roman* and *Rhodian* fleets followed him without delay ; all the troops they had on board made a descent without opposition, and at the same time news came from all parts, that the *Scipios* were advancing by great marches thro' *Macedon*, would soon reach the *Hellepont*, and be ready to enter *Asia*. Upon this *Antiochus*, being struck with as much terror as he had given *Eumenes*, retired to an eminence near *Elæa*, and having intrenched himself there, sent an embassy to *Æmilius*, desiring to enter into a treaty with him. *Æmilius*, thinking it would greatly redound to his glory to conclude a peace before the *Scipios* arrived, readily hearkened to the proposal, and desired *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians* to come to his camp, and assist at a council on the subject of *Antiochus*'s proposal. The *Rhodians* were not disinclined to a peace ; but *Eumenes* opposed it, and by his arguments prevailed upon the council to return this answer to the messengers of *Antiochus*, that they could not determine any thing before the arrival of the *Scipios*. Hereupon *Antiochus*, leaving his son to ravage the kingdom of *Pergamus*, marched into the country of *Lycia*,

<sup>c</sup> Liv. l. xxxvii.



which adhered to the *Romans*, and encamped near *Adramyttium* at the foot of mount *Ida*. *Æmilius* therefore accompanied by *Eumenes* hastened to the assistance of those faithful allies. But *Attalus* continued at *Pergamus* to make head against *Seleucus*, and was there reinforced by a thousand foot and an hundred horse sent him from *Achæa*, under the command of one *Diophanes*, an officer of great courage and skill in military affairs; for with this small body he sallied out of the city, gained a considerable advantage over *Seleucus*, and obliged him to raise the siege of *Pergamus*, and quit the dominions of *Eumenes* † (L).

*Antiochus*

† Liv. ubi supra.

(L) The defence of *Pergamus* was chiefly owing to a reinforcement of the *Achæans*, who came thither very seasonably, to the assistance of the young prince. Their commander, by name *Diophanes*, was an officer of distinction in his own country, had made his first campaigns under the famous *Philopæmen*, and seemed to have imbibed all the excellencies of his great master. With his body of a thousand foot and a hundred horse, he harassed *Seleucus* to such a degree, that he at length forced him to abandon the country which he infested. *Diophanes* spent the two first days after his arrival in observing the *Syrian* intrenchments, and the steps they took to make themselves masters of the city, which they kept invested. He observed from the ramparts, that they posted an advanced guard at the foot of an hill to keep the city in awe, and then dispersing themselves in the plains, pillaged the country. As no-body durst venture out against the advanced guard, the *Syrians* pillaged the country without opposition. This inaction of the besieged lulled the besiegers into a security; insomuch that they spent great part of their time in diversions, and were often observed to fall asleep even upon guard. *Diophanes* therefore concluded that it would be no difficult matter to surprize them. He acquainted *Attalus* with his resolution of attacking the advanced guard. That prince looking upon such an expedition as a rash attempt, was with much ado prevailed upon to consent to it. However, submitting his judgment to that of an old experienced officer, he at length gave him leave to march out at the head of his *Achæans*. All the citizens crowded to the ramparts to be spectators of the action, and there saw that the approach of so small a body did not even draw the *Syrians* off from their sports. At first *Diophanes* stood still, as if he had marched out only to watch the enemy's motions. But when he observed that the enemy took no notice of him, he marched at the head of his hundred horse directly up to a body of three hundred of the enemy, ordering his thousand foot to attack 4000 *Syrians*, who were posted near their three hundred horse.



*Antiochus* had no better success in *Troas*; for *Æmilius*, supported by the confederate fleets, forced him to abandon *Adramyttium*; so that after he had taken by assault several defenceless cities in his way, he returned to *Sardis*. Here upon the confederate fleets sailed back to *Samos*, where they separated; *Æmilius* continued there to watch the motions of *Polyxenidas*, *Eumenes* sailed towards the *Hellepont*, to get every thing ready for the passage of the Roman troops into *Asia*, and *Eudamus* returned to *Rhodes*, there to receive fresh reinforcements. The latter, receiving intelligence that a fleet was coming from *Syria* under the command of *Hannibal*, hastened the equipment of his ships, sailed out to meet the *Carthaginian*, who was now indeed out of his proper element, and with fewer ships intirely defeated him off *Sida*, a maritime city of *Pamphylia*, as we have related elsewhere\*.

*The Rhodians defeated the Phœnician fleet commanded by Hannibal.*

UPON the news of this defeat, *Antiochus*, who was then at *Sardis*, being sensible of the imminent danger he was in, used all possible means to engage in the same war all the powers of *Asia*. He began with *Prusias* king of *Bithynia*, a potent prince, and then in a condition to bring into the field and maintain a numerous army. In order to draw him into his measures, *Antiochus* used the strongest argument

*Antiochus endeavours to gain over Prusias king of Bithynia.*

\* Hist. Univers. Vol. VII. p. 348.

horse. The onset was so sudden, and the shout of the *Achæans* so formidable, that the enemy's horse was immediately put in disorder. Their infantry, having scarce had time to draw up, after a faint resistance betook themselves to flight, and were pursued with great slaughter by *Diophanes*. The next day the enemy posted themselves at a greater distance, and observed better discipline. However, *Diophanes* invited the citizens of *Pergamus* to march out with him, promising them a second advantage. But the garison refusing to follow him, he took with him his *Achæans* alone, who were glad to venture a second action under his conduct. All the day was spent in watching one another, without any attack on either side. At sun-set the *Syrians* withdrew to their camp; and this was the opportunity which *Diophanes* waited for. As the *Syrian* troops filed off in a line, the *Achæans* fell on their rear, and there made a most dreadful havock, the foremost hastening their pace to reach the camp without daring to face about and relieve their companions. These repeated advantages gained by *Diophanes* and his brave *Achæans* obliged *Seleucus* at last to raise the siege of *Pergamus*, and quit the dominions of *Eumenes* (50).

(50) *Appian. in Syriac. & Liv. l. xxxvii c. 20.*

1301



that can be made use of with sovereign princes. He represented to him the ambitious views of the *Romans*, telling him that their main aim was to overturn monarchy in all places, and, under the specious pretence of liberty, to solicit all nations to shake off the yoke of their kings ; that after having subdued *Philip* and *Nabis*, they were now coming against him ; and that if he should be unfortunately overcome, the haughty conquerors would soon penetrate into the heart of *Bithynia*. The two *Scipios*, who were then on their march into *Asia*, being informed of the endeavours *Antiochus* was using to engage *Prusias* in the war, thought proper to put a stop to the intrigues of the king of *Syria* ; and with that view dispatched a messenger with a letter to *Prusias*, wherein they observed, that it was the constant practice of the *Romans* to bestow the greatest honours on such kings as sought their alliance ; *Africanus* mentioned several instances, which he himself had been concerned in ; he said, that in *Spain* several princes, who before they were favoured with the protection of the *Romans*, had made a very inconsiderable figure, were since become mighty kings ; that *Masiniſſa* had not only been restored to his kingdom, but that of *Syphax* had been given him, whereby he was become one of the most powerful potentates of the universe ; that *Philip* and *Nabis*, though vanquished, had nevertheless been suffered to sit peaceably on their thrones ; that the tribute, which he had agreed to pay, had been lately remitted, and his son, who was an hostage at *Rome*, sent back to him ; that as for *Nabis*, they had left him in possession of his crown, which he would have still enjoyed, had he not lost his life by the treachery of the *Ætolians*. This letter made a strong impression on the mind of *Prusias* ; but he was still wavering between *Antiochus* and the *Romans*, till a new embassy quite fixed him. *C. Livius*, who had the last year commanded the fleet on the coasts of *Asia*, came from *Rome* to *Bithynia*, and made such proposals to the king in the name of his republic, as prevented him from entering into any engagements with the king of *Syria*.\*

*Antiochus* being thus disappointed in the hopes he had entertained of winning over *Prusias* to his interest, his whole dependence was on his fleet. He thought he could more effectually keep the *Romans* out of *Asia* by recovering the

\* POLYB. Legat. 22. LIV. l. xxxvii. APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 150. 151.



mastery of the sea, than by guarding the shores of the *Hellepont* with his land-forces. With this view he left *Sardis* and came to *Ephesus*, where *Polyxenidas* was waiting for him with a good number of ships, all well equipped, and stored with arms and provisions. *Hannibal* had not yet joined him with the *Phœnician* fleet, being still blocked up in the ports of *Pamphylia*. But, on the other hand, the *Romans* had not yet been reinforced by the gallies they expected from *Rhodes*, and the fleet of *Eumenes* was waiting for the *Scipios* on the coasts of the *Hellepont*. *Antiochus* therefore ordered *Polyxenidas* to engage the *Romans* once more at sea. As for himself, he marched with his land-forces to *Notium* between *Smyrna* and *Ephesus*, and from thence to *Colophon*, which he invested. This was one of the most considerable cities of *Ionia*, and had been long troublesome to *Antiochus's* fleet; for as it was situated on an eminence, the *Colophonians* discovered all that passed in the port of *Ephesus*, and gave the *Romans* notice of it. *Antiochus* expected that the *Roman* fleet would fly to the assistance of their allies, and his aim was to draw it out of the port of *Samos*, that his admiral might have an opportunity of attacking it. And indeed the *Colophonians* immediately dispatched some of their citizens to *Æmilius*, desiring his assistance against an enemy, which they had drawn upon themselves only by their fidelity to *Rome*. This message broke the admiral's measures, for he had determined to sail to the *Hellepont* with the first favourable wind, and assist the *Scipios* in their passage. However, he was prevailed upon by *Eudamus*, the *Rhodian* admiral, who had joined him with some gallies, to alter his scheme; and accordingly he ordered the fleet to be in a readiness to set sail. But before he attacked *Antiochus*, he resolved to touch at *Chios*, and take in there some provisions, the general magazine of the *Romans* both for their sea and land-forces being there. From *Chios* he sailed to the island of *Teos*, being informed that those islanders had promised the king of *Syria* about five thousand hogsheads of their best wine. He was resolved either to force them to deliver up the wine to him, or take and demolish their city, the vessels which were bringing wine to the *Roman* fleet being kept back by contrary winds. In the mean time *Polyxenidas*, being informed that the *Roman* fleet was at *Teos*, left *Ephesus*, and sailed to that island in hopes of being able to shut up the enemy's fleet in the harbour. For the city of *Teos* had two ports, whereof the safest and most capacious was formed by two promontories, which came so near each other, that two gallies could scarce sail out of it a-breast; and in this *Æmilius* first anchored,



*The Syrian  
fleet de-  
feated by  
the Ro-  
man.*

but before the arrival of *Polyxenidas* he had by the advice of *Eudamus* changed his post. Wherefore the *Syrian* admiral instead of blocking up the harbour was obliged to keep his fleet sheltered under the island of *Macris* over-against *Myonnesias*, till the *Roman* fleet sailed out. There he continued two days in hopes of surprizing the *Romans* as they sailed by from *Teos* to *Colophon*. But in the mean time *Æmilius*, being informed that the *Syrian* fleet waited for him at *Macris*, left *Teos*, and steered his course towards that island with his ships drawn up in line of battle. As *Polyxenidas* had positive orders to engage the *Romans*, he laid hold of this opportunity, and attacked them with great resolution. The *Roman* fleet consisted of eighty ships, and the *Syrian* of eighty-nine, some of which were of an enormous size, two of them being heptaremes, and three hexaremes. The *Rhodians* had then invented a kind of fire-ships, which struck great terror into the *Syrian* fleet; cauldrons full of combustible and burning materials were hung out at their prows, so that none of the enemy's ships durst approach them. These fell on the enemy's gallies, struck their beaks into them, and at the same time set them on fire. The *Syrian* gallies left their ranks, and crowded round them, not with an intent to board them, but to discharge their arrows, darts, and javelins against their crews; in the mean time the *Roman* ships, sailing into the spaces which the *Syrians* had left, put their whole fleet in confusion, *Polyxenidas* did all that lay in his power to encourage his men, but in spite of all his efforts the left wing being in great disorder, clapped on all the sails they could, and quitted the fight. Then *Polyxenidas* endeavoured to retire in good order, but the *Rhodian* fire-ships advancing against him, and setting some of his gallies on fire, the rest betook themselves to a precipitous flight. The historians, who most lessen the advantage gained by *Æmilius* on this occasion, agree, that he sunk thirty-nine of the enemy's ships, and took thirteen; but others say, that the *Syrians* lost forty-two ships and thirteen gallies, whereas the *Romans* lost but two ships, which were sunk in the very beginning of the engagement <sup>w</sup>.

*Antiochus* was so struck with the news of this defeat, that, as if he had been quite deprived of his senses, he took such measures as were quite opposite to his interest. For in this consternation he sent orders for drawing his forces out of *Lyfimachia* and the other cities of the *Hellepont*, to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands, tho' *Lyfimachia* alone might have stopped the whole consular army for a great

<sup>w</sup> LIV. & APPIAN. *ibid*.



while. Then he complained of his hard fate in these words: I know not what god has infatuated me ! every thing happens contrary to my expectations. Heaven persecutes me, and what can I infer from all this, but that my ruin approaches ? Being greatly dejected by these reflections, he raised the siege of *Colophon*, and retired first to *Sardis*, and then to his son-in-law *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*, where he made it his whole business to assemble all the land-forces he could with a design to make head against the *Scipios*, who were already arrived at the *Chersonesus* near the *Hellepont*. Here *Scipio Africanus* received advice of his son's being taken prisoner by the *Syrians*, an accident which gave him great uneasiness. He had brought him with him into *Greece* to form him from his tender years to the military profession, and had sent him in a *Chalcidian* ship to *Demetrias*, being unwilling to expose him to any hazards in *Asia*. But in his passage, the ship, which carried him, being attacked and taken by a *Syrian* galley, the young *Roman* was brought to *Antiochus*, who treated him with all the marks of honour that were due to his birth, and the reputation of his father. But after all the detention of a son, so tenderly beloved, sensibly affected the father. This accident, however, did not abate the ardor of *Scipio*, and the desire he had of fighting *Antiochus*. The *Roman* troops pursued their march, not doubting but they should meet with a vigorous resistance at *Lyfimachia*. They approached the city in battle-array, but were never more surprized than when they found that the sea was unguarded, and that *Lyfimachia* opened her gates to them. *Antiochus* had drawn the garison out of that important place, as we have related above, and the *Syrians* had evacuated it with such precipitation, as to leave all the provisions behind them ; so that the *Roman* army, which was fatigued with a long march, found there all sorts of refreshments, and waited in that neighbourhood for the coming up of their stragglers and sick. During their stay they received another piece of news no less surprizing than the abandoning of *Lyfimachia*. On the opposite shore stood the city of *Abydos*, the key of *Asia*, which was to be taken before they could enter the *Syrian* dominions. This city likewise *Antiochus* had deserted, and ordered the garison to evacuate the place and join him ; so that the inhabitants sent to acquaint the *Roman* generals, that they were ready to receive them as soon as they arrived. Hence the *Scipios* concluded, that *Antiochus* without *Hannibal* was no formidable enemy ; for the resolution of evacuating these cities, and waiting for the *Romans* in the heart of *Asia*, had been taken in his absence. As the *Romans* found no enemies at the *Hellepont* to dispute



The Ro-  
mans enter  
Asia.  
Year of  
the Flood,  
2809.  
Before  
Christ,  
190.



their passage, they crossed over in good order by the care of *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians*, who had waited for them there\* (M). The *Romans* being now in *Asia*, went up to *Troy*, and stopt some time there, looking upon that city as their primitive country, and the place they originally sprung from. The consul offered up sacrifices to *Minerva*, who presided over the citadel. Both parties were overjoyed much after the same manner as parents and children when they meet after a long separation. The inhabitants seeing those who were descended from the same ancestors with themselves conquerors of the west, and of *Africa*, laying claim to *Asia*, imagined they saw *Troy* rise from its ashes in greater splendor than ever. On the other side, the *Romans* were highly pleased to see themselves in the antient abode of their forefathers, who had given birth to *Rome*; and to view and contemplate the temples and deities which they had in common with that city† (N).

*Antiochus* WHEN advice was brought to *Antiochus* that the *Romans* had crossed the *Hellepont*, and were encamped at *Abydos*, he sends an embassy to was seized with fresh terror; and being fully convinced that some deity was contriving his ruin, he turned all his thoughts on peace. He seldom employed any but foreigners in the most important negotiations, and the person he now pitched

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\* *Liv.* ibid & *APPIAN.* p. 105      † *JUSTIN.* l xxxi c. 8. & *Liv.* ubi supra.

(M) We are told by *Livy*, that *Scipio Africanus* did not cross the *Hellepont* with his brother, but remained some days on the *European* shore, being detained there by religious duties. He was one of the *Salii*, that is, one of the priests of *Mars*, who every year after a solemn sacrifice carried through the city of *Rome* those sacred shields, which *Numa* was supposed to have received from heaven. During this solemnity the *Salii*, though generals of armies, did not undertake any enterprize, or even stir from the place they were in. This was a troublesome superstition, but *Scipio* complied with it, and continued some days in *Europe*, while his brother and the *Roman* troops were in *Asia* (51). We shall have occasion to speak of this and other *Roman* festivals in the history of *Rome*.

(N) *Demetrius Scopsius*, as quoted by *Strabo* (52), tells us, that he, being then very young, happened to come to *Ilium* or *Troy* to visit the curiosities of the place, while *Scipio* was there; and adds, that the inhabitants were at that time so wretchedly poor, that they had not even tiles wherewithal to cover their houses, which were filled with filth and nastiness.



upon was one *Heraclides*, by birth a *Byzantine*, and of *Thracian* extraction. His instructions were to address himself in the first place to *Scipio Africanus*, to make his court to him with great assiduity, and when he found him disposed to hearken to his proposals, to assure him, but in private, that *Antiochus* was ready to restore him his son, whom he so tenderly loved, without ransom; that all the king of *Syria's* treasures were at his service, and that he was willing to share his dominions with him, and whatever else he had. The proposals which he was to make to the *Roman* council were, that *Antiochus* was ready to deliver up to them the cities of *Lampascus*, *Smyrna*, and *Alexandria*, and was not averse from evacuating such places in *Ionia* and *Æolis* as the *Romans* had demanded; and, lastly, that he would consent to pay half the expence which *Rome* had been at in bringing the war into *Asia*. With these instructions *Heraclides* set out for the *Roman* camp on the banks of the *Hellepont*; but was surprized not to find the eldest *Scipio* there, he having staid on the *European* shore to perform some religious ceremonies. *Heraclides* therefore prolonged his stay at *Abydos* under various pretences, till the arrival of *Publius*, and then he demanded audience, and being admitted into the council of war, spoke agreeable to his instructions<sup>2</sup>.

THE ambassador thought his proposals so advantageous, *His proposals* that they could not be rejected; but the *Romans* judged *proposals re-* otherwise, and gave him this final answer; that a peace *jected.* would not be granted to *Antiochus* upon any but the following conditions: 1. That since he had drawn the war upon himself, he would defray the whole expence of it: 2. That he should restore liberty in general to all the *Greek* cities in *Asia*: 3. That to prevent all future hostilities he should relinquish all *Asia* on this side mount *Taurus*.

*Heraclides* finding that the council would not comply with any of his demands, endeavoured, pursuant to his private instructions, to win over *Scipio Africanus* singly. He was very assiduous at his tent, and being always well received by him in regard of the kindness his master had shewn to his son, he at last disclosed his instructions to him, telling him that *Antiochus* was not only ready to restore him his son without ransom, but to share all his treasures with him, and even place him on the same throne. To these overtures *Scipio* returned the following answer; If the king of *Syria* restores me my son, it will be a personal obligation, which, as a fa-

<sup>2</sup> Liv. *ibid.* *Antiochus in Syriac.* p. 126. *Polyb.* *legat.* 23. *ther,*



ther, I shall ever acknowledge with the deepest sense of gratitude; but he is not to expect any gratification from me as a servant of the public. As a good citizen I can neither receive any thing from an enemy, nor promise any thing to him. But let me give him a piece of advice, since that is all I can do in the condition to which he has reduced himself. He ought to have kept possession of *Lyfimachia*, which would have stopt us, or appeared on the banks of the *Hellefpont*, to dispute our passage into *Asia*; in that case he would have perhaps obtained more favourable terms. But now that we have entered *Asia*, and are, as it were, masters both of the horse and his rider, all he has to do is to submit to whatever conditions we shall think fit to prescribe to him. As for the kindness he shews my son, all I can do is to pray the gods that he may never be in his situation, nor want that protection which he so generously gives the child. And if he would preserve himself from so great a misfortune, let him avoid coming to a pitched battle with the *Romans*. This advice is the strongest testimony I can give him, both of my esteem and gratitude \*.

THE ill success of this embassy sunk *Antiochus* into a deep melancholy. He thought that the *Romans* could not have prescribed him worse terms had they conquered him, and such a peace appeared to him as disadvantageous as the most calamitous war. He therefore turned all his thoughts from projects of peace to the necessary preparations for opposing the enemy, and preventing his further progress. He encamped near *Thyatira* in *Lydia*, and there assembled all his forces. On the other hand, the *Roman* army leaving *Troy*, advanced in six days to *Elæa* near the mouth of the *Caicus*. As this city was subject to the kings of *Pergamus*, *Eumenes* went immediately to wait on the *Scipios*, and then returning to *Pergamus*, sent from thence all manner of provisions for the army, which he soon joined with all his forces. While they were encamped in the neighbourhood of *Elæa*, *Scipio Africanus* falling sick was sent to that city, which *Antiochus* no sooner heard than he sent his son to him without ransom. A most noble instance of generosity in an enemy so lately provoked. *Scipio* received him with inexpressible joy, and after having embraced him a thousand times, he strictly charged the *Syrian*, who brought him, to return his most hearty thanks to *Antiochus*, and to tell him that he could no otherwise shew his gratitude at present, than by giving

\* Liv. l. xxxvi. xxxvii.



him one piece of advice, which was, that the king should by no means hazard a battle, till he was recovered, and returned to the camp <sup>b</sup>. Perhaps *Scipio*, thought that a delay for some days would give the king an opportunity of reflecting more seriously than he had hitherto done ; and incline him to conclude a solid peace. But however that be, the transports of joy, which *Scipio* felt on this occasion, gave a turn to his distemper, and quite cured him. But before he was in a condition to return to the camp, the consul appointed *Cn. Demitius* to be his lieutenant in the room of his brother, and marched against *Antiochus*, who was encamped at *Thyatira*, without him, not doubting but he should be able to conquer without sharing the glory of the victory with his brother. Although the superiority of *Antiochus's* forces, which were much more numerous than those of the *Romans*, might naturally induce him to venture a battle, yet the wisdom and authority of *Scipio*, whom he considered as his last refuge, in case any calamitous accident should befall him, prevailed over all other considerations. He therefore would not wait for the consul in the plains of *Thyatira*, but moved from thence, and leaving the river *Hermus* between him and the *Romans*, encamped near *Magnesia*, within reach of mount *Sipylus*. In order to prevent his being attacked in this new post, he dug a ditch round his camp six cubits deep, and twelve broad, which was guarded on the outside by a double row of pallisades, the second row being defended at proper distances by strong walls and towers to keep off the enemy. In the meantime the consul, leaving the banks of the *Caicus*, advanced by great marches towards *Thyatira*, where he supposed the king was still encamped. But being informed of the new situation of the *Syrian* army, he turned towards the *Hermus*, and posted himself at first within five miles of the enemy. While he was forming his camp a party of *Gauls* mixed with some *Scythians* appeared in sight of the *Romans*, and advanced in good order to attack them. The *Romans* repulsed them, and while they were endeavouring to repass the river, killed great numbers of them. After this skirmish both parties continued inactive for some days, till the consul passing the river posted himself within two miles and an half of the enemy's camp. While he was fortifying his new camp, three thousand *Syrians* attacked the workmen, but were soon obliged to retire with the loss of two hundred men partly killed,

<sup>b</sup> POLYB. legat. 23. LIV. l. xxvii. JUSTIN. l. iii. c. 7. APPIAN. p. 105. 106. AUREL. VICT. p. 609.



and partly taken. Both armies marched out of their camps every morning, and drew up in order of battle, but so near their trenches, that it was plain they had no mind to come to an engagement. At length the *Romans* marched into the plain, and challenged the *Syrians*, but *Antiochus* notwithstanding this challenge continued near his intrenchments. These delays tired out the consul's patience, who dreaded the arrival of his brother, being unwilling to share with him the glory of the victory. He therefore summoned a council of war in all haste, and proposed attacking the enemy's intrenchments: the winter, said he, approaches, and the season will soon force us either to discontinue the war till the next spring, or to spend the winter in our tents. Let us therefore march out immediately against these effeminate *Asiatics*, and attack them in their trenches, since they have not the courage to meet us in the field. The *Romans* never shewed so much contempt for an enemy as on this occasion; they were all to a man for forcing the *Syrian* camp, if they continued to decline a battle. Accordingly the next day the consul after viewing the situation of the enemy's camp, advanced to it in order of battle. On the other hand, the king thinking it would be shameful for him to decline an engagement, being at the head of an army far more numerous than that of the enemy, in a friend's country, and in the midst of his allies, resolved at all events to accept the challenge, and accordingly prepared for a decisive battle.

*The battle  
of Magnesia.*

THE *Roman* army consisted of four legions partly *Romans*, and partly *Latins*, each legion at this time containing five thousand five hundred men, and of seven thousand auxiliaries sent by the kings of *Pergamus* and *Macedon*; but of these two thousand were ordered to guard the camp during the action. The *Romans* were posted in the centre, and the *Latins* in the two wings, the left of which extended to the river. On the side of the right wing, to cover and support it, the consul posted the auxiliary troops of *Eumenes*, a small body of horse, and some *Trallians* and *Cretans* lightly armed. He did not think it necessary to strengthen in like manner the left wing, the river and banks, which were very steep, seeming a sufficient defence on that side. The sixteen elephants, which the *Romans* had, were placed behind the army by way of corps-de-reserve, the consul not thinking it proper to oppose them to those of the enemy, which were far more numerous, being in all fifty two; and besides excelled the

• LIV. & APPIAN. *ibid.*

*Roman*



*Roman* elephants in strength, height, and courage, the former being brought from *India* and the latter from *Africa*. As for the *Syrian* army, all the nations of the east seemed to be assembled to support the cause of *Antiochus*. But the main strength of it consisted in sixteen thousand foot, armed after the *Macedonian* manner, who composed the phalanx. This body faced every way, was armed with long pikes, and taught to fight in close order as the soldiers of *Alexander the Great* had formerly been. *Antiochus* did not draw up his phalanx as usual; but divided it into ten companies separated from each other, placing in the spaces between each of the companies an elephant loaded with a tower full of armed men. On the right of the phalanx was drawn up in a line part of the cavalry, viz. fifteen hundred *Asiatic Gauls*, three thousand horse armed cap-a-pee, and a thousand horse more, the flower of the *Median* cavalry. At some distance from these followed the cavalry of the king's household, richly cloathed, and wearing bucklers plated over with silver. In the same line twelve hundred *Scythians* on horseback, armed with bows and arrows, made a great figure, being all chosen men, and of an extraordinary size. The light-armed troops, to the number of three thousand, partly *Trallians*, and party *Cretans*, with ten thousand *Mysian* archers, and four thousand men more, partly *Cyrtæans* armed with slings, partly *Persians* armed with bows, and partly *Arabians* mounted on dromedaries closed the right wing, which was led on by the king in person, surrounded by a body of *Syrians* and *Lydians* well mounted, but not heavily armed. The left wing was commanded by *Seleucus* and *Antipater*, the former the king's son, and the latter his nephew, and disposed thus. Close to the phalanx were posted fifteen hundred *Galatians*, and 2000 *Cappadocians*, which king *Ariarathes* had sent to the assistance of his father-in-law. Next to these were placed two thousand seven hundred auxiliaries sent from different countries. These were followed by three thousand cuirassiers well mounted. And, lastly, in the flank of this wing marched two thousand horse lightly armed. At some distance were placed several small bodies of light-armed troops both foot and horse; among which were two thousand five hundred *Galatian* horse, some *Tarentines*, *Cretans*, *Carians*, *Cilicians*, &c. The phalanx which was in the centre, was commanded by three officers of distinction, viz. *Minio*, *Zeuxis*, and *Philip*. A vast number of chariots, armed with hooks and scythes, were drawn up before the first line, as were likewise a great many elephants carrying towers with several floors,



all filled with slingers and archers ; and besides many camels, animals then unknown to the *Roman* troops, mounted by *Arabians*, armed with swords six foot long, that the riders might from their backs reach the enemy. The *Romans* had never seen a more numerous army, nor one more finely adorned (O) ; and nevertheless they never shewed so great a contempt for an army as for this, which they were now going to attack.

ON the day of the battle the weather proved very favourable to the *Romans* ; for a thick fog rising in the morning, the day was almost turned into night, so that the *Syrian* commanders could not have all the corps under their command in view, on account of their great extent, and send them proper orders in time ; whereas the fog was not thick enough to prevent the *Roman* generals from seeing their several bodies at the greatest distance, as they took up but little ground. Besides the damp, which was occasioned by the fog, slackened the strings of the enemy's bows, so that the *Asiatics*, who used them, could shoot their darts and arrows but faintly. The whole dependance of *Antiochus* in the first attack was on his armed chariots, which were to cut their way into the *Roman* army. For this purpose they had long halberts fastened to their poles, and sharp hooks to their axle-trees ; the former were about the height of a man's head, and the latter almost swept the ground, and cut off the legs of all who stood in their way. But *Eumenes* undertook to render them useless, and even fatal to the enemy. This brave prince, putting himself at the head of the bow-men and slingers, ordered them to charge not in a body, but divided in platoons, and to aim only at the horses in the chariots. Accordingly, as soon

(O) *Florus* tells us (53), that *Antiochus* strengthened his army with elephants of a monstrous size, all covered with gold, silver, scarlet, and their own ivory. We read in the first book of the *Maccabees* (54), that he had an hundred and twenty elephants. And indeed when he fought with *Ptolemy* he had an hundred and two, and afterwards, as *Polybius* assures us, an hundred and fifty. But in this engagement *Livy* writes, that he had only fifty-four elephants, seventy-thousand foot, and upwards of twelve thousand horse. According to *Appian* he had in all but seventy thousand men. *Florus* most hyperbolically raises the number of his forces to three hundred thousand men ; and adds, that he had as many horses and iron chariots in the field that day. The *Romans* were between eight and twenty and thirty thousand men, horse and foot, whereof two thousand were left to guard the camp.

(53) *Flor. Hist. Rom.* l. ii. c. 8,

(54) 1 *Maccab.* c. 8. v. 6



as the chariots moved, *Eumenes* advanced at the head of his men, who pouring on them from every quarter darts, stones, and javelins, and at the same time shouting as loud as they could, so frightened the horses, that they could no longer be kept in order, but scouring up and down, and turning against their own troops, fell on the *Arabians*, who supported them, which occasioned a great confusion in that quarter. Those in the *Syrian* army, who were at a distance, hearing the noise and outcries, and not knowing the cause of them, were struck with no small terror. After this advantage, the *Roman* cavalry advanced, and fell on those whom the chariots had put in disorder. The *Syrians*, being already intimidated, after a faint resistance gave way, and the *Romans* made a great slaughter of their men and horses, both being bore down with the weight of their heavy armour. *Eumenes* charged the left wing, in which *Seleucus* commanded, with such vigour, that he put it to flight, and the fugitives flying to the phalanx for protection, put that body likewise in disorder, which *Domitius* observing, advanced against it at the head of his legionaries, but could not break it till he ordered his men to attack the elephants, which, as we have observed above, were placed in the spaces between the companies. The *Romans* had learnt in their wars with *Pyrrhus* and *Hannibal* not to fear those monsters, which were once so terrible to them. They attacked them therefore with great resolution, and driving them against the phalangites, put that body into disorder, by means of those very animals which had been posted there for its defence.

BUT in the mean time advice was brought that the left wing of the *Romans* was in great danger. *Antiochus*, who had observed that the flanks of the left wing were quite open and uncovered, the four squadrons which covered it, having joined the rest of the cavalry to fall upon the enemy's left wing, had charged it at the head of all his auxiliaries not only in front, but in flank. The *Roman* infantry, seeing themselves in imminent danger of being surrounded and hemmed in on all sides, fled in great disorder to their camp, which was guarded by two thousand men under the command of a legionary tribune called *Æmilius*. This man seeing the *Romans* flying towards him, marched out at the head of all his troops to meet them, and after having bitterly reproached them for their cowardice and ignominious flight, ordered his men to draw their swords, and cut in pieces such as should advance one step farther, or refuse to face about against the enemy. This order given so seasonably, and put



Antio-  
chus.  
*defeated*

in execution without mercy against some, had the desired effect. Those who were flying first halted, and then, being both reinforced and encouraged by *Æmilius*, returned under his conduct to wipe off the dishonour of their flight. At the same time *Attalus* the brother of *Eumenes*, having left the right wing on his receiving advice that the left was in danger, arrived very seasonably with two hundred horse. *Antiochus* observing that the troops, which had fled, were returning to the battle, and that the enemy's right wing was ready to fall upon him, turned his horse about and fled. This served in a manner as a signal for the rest of the troops, for the whole *Syrian* army immediately turned their backs. *Eumenes* alone pursued them at the head of the cavalry, and made a most dreadful havock of the fugitives. The *Romans* walked over heaps of dead bodies, especially where the phalanx stood, marched up to the *Syrian* camp, attacked and plundered it. The riches they found in it are not to be described, but the taking of it cost the *Romans* a new battle, which proved more fatal to the *Syrians* than that in the field, for the *Romans*, having in spite of a most desperate resistance forced the intrenchments, gave no quarter, but put all to the sword without distinction. There fell this day in the battle, in the pursuit, and in the plunder of the camp fifty thousand foot, and four thousand horse, fifteen hundred were taken prisoners, and fifteen elephants. In the consular army there were but three hundred foot killed, and twenty five horse. *Eumenes* had only fifteen of his men killed, so that this victory, as we are told by the antients, seemed a prodigy to all nations both of the east and west <sup>d</sup>.

*Antiochus* retired to *Sardis* with as many of his forces, that had escaped the slaughter, as he could draw together. From *Sardis* he soon marched to rejoin his son *Seleucus*, who had fled to *Apamea*. As for the consul he took advantage of the king's defeat and flight, making himself master of all the neighbouring countries. Deputies hastened to him from all parts; the cities of *Thyatira*, *Magnesia*, *Trallis*, *Magnesia* in *Caria*, all *Lydia*, and *Ephesus* itself, though highly favoured by *Antiochus*, declared for the *Romans*. *Polyxenidas*, upon the news of the king's defeat, left the port of *Ephesus*, and sailed to *Patara*, where he landed with a very small guard, and returned by land into *Syria*. The consul took the road to *Sardis*, which opened its gates to him. As he stopped there, his brother *Africanus*, as soon as his health allowed him, came and joined him in that city, and congratulated

<sup>e</sup> LIV. APPIAN, & JUSTIN. ubi supra.



him on the glory he had so lately acquired. But after all, the consul, we may say, had but a small part in the victory; for all the historians, who speak of the battle of *Magnesia*, ascribe the whole success of it to *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus* and *Attalus* his brother, without mentioning any valiant action or prudent order, by which the consul signalized himself on that occasion. However, he took the surname of *Asiaticus* as his brother had done that of *Africanus*.

*Antiochus* finding his affairs in a bad situation both by sea and land, and not daring to appear before the consular army in the field, sent *Antipater*, his brother's son, and *Zeuxis*, who had been governor of *Lydia* and *Phrygia*, to sue for a peace. They were ordered to treat chiefly with the elder brother, of whose clemency and good nature *Antiochus* entertained a high opinion. Accordingly on their arrival at *Sardis*, where the consul then was with his brother, they addressed the latter, and were by him presented to the consul. Their speech was very submissive, and such as became a vanquished people. To you, O *Romans*, said they, we apply to know by what means we may appease the wrath of your republic. All the kings you have hitherto conquered have experienced your clemency after their defeat. Shall *Antiochus* then be the only prince on whom you will wreak your vengeance? No victory has given you so much reason to favour the vanquished as this. It assures you of the conquest of the universe. It even puts you upon a level with the immortal gods. Learn therefore to be like them, slow to punish, and ready to forgive<sup>e</sup>.

HEREUPON a council was summoned, and after long debates the ambassadors were called in, and *Scipio Africanus*, being desired by the consul to acquaint the deputies with the resolutions of the assembly, is said to have expressed himself in the following terms: We are sensible that the victory, which we have lately gained, is owing to the gods; and therefore shall treat the vanquished with moderation, demanding little more of them now than we did at our first entering into *Asia*. *Antiochus* shall obtain a peace upon the following terms: *Articles of the peace* That he gives up his pretensions to *Europe*, confines his do- *between* minions to *Asia* beyond mount *Taurus*, pays us fifteen thou- *Antiochus* sand *Euboic* talents for the expences of the war, five hundred *and the* down, two thousand five hundred when the senate and people *Romans*. shall confirm the articles, and one thousand more every year for twelve years together. We also insist upon his satisfying king *Eumenes*, and his paying him the four hundred talents he

<sup>e</sup> APPIAN. in Syriac. III. POLYB. Legat. 4. LIV. l. xxxviii.



owes him, and what remains due for the corn, which his father sent to the king of Syria. It is likewise the pleasure of the council, that you deliver up to us *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian*, *Thoas* the *Ætolian*, *Mnesilochus* the *Acarnanian*, and *Philo* and *Eubulis* two *Cibalicians*; for these have been the authors of our divisions, the incendiaries who kindled the present war. Lastly, the king of Syria for a further proof of his sincerity shall give us twenty such hostages as we shall chuse, of whom *Antiochus* his youngest son shall be one †.

THE ambassadors of *Antiochus* had been ordered to refuse no terms, and therefore these were accepted, and the whole affair concluded. So that the Syrian ambassadors now prepared to set out for *Rome* to get the conditions of peace proposed by *Scipio* ratified there. In the mean time the consul dividing his army into three bodies, put it into winter-quarters; one part continued at *Magnesia*, another was sent to *Trallis*, and the third to *Ephesus*, where the *Scipios* took up their quarters. There they received a new embassy from *Antiochus* with the hostages he had promised, the Roman prisoners and deserters, and the strangers, which the consul had demanded, except *Hannibal*, who, after the king's defeat, had fled out of his dominions, and *Thoas* the *Ætolian*, who, as soon as he heard that a treaty was on foot between *Antiochus* and the *Romans*, had returned to *Ætolia*, where a war was likely to break out between that republic and *Rome*. *L. Aurelius Cotta* was sent with the ambassadors to *Rome*, to acquaint the senate with the particulars of the treaty. When they appeared before the conscript fathers. they spoke with great submission, and only desired them to ratify the articles which the *Scipios* had offered to their master. The senate, after examining them, ordered that a treaty of peace should be concluded with *Antiochus*, and the articles of it engraved on brass, and fixed up in the capitol. They only added one clause, which was, that the *Syrians* should change every year all their hostages, except the son of king *Antiochus*, who should continue at *Rome*, as long as the republic thought fit. The peace being thus ratified, and all *Asia*, on this side of mount *Taurus*, delivered into the hands of the *Romans*, the *Greek* cities were by them restored to their liberty, the provinces of *Caria* and *Lydia* given to the *Rhodians*, and all the rest that had belonged to *Antiochus* bestowed upon *Enmenes* ‡.

† POLYB. legat. 24. DIONOR. SICUL. legat. 9. LIV. l. xxxvii. JUSTIN. l. xxxi. c. 8. APPIAN. *ibid.*      • APPIAN. & LIV. *ubi supra*



IN the mean time the consulship of *Scipio* being expired, *Cn. Manlius Vulso* was sent into *Asia*, to succeed him in the command of the army, and with him ten commissioners to regulate affairs there. *Manlius* hearing, on his arrival, that the city of *Perga* (P) was still under the dominion of *Antiochus*, contrary to the treaty of peace, advanced with his troops to that place, being desirous to pick a new quarrel with *Antiochus*; but the governor of the city shewing himself ready to deliver it up to the *Romans*, as soon as he received proper orders from his court, thirty days were allowed him for that purpose, and the city was given up at the time appointed. From *Perga* *Manlius* returned to *Apamea*, where the ten commissioners and king *Eumenes* then were; and they all together put the last hand to the treaty, which was brought from *Rome*; with the additions and alterations which the senate had, after the departure of the ambassadors, thought fit to make in it (Q). Nothing now remained but to ratify the treaty

(P) The city of *Perga* stood on the banks of the *Cestrius*, and still retains in some degree its antient-name, being called by the inhabitants *Pirgi*. The river *Cestrius* or *Cestrus* had its spring on mount *Taurus*, towards the confines of *Isauria*. It washed *Pisidia* and *Pamphylia*, and discharged itself into the *Attalic* gulph, or the gulph of *Sattalia*.

(Q) As this is a very material part of history, we shall set down the treaty at full length, with the alterations and additions which the senate thought fit to make in it, such as it has been transmitted to us by the *Greek* and *Latin* historians. It was couched in the following terms: "Peace and friendship shall be established between the *Roman* people and *Antiochus* king of *Syria*, on the following conditions. I. The king shall not suffer any army of any enemy to the *Roman* people, or their allies, to pass through his territories; neither shall *Rome*, or her allies, suffer any army to pass through their territories to make war on *Antiochus*. II. The king of *Syria* shall have no right to extend his conquests to the islands near *Asia*; and he shall renounce all his pretensions to *Europe*. III. *Antiochus* shall withdraw his troops from all the cities, towns, and castles on this side of mount *Taurus*, as far as to the river *Halys*, and out of all the plain which separates *Pamphylia* from *Lycia* on one side, and from *Lycaonia* on the other. IV. When the *Syrian* troops evacuate any place, they shall not carry the machines of war with them; and if they have done so in any case, they shall restore them. V. *Antiochus* shall not receive or harbour in his dominions any fugitive of the kingdom of *Eumenes*. VI. The inhabitants of the cities given up by the king of *Syria* shall not continue in *Syria*, but repair to *Apamea*, on a day appointed, to be sent home to their native



treaty by religious ceremonies, and to begin to put it in execution. The proconsul took the usual oath of the *Romans*,  
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“ native countries. VII. But the *Syrians*, who have a mind to  
 “ continue in the cities subject to *Rome*, or to the allies of *Rome*,  
 “ shall be suffered to do so without molestation. VIII. *Antiochus*  
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 “ *Mnesilochus* the *Acaranian*, *Thoas* the *Ætolian*, *Eubulis* and *Philo*,  
 “ two *Chalcidians*, and all persons who have enjoyed any ma-  
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 “ his elephants to the *Romans*, and train up no more for war:  
 “ X. He shall put the *Romans* in possession of all his armed gal-  
 “ lies; shall have no more than ten ships at sea, which shall only  
 “ be of thirty oars; and shall not sail beyond the promontories  
 “ of *Calycadmus* and *Sarpedon*, unless it be to bring to *Rome* money,  
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 “ naries in the countries subject to *Rome*, or receive the volunteers  
 “ who shall offer to serve him. XII. The houses and other edi-  
 “ fices which were built before this treaty by the *Rhodians*, and  
 “ other allies of *Rome*, in the *Syrian* territories, shall still belong to  
 “ the *Rhodians*, or those other allies who built them. XIII. Both  
 “ parties shall be at liberty to demand the money that shall be re-  
 “ spectively due, and to demand the restitution of any thing that  
 “ has been taken from them. XIV. Those to whom *Antiochus* has  
 “ given the possession of any cities, shall evacuate them, and put  
 “ them into the hands of their old possessors. XV. *Antiochus*  
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(55) *Appian. in Syria*, p. 112. *Polib. legat.* 35. *Liv. l. xxxviii.*  
 c. 32.



that is, struck a sowl on the head with flint, saying, *If I break my word, may Jupiter strike me as I strike this victim.* Then Q. *Minucius Thermus*, one of the ten commissioners, and L. *Manlius*, were dispatched to the court of Syria, where they made *Antiochus* swear, That he would inviolably observe all the articles of the treaty. The Syrian fleet was then in the port of *Patara*, whither *Fulvius Labeo* repaired, on board the Roman galleys, and burnt, according to the conventions, all *Antiochus's* ships, choosing rather to give this instance of severity to all the maritime nations, than to apply the navy of the conquered king to their own use. They affected to shew the same disinterestedness with regard to the king of Syria's elephants; for they made a present of them to the king of *Pergamus*. Thus ended the war with *Antiochus*, which cost the Romans but little blood, and yet contributed more than any other to the aggrandizing of their republic; but, at the same time, this conquest proved, in a manner, fatal to Rome; for, from this period, the Roman writers date the depravity and corruption of manners, which ended at last in the total destruction of the republican state. The Romans, who served in Asia, brought from thence great wealth, and introduced into Rome a taste and love for luxury and effeminate pleasures. Luxury, says a Roman poet, entered triumphant into Rome with the pompous spoils of Asia, and, dragging after it all manner of vices, made greater havock in the city than the greatest armies could have done; and thus revenged the conquered world<sup>h</sup>.

As for the unhappy *Antiochus*, he did not long survive his *Death of* fall. Being greatly puzzled how to raise the sum which he *Antiochus*.

<sup>h</sup> JUVEN. l. ii. satyr. 6.

Most of the copies of *Livy*, instead of the river *Halys*, mentioned in the third article, have the river *Tanais*; which must certainly be a mistake, since the *Tanais* divides Asia from Europe, and falls into the *Palus Mæotis*, and neither the Romans nor *Antiochus* had at that time any intercourse with the nations in that neighbourhood, which lay at a great distance from the provinces of *Asia Minor*; whereas the *Halys* divided *Asia Minor* into two parts; and *Antiochus* was not only to retire beyond mount *Taurus*, but to withdraw his troops from all the places lying between that mountain and the river *Halys*, which was on this side of it. The promontory *Calycadnus*, spoke of in the tenth article, stood at the mouth of a river in *Cilicia* bearing the same name, and near it was the promontory of *Sarpedon*. The river is now known to the *Italians* by the name of *Fiume del Ferro*. The promontory of *Calycadnus* is the same with *Strabo's* cape *Zephyrium*.



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As for the unhappy *Antiochus*, he did not long survive his fall. Being greatly puzzled how to raise the sum which he <sup>Antiochus.</sup> *Death of*

<sup>h</sup> JUVEN. l. ii. satyr. 6.

Most of the copies of *Livy*, instead of the river *Halys*, mentioned in the third article, have the river *Tanais*; which must certainly be a mistake, since the *Tanais* divides Asia from Europe, and falls into the *Palus Mæotis*, and neither the Romans nor *Antiochus* had at that time any intercourse with the nations in that neighbourhood, which lay at a great distance from the provinces of Asia Minor; whereas the *Halys* divided Asia Minor into two parts; and *Antiochus* was not only to retire beyond mount *Taurus*, but to withdraw his troops from all the places lying between that mountain and the river *Halys*, which was on this side of it. The promontory *Calycadnus*, spoke of in the tenth article, stood at the mouth of a river in Cilicia bearing the same name, and near it was the promontory of *Sarpedon*. The river is now known to the Italians by the name of *Fiume del Ferro*. The promontory of *Calycadnus* is the same with *Strabo's* cape *Zephyrium*.



was to pay the *Romans*, he made a progress through the eastern provinces, in order to levy the tribute which they owed him, leaving the regency of *Syria* to his son *Seleucus*, whom he had declared his successor. Being arrived in the province of *Elemais*, he was informed, that a very considerable treasure was lodged in the temple of *Jupiter Belus*. This was a strong temptation to a prince, who had not much regard for religion, and was in extreme want of money. Accordingly upon a false pretence, that the inhabitants of that province had taken up arms against him, he entered the temple in the dead of the night, and seized on all the riches, which had been religiously kept there during a long series of years. The populace, highly exasperated at this sacrilege, rising up in arms, slew him, and all that were with him. This is the account of his death which *St. Jerom* gives us, upon the testimony of *Strabo*<sup>1</sup>. But *Aurelius Victor* tells us, that this unfortunate prince, after his retreat beyond mount *Taurus*, gave himself up to all manner of debauchery, and was killed at an entertainment by one of his guests, whom he had struck and abused. The difference of these accounts has made the most judicious among the *Greek* and *Latin* historians pass over his death in silence. He died in the thirty seventh year of his reign, and fifty second of his age, and is highly commended by most of the antient historians for his humanity, clemency, and liberality. A decree, which he is said to have enacted, giving his subjects permission, and even commanding them, not to obey his orders when they interfered with the laws, shews that he had an extraordinary regard for justice<sup>2</sup>. Till the fiftieth year of his age he behaved on all occasions with such courage and prudence, as crowned with success all his enterprizes, and gained him the title of *the Great*; but, after that age, as he declined in the wisdom of his conduct, as well as in his application to business, all his affairs were proportionably unsuccessful. His conduct in the war with the *Romans*, the contempt in which he held the wise counsels of *Hannibal*, and the ignominious peace which he was forced to accept, drowned all the glory of his former expeditions. The prophet *Daniel* had foretold both his great exploits and misfortunes, and his prophecies were fully accomplished, as the reader will find in our notes (R).

HE

<sup>1</sup> *HIERON.* in *Daniel*. c. xi.  
i'ustr.

<sup>2</sup> *AUREL. VICTOR.* de viris

(R) The prophecies of *Daniel*, from the tenth verse of the eleventh chapter to the nineteenth inclusive, relate to the actions of this



He was succeeded by *Seleucus* surnamed *Philopator*, or, as *Seleucus Josephus* styles him, *Soter*<sup>1</sup>, which indeed was the surname of *Philopator*.

<sup>1</sup> JOSEPH. Antiq. I. xii. c. 4.

Year of  
the Flood,  
2812.

Before  
Christ,  
187.

this prince, and were all fully accomplished. But his sons, says the prophet, speaking of the king of Syria, or the king of the north, *shall be stirred up, and shall assemble a multitude of great forces; and one (Antiochus the Great) shall certainly come and overflow, and pass through: then shall he return, and be stirred up, even to his fortress.* This king of the north was *Seleucus Callinicus*, who left behind him two sons, *Seleucus Ceraunus* and *Antiochus*, afterwards surnamed *the Great*. The former reigned but three years, and was succeeded by *Antiochus* his brother. The latter, after having quelled the troubles of his kingdom, waged war with *Ptolemy Philopator* king of the south, that is, of Egypt, dispossessed him of *Cæle-Syria*, which was delivered to him by *Theodotus* governor of that province, defeated *Ptolemy's* generals in the narrow passes near *Berytus*, and won part of *Phœnicie*, advancing as far as the fortresses, or, as we read in the Hebrew, as far as the fortresses, that is, to the frontiers of Egypt. The victory gained by *Ptolemy* over *Antiochus* is plainly pointed out in the following lines: *And the king of the south shall be moved with choler, and shall come forth and fight with him, even with the king of the north; and he shall set forth a great multitude, but the multitude shall be given into his hand. Ptolemy Philopator was an indolent effeminate prince; his subjects were forced to drag him, as it were, into the field, to repulse the enemy, who was marching into his country. At last he put himself at the head of the army, and by the valour and conduct of his generals, gained a signal victory over Antiochus at Raphia. There a great multitude, that is, the great army which Antiochus led into the field, was given into his hands, and Ptolemy did cast down, that is, slew many thousands of them, and put the rest to flight. And when he has taken away the multitude his heart shall be lifted up, &c. but he shall not be strengthened by it. Antiochus lost upwards of ten thousand foot, and three hundred horse, and four thousand of his men were taken prisoners. Philopator, after this victory, hastened back into Egypt, and there gave himself up to sloth and idleness, without taking the advantages which it gave him; and therefore was not strengthened by it. For the king of the north shall return, and shall set forth a multitude greater than the former, and shall certainly come, after certain years, with a great army, and with much riches. Antiochus, having ended the war which he had waged with the nations beyond the Euphrates, raised a mighty army in those provinces, and, fourteen years after the ending of the former war, returned against Egypt during the minority of Ptolemy Epiphanes, defeated Scopas near Paneas, and regained the whole country which Philopator had reduced after the*

1. 2. 2. 2.

victory



his son *Demetrius*. This prince reigned eleven years, and some months ; but made a very poor figure, by reason of the low

victory gained at *Raphia*. *And in those times there shall many stand up against the king of the south.* This prophecy was fulfilled by the league made by the kings of *Syria* and *Macedon* against the infant king of *Egypt*, by the conspiracy of *Agathocles* and *Agathoclea* for the regency, and by that of *Scopas* who wanted to dispossess him of his dominions, and seize them for himself. *Also the robbers of thy people shall exalt themselves to establish the vision, but they shall fall.* Several apostate *Jews*, to ingratiate themselves with the king of *Egypt*, complied with every thing he required of them, in opposition to the sacred ordinances of the law. *But they fell ;* for when *Antiochus* got again possession of *Judæa* and *Jerusalem*, he either cut off, or drove out of the country, all the partisans of *Ptolemy*. *So the king of the north shall come and cast up a mount, and take the most fenced cities ; and the arms of the south shall not withstand, neither his chosen people ; neither shall there be any strength to withstand.* — *But he that cometh against him, shall do according to his own will, and none shall stand before him ; and he shall stand in the glorious land, which by his hand shall be consumed.* *Antiochus*, after having defeated the *Egyptian* army at *Paneas*, besieged and took, first *Sidon*, then *Gaza*, and afterwards all the cities of those provinces, notwithstanding the opposition made by the chosen troops, which the king of *Egypt* sent against him, under the command of his best generals. *He did according to his own will in Cæle-Syria and Palestine*, and, pursuing his conquests, entered *Judæa*, that glorious land, and there established his authority, by driving out of the castle of *Jerusalem* the garison which *Scopas* had left there ; but that garison having made such resistance, as obliged *Antiochus* to send for the rest of his army to reduce it, and the siege continuing some time, the country was destroyed and consumed by the stay the army was forced to make in it, and the city of *Jerusalem* suffered greatly, as appears from the decree which *Antiochus* afterwards enacted in favour of the *Jews*, granting them leave to repair their demolished city, and raise it from the ruinous condition to which it was reduced. This decree was directed to one *Ptolemy*, who seems to have been governor of those provinces at that time, and is still extant in *Josephus* (56). *He shall also set his face to enter with the strength of his whole kingdom, and upright ones with him : thus shall he do, and he shall give him the daughter of women corrupting her ; but she shall not stand on his side, neither be for him.* *St. Jerom* tells us (57), that *Antiochus* gave his daughter in marriage to *Ptolemy*, corrupting her with bad principles, and instructing her how she should betray her husband, and put him in possession of the kingdom ; but he was not successful in his design, for

(56) *Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3. Danielis.*

(57) *Hieronym. in c. xi.*



low state to which the *Syrian* empire had been reduced by the *Romans*, and the exorbitant sum of a thousand talents he was obliged to pay annually, by virtue of the treaty of peace between the king his father and that republic. It was under this prince that the famous accident happened concerning *Heliodorus*, which is mentioned in the second book of the *Maccabees* <sup>m</sup>. The city of *Jerusalem* enjoyed, at that time, a profound tranquillity, *Onias* the high-priest causing the laws of God to be observed, and prompting even kings and idolatrous princes, by his exemplary piety, to have the holy place in the highest veneration, and to honour it with rich donations. *Seleucus* supplied, out of his private revenues, whatever was necessary for the pomp and magnificence of the solemn sacrifices, notwithstanding the difficulties he laboured under, by reason of the heavy tribute he was obliged to pay annually to *Rome*; but this scene was all on a sudden changed, and great disturbances raised in the city by one *Simon* of the tribe of *Benjamin*, and chief governor or protector of the

<sup>m</sup> 2 MACCAB. iii. iv.

he was no sooner married to *Ptolemy*, but she forsook her father's interest, and engaged in that of her husband; and hence it is that we find her joined with him in an embassy which was sent from *Egypt* to *Rome*, congratulating the *Romans* on the victory which *Acilius* had gained over her father at *Thermopylæ* (58). *After this shall he turn his face to the isles, and shall take many; but a prince for his own behalf shall cause the reproach, which Antiochus had offered him, to cease: without his own reproach he shall cause it to turn upon him; for after having put an end to the war in Cœle-Syria and Palestine, he sent his two sons with his army, by land, to Sardis, while he himself, with a great fleet, sailed to the Ægean sea, where he reduced several islands, and extended his empire on that side; but the prince of the people to whom he had offered reproach by that invasion, that is, Lucius Scipio the Roman consul, made the reproach turn upon him, by defeating him in the battle of Magnesia, and driving him out of all Asia Minor. Then he shall turn his face towards the fort of his own land; but he shall stumble and fall, and not be found. Antiochus, after his defeat, returned to the fort of his own land, that is, to Antioch, the capital of his kingdom, and strongest place in it. From thence going into the eastern provinces to levy money, wherewithal to pay the Romans, he was slain, so that he returned not into Syria, nor was afterwards found there. These are, as it were, the out-lines of Antiochus's picture, and as they resemble none but him, we cannot imagine that they were drawn undesignedly, or at random.*

(58) *Liv. l. xxxvii. c. 3.*

temple.



temple. This man falling out with *Onias*, to be revenged upon him for opposing his unjust enterprizes, fled from *Jerusalem*, and went to *Apollonius*, who was governor of *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine* for *Seleucus*, and told him, that there were immense treasures laid up in the temple, which were not designed for the sacrifices, but squandered away by the priests, and therefore might be better lodged in the king's coffers. Hereupon *Apollonius* immediately gave notice of what he had heard to the king, who sent *Heliodorus* his treasurer to *Jerusalem*, with orders to seize on the treasures, and bring them to *Antioch*. *Heliodorus*, on his arrival at *Jerusalem*, acquainted the high-priest, who had received him with great demonstrations of respect and esteem, with the motive of his journey, and asked him, Whether the information which had been given to the king was true? *Onias* told him, That there was indeed some money lodged in the temple, but that it was only deposited there in trust, being allotted for the maintenance of widows and orphans; that he could not, by any means, dispose of it in wrong of those to whom it belonged; that the whole amounted to no more than four hundred talents of silver, and two hundred of gold, and was, in great part, the private property of *Hyrchanus*, a man of great honour and probity; and lastly, that such was the holiness of the place, revered throughout the whole world, that no man, ought to lay hands on what was deposited there. But *Heliodorus* alledging the positive orders he had received from his master, told the high-priest in plain terms, that he must seize the money, whatever might be the consequences of such a seizure, and carry it to the king at *Antioch*. When *Heliodorus*, on the day appointed, came to the temple, with a design to execute his commission, the whole city was seized with dread. The priests, dressed in their sacerdotal robes, fell prostrate at the foot of the altar; and the people, covered with sackcloth, flocked to the temple, and jointly with the priests besought the Almighty, not to suffer so holy a place to be violated and exposed to contempt. But, in the mean time, *Heliodorus*, attended by his guards, was got to the gates of the treasury, and preparing to break it open, when the Lord of spirits revealed his power by most sensible marks, striking all those, who dared to obey *Heliodorus*, with such terror as deprived them of their senses; for there appeared to them a horse richly caparisoned, which, rushing upon *Heliodorus*, struck him several times with his fore-feet. His rider had a terrible aspect, and his weapons seemed to be of gold. At the same time appeared two young men, whose beauty dazzled the eye. These, standing on each side of *Heliodorus*, count-



ged him incessantly with their whips in a most violent manner. *Heliodorus* fell to the ground speechless, and without the least symptoms of life, and being in this condition put into a litter, was by his guards carried off, while the temple, which before resounded with lamentations, now echoed with the joyful shouts of all the people, who returned thanks to the Almighty for having thus displayed his power in defence of the sanctuary. Some of *Heliodorus's* friends besought the high-priest to invoke God in his favour; whereupon he offered a sacrifice for his health, and while he was praying, the two young men above-mentioned appearing to *Heliodorus*, spoke to him thus: Return thanks to *Onias* the high-priest, since, for his sake, the Lord has granted you life; and since you have been scourged from heaven, declare to all men the mighty power of God. Having spoke these words, they disappeared. *Heliodorus* offered up sacrifices, made solemn vows to him who had saved his life, and returning thanks to *Onias*, departed from *Jerusalem*, declaring to every one the wonderful works of the Almighty, to which he himself had been an eye-witness. On his return to court, the king, persisting still in his former resolution of plundering the temple, asked him, Who, in his opinion, was the most proper person for that attempt? *Heliodorus* replied, That if he had any enemy or traitor, he might send him, since that was the most expeditious way of getting rid of him, He; who dwells in heaven, being present in that place, and protecting it against such as come to profane it. *Josephus*, who also relates this event, instead of *Heliodorus*, names *Apollonius*, who, as we have hinted above, was governor of *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine*; and with *Josephus* agree the *Fasti Siculi*. Tho' the hand of God had appeared on this occasion in a very miraculous manner, yet *Simon* did not lay aside his animosity against *Onias*, but carried it so far as to murder several of those who favoured the high-priest, being backed therein and encouraged by *Apollonius*. Hereupon *Onias* took a journey to *Antioch*, to complain to the king of these violences; but he had not been long there ere *Seleucus* died. The epitomizer of *Jason* of *Cyrenia* tells us, that *Seleucus* was dead before *Onias* reached *Antioch*; but *Eusebius* says, that he found him alive, and prevailed upon him to banish the perfidious *Simon*<sup>a</sup>. But, be that as it will, heaven did not long defer punishing *Seleucus* for his sacrilegious attempt upon the temple, by that very hand which he had employed in it. We have observed above, that when *Antiochus the Great*, the father of *Seleucus*,

<sup>a</sup> 2 MACCAB. iv. EUSEB. in Chron.



Seleucus  
poisoned.  
Year of  
the Flood  
2823.  
Before  
Christ  
176.

made peace with the *Romans*, after the famous battle of *Magnesia*, among other hostages that were then given for the observance of the articles, one was *Antiochus* the king's son, and younger brother to *Seleucus*. This prince had been now thirteen years at *Rome*, was twenty seven years of age, and *Seleucus* was desirous of having him home, and sending to *Rome*, by way of exchange, his own son *Demetrius*, who was but ten years old. Some authors are of opinion<sup>o</sup>, that *Seleucus* in this had no other view but to give his son a *Roman* education. Others conjecture, that he wanted *Antiochus*, to employ him in an expedition against *Egypt* during the minority of *Philometor*<sup>p</sup>; but what prompted him to send for *Antiochus* is not recorded by any authentic history of those times. The affair was warmly debated in the senate at *Rome*; but at length the exchange was accepted, and *Antiochus* set out for *Asia*, about the same time that the young *Demetrius* set out for *Rome*. During the absence of the two heirs to the crown, *Heliodorus* thinking this a fair opportunity of seizing the throne, by cutting off *Seleucus*, accordingly poisoned him, and placed the crown on his own head. Thus was fulfilled the prophecy of *Daniel*, who, speaking of the death of *Antiochus the Great*, *Then shall stand up*, says he, *in his estate a raiser of taxes in the glory of the kingdom; but within few years he shall be destroyed, neither in anger nor in battle.* These words evidently denote the short and obscure reign of *Seleucus*, and the kind of death which befel him; for he reigned only eleven years, and his death was neither *in anger* nor *in battle*; that is, neither in war abroad, nor in rebellion at home, but by the treachery of one of his own friends. The prophet calls him a *raiser of taxes*, or, as we read in the *Hebrew* text, a *collector of taxes*; and such he was during the whole time of his reign, being obliged to pay the *Romans*, agreeable to the articles of peace between them and his father, a thousand talents annually; and the last of these twelve years was the last of his life. He is said to have once raised a considerable army with a design to assist *Pharnaces* king of *Pontus* against *Eumenes*; but when he was ready to pass mount *Taurus*, dreading the vengeance of the *Roman* people, he returned home, and disbanded his troops<sup>r</sup>. *Josephus* tells us, that he employed *Hyrchanus* the son of *Joseph*, and nephew to *Tobias*, to gather the taxes on the east side of the *Jordan*, where *Hyrchanus* on that occasion built a strong castle of white

<sup>o</sup>SALIAN ad Ann Mund. 3878      <sup>p</sup>VAILLANT, in hist. reg. Syr.      <sup>r</sup>DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt. Valesii. p. 302.      <sup>s</sup>JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xii. c. 4, 5.



marble not far from the land of *Heshbon*; the same author adds, that *Seleucus* appointed him governor of all that country, which he held the seven last years of that prince's reign, living all the time in war with the *Arabians*, and gaining signal victories over them.

It is manifest from the second book of the *Maccabees*, and also from *Josephus*<sup>r</sup>, that *Seleucus* had been in possession of *Cæle-Syria*, *Phœnice*, and *Judæa*, some time before his death. For *Apollonius* was governor of those provinces for *Seleucus*, *Heliodorus*, was sent by him to plunder the temple, and *Onias*, when oppressed by *Simon*, had recourse to *Seleucus* king of *Syria*, and not to *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*. But by what means, or on what occasion those provinces became subject to *Seleucus*, is what we find no where recorded. After the battle of *Paneas*, *Antiochus*, as we have related above, made himself master of all *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine*; but when *Ptolemy Epiphanes* married his daughter, he agreed to restore them to him by way of dowry. And if they were restored, how came *Seleucus* to be possessed of them a-new? *Polybius*<sup>u</sup> seems to insinuate, that this agreement was never executed; for that author tells us, that the above-mentioned provinces continued subject to the king of *Syria* ever after the battle of *Paneas*; and adds, that *Antiochus Epiphanes*, who succeeded *Seleucus*, in the answer he gave to the ambassadors, who came from *Greece*, to compose the difference that arose between him and *Ptolemy Philometor*, denied that *Antiochus* had ever agreed to deliver up *Cæle-Syria* to *Ptolemy Epiphanes* on the marriage of his daughter. The authority of *Polybius* would prompt us to believe that *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine*, notwithstanding the above-mentioned agreement, had been retained by the *Syrian* kings, if the contrary were not plain from the book of the *Maccabees*, and likewise from *Josephus*<sup>w</sup>, who tells us, that *Hyrchanus* and all the nobles of *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine*, when news was brought them of the birth of *Philometor*, flocked to *Alexandria* to congratulate on that occasion king *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, and *Cleopatra* his queen, which they certainly would not have done had those provinces been subject to the king of *Syria*. *Diodorus Siculus*<sup>x</sup> tells us, that *Ptolemy Epiphanes* raised a powerful army with a design to make war upon *Seleucus*, but was prevented by death from putting his design in

<sup>r</sup> 2 MACCAB. c. 3, 4.

<sup>u</sup> POLYB. legat. 72 p. 893.

<sup>w</sup> JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xii. c. 4.  
Valesii. p. 294, 297.

<sup>x</sup> DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt



execution. Now it is not unlikely that *Seleucus*, being provoked thus by *Epiphanes*, taking advantage of the minority of his son *Philometor*, pursued the war, which his father was ready to begin, and seized on those provinces. For it is certain from the book of the *Maccabees*, and likewise from *Josephus*, that *Seleucus* was in possession of those provinces, when he died. But to resume the thread of our history.

**Antiochus** *Antiochus*, brother of *Seleucus*, being arrived at *Athens* on his return from *Rome*, received there the news of his brother's death, and was at the same time told that *Heliodorus* had seized the crown, and was supported by a strong party; but that another was forming in favour of *Ptolemy*, who claimed the kingdom of *Syria* in right of his mother, the deceased king's sister. Hereupon *Antiochus* had recourse to *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus*, and to *Attalus* that king's brother, who conducted him into *Syria* at the head of a powerful army, drove out the usurper, and seated him on the throne<sup>1</sup>. As this king proved a cruel persecutor of the *Jews*, the prophet *Daniel*<sup>2</sup> foretold every thing that was to befall him. He expresses himself with relation to his accession to the crown in the following words<sup>3</sup>: *And in his (Seleucus's) estate shall stand up a vile person, to whom they shall not give the honour of the kingdom; but he shall come in peaceably, and obtain the kingdom by flatteries.* It is said here, that to him they shall not give the honour of the kingdom; and truly he did not come to the crown either by right of birth, since his brother *Seleucus* had left behind him a son, who was his lawful heir; nor by the election of the people; but by the powerful assistance of *Eumenes* and *Attalus*, whom he gained by flattering speeches, and great promises. On his being settled on the throne he assumed the surname of *Epiphanes*, that is, the illustrious, which title, as will soon appear, was never worse applied. The whole series of his life shews, that the epithet of *vile*, or, more agreeable to the original, *despicable*, given him by the holy prophet, suits better with his character. *Polybius*<sup>4</sup>, *Philarchus*<sup>5</sup>, *Livy*<sup>6</sup>, and *Diodorus Siculus*<sup>7</sup>, all heathen writers, and the two first his contemporaries, tell us that he frequently used to go out of his palace, attended only by two or three of his domestics, and ramble about the streets of *Antioch*; that he

<sup>1</sup> APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 116, 117.<sup>2</sup> DANIEL. c. xi, xii.<sup>3</sup> DANIEL. c. xi. v. 21<sup>4</sup> Apud Athenæum. l. v. p. 193.<sup>5</sup> A-

pud eundem, l. x p. 438.

<sup>6</sup> LIV. l. xli.<sup>7</sup> DIODOR. SICUL. in Excerpt. Valesii. p. 304.



spent whole days in the shops of goldsmiths and engravers, disputing with them about the mysteries of their trades, which he ridiculously pretended to understand as well as they; that he was not ashamed to stoop so low as to converse with the very dregs of the people, and mix indiscriminately with them in the places, to which they resorted, drinking and carousing with them, though he had never seen them before; that when he heard of any young rakes met together on a party of pleasure, he never failed to intrude himself, and join in all their wanton frolics, without any regard to common decency, or his royal character; that sometimes divesting himself of his royal robes, and putting on a *Roman* gown, he ran from street to street, as he had seen done in the elections of magistrates at *Rome*, taking some by the hand, embracing others, and begging all he met to favour him with their votes; for sometimes he set up for ædile, at other times for tribune, or some such employment; having thus got himself elected, he used to call for the curule chair, and sitting down in it, decide petty suits relating to contracts, bargains and sales made in the market, with as much gravity and attention, as if they had been matters of the highest concern. We are likewise told<sup>f</sup>, that he was much given to drunkenness; that he squandered away great part of his revenues in riotous excesses, and that when intoxicated with liquor, he scowled up and down the streets, throwing money by handfuls among the populace, and crying out, Let him take it to whom fortune gives it. At other times he appeared in a *Roman* gown with a garland of roses on his head, and in that garb walked about the streets quite unaccompanied. If any one offered to follow him, they were sure to be well pelted with stones, which he carried under his gown for that purpose. He took pleasure in going into the public baths among the common people, where he exposed himself by his indecent and ridiculous behaviour. This odd and extravagant conduct made his subjects look upon him as a madman; whence instead of *Epiphanes* or *the Illustrious*, they used to stile him *Epimanes*, that is, *the Madman*<sup>g</sup>. S. Jerome tells us, that he was a most lewd prince, and did not even scruple to gratify his lust publicly, and in the sight of the people<sup>h</sup>. From what we have related, we leave our readers to judge, whether he best deserved the title of *Illustrious*, which he assumed, or that of the *Vile and Contemptible*, which the prophet *Daniel* gave him.

<sup>f</sup> ATHEN. l. x. p. 438.  
c. 11. p. 37.

<sup>g</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>h</sup> Hieron. in Dan.



SCARCE was *Antiochus* seated on the throne, when the brother of the high-priest *Onias*, whose name was *Jesus*, which he afterwards changed into that of *Jason*, being ambitious of the high-priesthood, to which was annexed, in those times, the regal power, applied to the king for it, and by an offer of three hundred and sixty talents, besides eighty more which he promised on another account, prevailed upon *Antiochus* to displace the righteous *Onias*, and advance him to that dignity. Nor was this all; as *Onias* was universally revered for his exemplary piety and strict justice, *Jason* well knew that his authority would be of no weight so long as his brother continued at *Jerusalem*; the intruder therefore procured from the king an order for his removal from *Jerusalem* to *Antioch*, and his confinement to that place. As the public treasury was quite empty when *Antiochus* came to the crown, by reason of the heavy tribute paid to the *Romans* the twelve foregoing years, *Jason* found the king disposed to grant any thing for ready money; and therefore proposed to advance an hundred and fifty talents more, on condition that the king would empower him to make as many of the inhabitants of *Jerusalem* freemen of *Antioch* as he should think fit, and give him leave to erect at *Jerusalem* a gymnasium, or place of exercise, and an ephæbeum, or a place for the training up of youth after the *Greek* manner. The king complied as readily with these proposals, as he had done with the former; and by this means *Jason*, on his return to *Jerusalem*, drew over many of his countrymen from the party of *Onias*. For the *Jews* were at that time, generally speaking, mighty fond of the *Greek* fashions; whence they began to be reconciled to *Jason*, when they found him bent upon introducing the *Greek* customs among them. Besides, the freedom of *Antioch*, which he could grant to whom he pleased, was attended with many valuable privileges under the *Syro-Macedonian* kings; whence many, in hopes of having it conferred upon them, espoused the party of *Jason* with great animosity; so that under his detestable reign the manners of the *Jews* were totally corrupted, and the customs of the *Gentiles* introduced among them. They were ashamed of their circumcision, which was the distinguishing mark of the people of God. They built amphitheatres in *Jerusalem* for profane shews, and places for the most infamous debaucheries. The priests themselves were not ashamed to leave their sacred function, and run to the public sports, in which they often became actors<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> 2 MACCAB. c. iv. 10, 11, 12. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. ii. c. 6.



IN *Egypt*, ever since the death of *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, *Cleopatra* his widow, sister to *Antiochus Epiphanes*, had taken upon her the government of the kingdom, and the tuition of her infant son, and had conducted herself with great care and prudence. But she dying this year, the management of affairs fell into the hands of *Lennæus*, an *Egyptian* nobleman of great distinction, and *Eulæus* an eunuch, who was appointed to superintend the king's education. These no sooner entered on the administration, but they demanded *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine* of *Antiochus*; a demand, which soon occasioned a war between the two crowns. As *Cleopatra* was mother to one, and sister to the other of these two kings, she had prevented them so long as she lived from coming to a rupture. But the new regents did not shew so much regard for *Antiochus*, nor scruple to demand what they took to be their sovereign's right. It must be owned, that the kings of *Egypt* had always possessed these provinces ever since the first *Ptolemy*, till the time that *Antiochus the Great* wrested them out of the hands of *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, and left them to *Seleucus* his son, with no other right than that of conquest. The *Egyptians*, to make good their claim, argued, that in the last division of the empire between the four successors of *Alexander*, after the famous battle of *Ipsus*, these provinces had been assigned to *Ptolemy*; that he and his successors had held them ever since that partition, till *Antiochus the Great* made himself master of them after the battle of *Paneas*, and that *Antiochus* had stipulated on the marrying of his daughter to *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, and made it the main article in the marriage-contract, to restore to him those provinces by way of dowry. *Antiochus* denied both these particulars, and pretended, that in the general division, which had been made of *Alexander's* empire, all *Syria*, including *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine*, had been allotted to *Seleucus Nicator*, and therefore belonged to him as his lawful heir in the *Syrian* empire. As to the marriage-contract, by virtue of which the *Egyptians* demanded the restitution of those provinces, he maintained, that there was no such article in that agreement. Having thus laid down their respective claims without coming to any conclusion, the decision of the controversy was at last referred to the sword \*.

IN the mean time the king of *Egypt* being declared of age, great preparations were made at *Alexandria* for the solemnity

\* HIERONYMUS in Dan. & Polyb. legat. 82. p. 308. legat. & 72. p. 893.



of his coronation, as was usual among the *Egyptians*. On this occasion *Antiochus* sent *Apollonius*, one of the chief noblemen of his court, with the character of ambassador to assist at the solemnity, and congratulate the young king in his name on his taking the administration into his own hands. This in outward appearance was done in honour of his nephew; but the real motive was to discover the designs of the court, and the measures they were taking with regard to the provinces of *Cœle-Syria* and *Palestine*. And accordingly being informed on the return of *Apollonius*, that war was intended against him, he immediately imbarqued for *Joppa* to visit the frontiers towards *Egypt*, and put them in a state of defence against any attempts, which the *Egyptians* might make on that side. In this progress he took *Jerusalem* in his way, and was received there by *Jason* with all the marks of honour which the basest flattery could dictate, and that blind people were profuse of their acclamations to an idolatrous prince, whose tyranny they were soon to experience. From *Jerusalem* he went into *Phœnice*, and having settled all things in the places he passed through, he returned to *Antioch*<sup>1</sup>. The next year *Jason* sent his brother *Menelaus* to *Antioch* to pay the tribute to the king, and negotiate some other affairs in his name. But *Menelaus* in the audience which he had, instead of pursuing his commission, supplanted his brother, and obtained his office by offering three hundred talents more than *Jason* had given for it. *Menelaus*, on his return to *Jerusalem*, was opposed by his brother, and even obliged to quit the city; but having recourse to *Antiochus*, and promising to embrace his religion and the worship of the *Greeks*, he so far gained the king's favour, that he was sent back with such a power as *Jason* could not resist; who thereupon left *Jerusalem*, and retired into the country of the *Ammonites*. Upon his flight *Menelaus* took possession of the high-priesthood, and made good his promise to *Antiochus*, by apostatizing from the law of *Moses* to the superstition of the *Greeks*, and seducing as many of his countrymen as he could. Having thus taken possession of the high-priesthood, he neglected paying the money he had promised, and was on that account summoned to appear before the king at *Antioch*. But before he reached that city, *Antiochus* was gone from thence to quell an insurrection at *Mal-lus* and *Tarsus*, two cities of *Cilicia*. For the revenues of these two cities having been allotted to *Antiochis*, one of the king's concubines, for her maintainance, the inhabitants out

<sup>1</sup> 2 MACCAB. iv. 21.



of indignation, or perhaps because *Antiochis* exacted upon them, rose up in arms, and committed great disorders. *Antiochus* therefore hastened thither in person to appease the sedition, leaving the government of *Antioch*, during his absence, to *Andronicus*, one of the chief men of his court. In the mean time *Menelaus*, by selling many of the gold vessels of the temple, at *Tyre* and in the neighbouring cities, raised a sufficient sum, not only to pay the king, but to bribe *Andronicus* and the other courtiers to reinstate him in the king's favour. *Onias*, who was then confined to *Antioch*, could not help reproving the apostate for the sacrilege he had been guilty of in plundering the temple of the sacred vessels; which *Menelaus* not being able to brook, applied to *Andronicus*, and by promising a large sum of money engaged him to dispatch *Onias*, who upon intelligence of what was plotting against him, took sanctuary in the asylum at *Daphne*. But *Andronicus*, having by fair promises prevailed upon him to quit the asylum, treacherously slew him, and thereby earned the money which the impious *Menelaus* had promised him. His death was universally regretted by the *Greeks*, as well as the *Jews* of *Antioch*, who therefore joined in petitioning the king to take cognizance of the murder which had been committed in his absence. *Antiochus*, wicked as he was, had a great esteem and even veneration, for *Onias*; and therefore, to gratify his own resentment, as well as that of the *Antiochians*, who had presented him the petition, caused *Andronicus*, after he had been convicted of the crime laid to his charge, to be conducted with infamy to the place where the murder had been committed, and there put to death in such manner as his crime deserved<sup>m</sup>. Upon the authority of the second book of the *Maccabees*, we have rejected the testimony of *Josephus*, who tells us<sup>n</sup>, that *Jason* was not created high-priest till after the death of *Onias*. Nay in this *Josephus* contradicts himself; for in his small treatise of the *Maccabees* he relates this affair agreeable to the history we have followed. *Antiochus*, says he in that treatise, abrogating the high-priesthood of *Onias*, put his brother *Jason* in his room, who promised to pay him a yearly tribute of three thousand six hundred and sixty talents; when he was in possession of the high-priesthood, he led the nation, estranged from their ancient manners and institutions, into all sorts of iniquity; and not only established a gymnasium in the fortress

<sup>m</sup> 2 MACCAB. iv 32, 33, 34, & seq.      <sup>n</sup> JOSEPH. Antiq. l. ii. c. 6.



of our country, but introduced a total neglect of the temple. Thus far *Josephus*, agreeable to the history of the *Maccabees* in every particular, save the annual tribute, which he increases, if the copy is not corrupted, beyond all measure.

Epiphanes  
sent an  
embassy to  
Rome.

*Antiochus* having ever since the return of *Apollonius* from the *Egyptian* court been making the necessary preparations for the war, which he saw himself threatened with by *Ptolemy* on account of *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine*, and finding himself in a condition to begin it; resolved to defer it no longer, but to carry it into the enemy's country instead of waiting for it in his own. He imagined that as *Ptolemy* was then but sixteen years of age, and governed intirely by weak ministers, he should be able to bring him to what terms he pleased. Besides, the *Romans*, under whose protection the *Egyptians* had put themselves, were not at leisure to afford them any assistance, by reason of the war which they had on their hands with *Perseus* king of *Macedon*; thinking therefore that he could not have a more favourable conjuncture for putting an end to the quarrel, he resolved forthwith to begin the war. However, to keep as far with the *Romans* as the case would admit, he sent an embassy to *Rome* to pay the arrears of the tribute that was due to the republic, and at the same time to lay before the senate the right he had to the provinces of *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine*, then in his possession, and to justify the war which he was obliged to engage in to maintain them. *Apollonius*, who was at the head of the embassy, carried with him besides the tribute, considerable presents for the republic. When the *Syrians* arrived at *Rome*, and were introduced to the senate, their speech consisted chiefly of apologies in the name of the king their master, for having so long delayed satisfying the *Romans*. For *Seleucus* had neglected to pay this debt, and *Antiochus* his successor had not yet been in a condition to discharge it. After *Apollonius* had paid down the whole sum, he offered, as a free gift, several vases of gold, which weighed five hundred pounds, returned the republic thanks for the excellent education their king had received at *Rome*, and the marks of honour that were paid him during his abode there, and concluded with laying before the senate his claim to *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine*, and demanding that the alliance between *Rome* and *Syria* might be renewed. The senate received the envoys very graciously, defrayed their expences, and made

° LIV. l. xlii. c. 29. POLYB. legat. 71 p. 892 JUSTIN, l. xxxiv. c. 2. DIODOR. SICUL. legat. 18. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xii. c. 6. HIERONYM. in DAN. c. 11.



them presents of a considerable value. The prætor *Attilius* was ordered to draw up the act of confederacy upon the same foot on which it had been made with *Antiochus the Great*. The money which the ambassadors delivered was put into the hands of the quæstors, and the gold vessels consigned to the censors, who offered them to such of the gods as they thought fit. As for the king's claim to the provinces of *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine*, the senate put off the discussing of that point to a more proper season, returning no answer on that head<sup>2</sup>.

BEFORE the ambassadors returned from *Rome*, *Antiochus*, putting himself at the head of his army, had marched towards the frontiers of *Egypt*. There he was met by the forces of *Ptolemy* between mount *Casius* and *Pelusium*. Hereupon an engagement ensued, in which the *Egyptians* were routed at the very first onset. *Antiochus*, taking advantage of this victory, fortified the frontiers of his dominions so well on that side, that they served ever after as a barrier to check the utmost efforts of the *Egyptians* attempting to recover those provinces. This was his first expedition into *Egypt*, after which, without engaging in any other enterprize that year, he returned to *Tyre*, and put his army into winter-quarters<sup>3</sup>.

DURING his stay at *Tyre*, three deputies from the sanhedrim of *Jerusalem* waited upon him to complain of *Menelaus*, whom they convicted, in the king's presence, of impiety, sacrilege, and many violences and disorders. Hereupon the king resolved to put him to death; but *Menelaus*, having bribed *Ptolemy Macron* (S), one of the king's ministers, with a large

<sup>2</sup> LIV. POLYB. JUSTIN. *ibid.* <sup>3</sup> HIERONYM LIV. POLYB *ibid.*

(S) This *Ptolemy Macron* having been formerly governor of the island of *Cyprus* under king *Ptolemy Philometor*, had during his minority kept in his own hands all the revenues of that island; and could never be prevailed upon to deliver them up to the minister, notwithstanding their earnest call for them. But as soon as the king was declared to be out of his minority, he brought the whole sum to *Alexandria*, and paid it into the royal treasury. As it was a supply very much wanted at that time to answer the exigences of the government, he was highly commended for his conduct. But afterwards exasperated at some ill treatment he met with from the ministers, or because he was not rewarded for so important a service according to his expectation, he revolted from *Ptolemy*, went over to *Antiochus*, and delivered up to him the island of *Cyprus*. The king received him with great favour, took him into the number of his principal friends, and appointed him governor of *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine*, sending *Crates*, who had commanded in the name of *Je-*



large sum of money, not only escaped the sentence which was ready to be pronounced against him, but prevailed upon the king to put the three deputies to death, as if they had accused him unjustly, which was such a bare-faced piece of oppression and injustice, that the *Tyrians*, touched with compassion at their unhappy fate, caused them to be honourably interred<sup>r</sup>.

*His second  
expedition  
into E-  
gypt.*

*Antiochus* having spent the whole winter in making fresh preparations for a second expedition into *Egypt*, as soon as the season allowed him to take the field, marched to the frontiers of that country, where he gained a second victory over the forces of *Ptolemy*, took *Pelusium*, and led his army in to the very heart of the kingdom. In this last overthrow it was in his power to have cut off all the *Egyptians* to a man; but instead of pursuing this advantage, he took care to put a stop to the slaughter, riding about the field in person, and forbidding his men to put any more to death. This clemency gained him the hearts of the *Egyptians* so far, that when he advanced up into the country, all the inhabitants voluntarily submitted to him; by which means he made himself master of *Memphis* and all the rest of *Egypt*, except *Alexandria*, which held out against him<sup>r</sup>. In this second invasion *Philopator* fell into the hands of the conqueror; but whether he was taken prisoner, or surrendered himself to him of his own accord, is uncertain. The latter seems to some most likely; for *Antiochus* entertained him very kindly, allowed him his liberty, kept him at his own table, and carrying him with him to *Memphis*, affected to be extremely careful of the interest of the young king, and to manage the affairs of the kingdom as tutor and guardian to him. But when he once saw himself in possession of the country, he seized all that was valuable for himself, pillaged the cities, and caused such desolations as are not to be expressed, enriching himself and his army with the spoils of the plundered people. *Philometor* all this time made a pitiful figure; in the field he had always kept as far as possible from danger, and had not even shewn himself to those who fought for him. Af-

<sup>r</sup> 2 MACCAB. iv. 45-50.    <sup>r</sup> 1 MACCAB. i. 17, 18. & 2. MACCAB. v. 1. HIERONYM. in Dan. xi. 24, 25. DIODOR SICUL. in excerpt. Valcsii p. 311.

*Jerusalem* under *Sostratus*, to be governor of *Cyprus* in his stead (59) Great mention is made of *Ptolemy Macron* in the books of the *Maccabees*.

(59) *Valcsii. excerpt. ex. Polyb. p. 126.*



terward he submitted to *Antiochus* in a most abject manner, suffering himself to be deprived of so large a kingdom, without making one single effort to preserve it. This, however, was not so much owing to his want of courage, and natural capacity, for he afterwards gave many instances of both, as to the effeminate education he had received under *Eulæus* his governor. For that eunuch, who was also his prime minister, had taken care, by corrupting him with all manner of luxury, to make him as unfit for business as he was able, that when the young prince was grown up, he might be as necessary to him, and consequently have the same power in the kingdom, as he had during his minority <sup>1</sup>.

WHILE *Antiochus* was thus employed in *Egypt*, a false report of his death prevailing all over *Palestine*, *Jason* thought this a proper opportunity to recover his station at *Jerusalem*, and therefore marched thither with above a thousand men; and, having by the assistance of the party he had in the city made himself master of it, and obliged *Menelaus* to retire into the citadel, practised all sorts of cruelties on his fellow citizens, unmercifully putting to death all those who fell into his hands, and whom he considered as enemies <sup>2</sup>. When advice of this was brought to *Antiochus* in *Egypt*, he concluded, that the *Jews* had made a general insurrection, and therefore marched with all haste out of *Egypt* into *Judæa* to quell it. What most provoked him was his being told, that the inhabitants of *Jerusalem* upon a false report of his death had made great rejoicings. He therefore in a great rage laid siege to the city, took it by storm, and in three days time slew forty thousand of the inhabitants, and taking as many prisoners sold them for slaves to the neighbouring nations. Nor did he stop here, but entering forcibly into the temple and the most sacred places, polluted with his presence the holy of holies itself, whither the wicked *Menelaus* led him. And to offer the greater indignity to that sacred place, he sacrificed a sow on the altar of burnt-offerings, and having caused part of it to be boiled, he ordered the temple to be sprinkled all over with the water in which it had been boiled, that he might thereby utterly defile it (T). After this adding sacrilege to profanation, he

*Takes Jerusalem  
and profanes the  
temple.*

carried

<sup>1</sup> 1 MACCAB. i. 19 JUSTIN. l. xxxv. c. 2.      <sup>2</sup> 1 MACCAB. i. 20---25. 2 MACCAB. v. vi. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xii. c. 8.

(T) This circumstance is mentioned by *Diodorus Siculus* in the following words: “*Antiochus Epiphanes*, having overcome the  
“*Jerus*, entered the holy oracle of God, to which the priests on’y



carried away the altar of incense, the shew-bread table, the candlestick of seven branches belonging to the sanctuary, which were all of gold, and several other vessels, utensils and gifts of kings likewise of gold, to the value of eighteen hundred talents. To complete the calamity of the *Jews*, *Antiochus* on his departure from *Jerusalem* appointed governor of *Judæa* one *Philip* a *Phrygian*, who was a man of a most cruel and inhuman temper, and *Andronicus*, another of the like disposition, governor of *Samaria*, and left *Menelaus*, the most wicked of the three, in the office of high-priest.

IN the mean time the *Alexandrians*, seeing *Philometor* in the hands of *Antiochus*, whom he suffered to govern his kingdom as he pleased, looked upon him as lost to them; and

“ had access. There he found the statue of a man with a long  
 “ beard, holding a book in his hand, and sitting upon an ass;  
 “ which he took to be *Moses*, who built *Jerusalem*, founded the  
 “ nation, and established those laws which are hated by all nations.  
 “ But he desiring to take away what all nations abhorred, did his  
 “ utmost to abrogate the laws. Therefore he sacrificed a great  
 “ sow to the founder, on the altar of God, which stood in the o-  
 “ pen air, and poured blood both upon the statue and the altar,  
 “ and boiling the flesh commanded the holy books containing their  
 “ laws to be sprinkled with the water; the immortal taper, as  
 “ they term it, which always burnt in the temple, he commanded  
 “ to be put out, and compelled the chief-priest and other *Jews* to  
 “ eat hog’s flesh”. Thus far *Diodorus Siculus* (60), who in this particular agrees with *Josephus*. This author tells us, that *Antiochus*, after he had made himself master of the city, sacrificed a sow upon the altar, and caused the temple to be sprinkled with the water, in which it had been boiled (61). And here we cannot help observing, that *Josephus* in his account of *Antiochus*’s taking the city of *Jerusalem*, not only contradicts all the antients, but even himself. For *Polybius*, *Strabo*, *Timagenes*, *Apollodorus*, *Nicolaus Damascenus*, &c. tell us, that *Antiochus* took *Jerusalem* by storm after he had lain a considerable time before it; and *Josephus* in his history of the *Jewish* war (62), writes in express terms, that *Antiochus* took the city by force, and represents him as enraged by what he had suffered in the siege; and in another place (63), he speaks of those who were slain in the siege fighting against *Antiochus* in defence of the place. But for all this, in his antiquities he tells us, that *Antiochus* entered the city without force, those of his party within opening the gates to him. But this is not the only place where that writer is inconsistent with himself.

(60) *Diodor. Sicul. l. xxxiv. apud. Photium cod. 244.*

(61)

*Joseph. Antiquit. l. xiii. c. 16*

(62) *Joseph. de bell. Judaic. l.*

*i. c. 1.*

(63) *Idem ibid. l. vi. c. 11.*



therefore placed his younger brother on the throne, giving him the name of *Euergetes*, which was afterwards changed into that of *Physcon* or *great-bellied*, his luxury and gluttony having made him remarkably corpulent, and by this name he is most commonly mentioned in history. On his ascending the throne, *Cineas* and *Cumanus* were appointed his chief ministers, and to them was committed the care of restoring, if possible, the affairs of the kingdom to their former flourishing condition <sup>w</sup>.

*Antiochus* being informed of what was transacting in *Egypt*, took occasion from thence to return a third time into that country upon the specious pretence of restoring the deposed king; but in reality to make himself master of the kingdom. Having therefore defeated the *Alexandrians* in a sea-fight near *Pelusium*, he again entered that unhappy country at the head of a powerful army, and advanced directly to *Alexandria* with a design to besiege it. Whereupon the young king, consulting with his two ministers, agreed to summon a council composed of all the chief officers of the army, and to deliberate with them on the most proper means to extricate himself out of his present difficulties. After long debates in the council they came at last to this resolution; that as their affairs were in a very bad situation, it was absolutely necessary for them to make up matters with *Antiochus*, and that for this purpose the ambassadors, who were then at *Alexandria*, from several of the *Greek* states to the *Egyptian* court, should be desired to interpose their mediation. The ambassadors readily complied with the king's request, and being accompanied by two ambassadors from *Ptolemy* forthwith sailed up the *Nile* to wait on *Antiochus* with proposals of peace. *Antiochus* received them in his camp very kindly, and having given them the first day a noble entertainment, appointed the next to hear their proposals. The *Achæans* spoke the first, and afterwards the rest in their turns. All agreed in ascribing the calamities of the war to the ill conduct of *Eulæus*, and the minority of *Ptolemy Philometor*, made artful apologies in favour of the young king, and did all that lay in their power to soften *Antiochus*, and bring him to terms of peace with his nephew, laying great stress on their affinity. *Antiochus* in his answer to them acknowledged all to be true that they had said, as to the origin and cause of the war, and then took the opportunity of laying before them his title to the provinces of *Cæle-Syria*, and *Palestine*, exhibiting the various reasons

*His third expedition into Egypt.*

<sup>w</sup> PORPHYRIUS in GRÆC. EUSEB. SCALIGER. p. 60 & 63. POLYB. legat. 81. p. 907. LIV. l. xlv. c. 19.



*The Egyptians apply to the Roman senate.*

which we have already taken notice of, and producing some authentic instruments in proof of all that he alledged, which were judged so strong, that all there present were of opinion that he had the best right to those provinces. As for the proposals of peace, he referred them to a future treaty, which, he said, he would readily enter into with them, when two persons then absent, whom he named, should be with him, without whom, he told them, he would not take a single step in so important a negotiation. Having returned this answer, he raised his camp, went to *Naucratis*, and from thence marched to *Alexandria*, which city he closely besieged. In this extremity *Ptolemy Euergetes* and *Cleopatra* his sister, who were in the city, sent ambassadors to *Rome*, representing their case, and imploring the assistance of that powerful republic. The ambassadors being, soon after their arrival at *Rome*, introduced to the senate, appeared there dressed in the deepest mourning, and carrying olive-branches in their hands. After they had fallen prostrate before the conscript fathers, they expressed themselves in the following terms: *Egypt*, said they, which you have protected, and whose kings have been under your tuition, is now upon the very brink of ruin. *Alexandria* is besieged; and, to complete our misfortunes, the enemy, who threatens us, has found favour here. *Antiochus*, king of *Syria*, who has been brought up here as your hostage, is the scourge which the gods have brought upon us. If therefore *Egypt* has deserved your compassion, as she has always been faithful to you, ward off the blow that threatens her with destruction. Nothing is more easy to you than to fix on the head of our sovereign, and your friend and ally, a crown which an ambitious uncle would bereave him of. *Antiochus* reveres your authority, and pays a deference to your orders; one word from you will put an end to his unjust conquests and our fears. How glorious will it be for *Rome* to restore, with one word, tranquillity to *Egypt*! On the contrary, what a reflection would it be on your republic, if our sovereign should be forced to fly hither for refuge against an invasion, which you might with so much ease have prevented! The danger is imminent, and the least dilatoriness in your deliberations will make the disease incurable\*. Both compassion and policy inclined the senate to favour the suppliants. They plainly saw, that it would be dangerous to suffer *Antiochus* to grow so powerful as the uniting the crown of

\* POLYB. legat. 90. p. 915. & legat. 84. p. 909. LIV. l. xlv. c. 19. JUSTIN, l. xxxiv. 2.



*Egypt* to that of *Syria* would make him. The senate therefore resolved to send without delay an embassy into *Egypt* to put an end to the war. The persons appointed for this important negotiation were *Caius Popilius Lænas*, *Caius Decimius*, and *Caius Hostilius*, their instructions were, that they should first wait on *Antiochus*, and afterwards on *Ptolemy*, should order them in the name of the senate to suspend all hostilities, and put an end to the war; which if either of them should refuse to do, they were to let him know, that the *Romans* would no longer look upon him as their friend and ally. As the danger was imminent, three days after the resolution was taken in the senate they set out together with the *Egyptian* ambassadors from *Rome* † (U).

IN the mean time ambassadors arrived in *Egypt* from *Rhodes*, sent by that republic on purpose to make up matters between the contending parties. These landing at *Alexandria* went from thence, after having received the proper instructions from the ministers of that court, to the camp of *Antiochus* before the town, and used their utmost endeavours to make a thorough reconciliation between him and his nephew, insisting on the long friendship and alliance which had subsisted between them and both crowns, and the obligations which they thought themselves under on this account to use their best offices, in order to settle a good understanding between them. But while they were making long harangues on these topics, *Antiochus* interrupting them, declared in few words, that there was no occasion for long speeches on that subject, that the kingdom belonged to *Philometor* the elder brother, with whom he had concluded a peace, and contracted a strict friendship, and that if they would restore the crown to him, the war would be ended at once. Thus he spoke, but harboured very different designs in his heart. The resistance he met with at *Alexandria*, which city he plainly

† LIV, I, xliv. c. 9. POLYB. legat. 90. p. 915.

(U) The time of the departure of the ambassadors from *Rome* is thus expressed in an antient diary, which *Pighius* has inserted in the second volume of his annals (64). The third day before the nones of *April*, C. *Popilius Lænas*, C. *Decimius*, and C. *Hostilius*, are sent ambassadors to the kings of *Syria* and *Egypt* to put an end to the war between them. The ambassadors early in the morning, attended by a troop of their clients and relations, sacrificed in the temple of *Castor* to the household gods of the *Roman* people a bull, and thus concluded their sacrifices.

(64) Vide *Pighii Annal. ad Annam urbis* 587.



saw he should never be able to master, had made him change his plan, and conclude, that the surest way to compass his design was to keep up an animosity between the two brothers, and engage them in a war against each other, which as it would soon exhaust the kingdom, would give him a fair opportunity of overpowering both, and seizing the whole for himself. With this view he raised the siege of *Alexandria*, marched towards *Memphis*, and there put *Philometor* in possession of the whole kingdom, except *Pelusium*, which he retained, that he might re-enter *Egypt*, having the key of that country in his hands, the instant matters were ripe for his purpose. Having thus settled things agreeable to his new scheme, he returned to *Antioch* <sup>a</sup>.

*Philometor* being roused at length from the deep lethargy into which his indolence and effeminacy had plunged him, had penetration enough to see into *Antiochus's* design. His keeping of *Pelusium* was a sufficient indication to him, that he held this gate of *Egypt* with no other view but to invade the country, when his brother and he should have wasted their strength by their domestic broils, and not be in a condition to make head against him; in which case they would both fall victims to his unbounded ambition. The instant therefore that *Antiochus* left *Egypt* he sent to his brother, intreating him to lay aside all animosity, and make a thorough reconciliation, lest *Antiochus* taking advantage of their domestic feuds, should dispossess them both of the kingdom. *Ptolemy Physcon* readily embraced the proposal, and by the mediation of *Cleopatra*, who was sister to both, an agreement was made upon terms, that the two brothers should reign jointly. After this *Philometor* returned to *Alexandria*, and *Egypt* was restored to its former tranquillity, to the great joy of the inhabitants, particularly of the *Alexandrians*, who had greatly suffered by the war <sup>a</sup>. But the two brothers, not doubting but *Antiochus* would soon invade the kingdom anew, sent ambassadors into *Greece* to hire there some auxiliaries (W), which indeed

<sup>a</sup> LIV. l. xlv. c. 11.

<sup>a</sup> LIV. ibid. JUSTIN. l. xxxiv. c. 2. PORPHYR. in GRÆC. EUSEB. SCALIGER p. 60. & in EUSEB. Chron. p. 68. POLYB. legat. 89 p. 912.

(W) These ambassadors were sent into *Achaia*, desiring, in the two kings names, only a thousand foot under the command of *Lycortas*, and two hundred horse under the conduct of his son *Polybius* the historian. The assembly of the *Achaians* was then sitting at *Corinth*, and *Caulerates*, who presided in it, opposed the request



deed was a very prudent step; for *Antiochus* hearing of the reconciliation of the two brothers, and finding his fine scheme thereby intirely defeated, fell into a great rage, and resolved to pull off the mask, and employ the whole force of his kingdom against both. Accordingly early in the spring he sent his fleet to *Cyprus* to secure that island, and at the same time marched in person by land at the head of a powerful army to reduce the kingdom of *Egypt*, and seize it for himself, without pretending, as he had done before, to espouse the cause, and support the interest, of one of his nephews. On his arrival at *Rhinocorura* he was met by ambassadors from *Philometor*, who after having complimented him in

of the ambassadors, pretending that it was not for the interest of the *Achæan* confederacy to concern themselves with foreign affairs; but that they ought to keep their troops at home, that they might be in a readiness to assist the *Romans* against *Perfes*. *Lycortas* and *Polybius* answered *Callicrates*, and in their answer observed, that *Polybius*, having waited on the *Roman* consul *Marcus*, who commanded the army in *Macedon*, and offered him the succours which the *Achæans* had agreed to send him, the consul had thanked him, and at the same time told him, that since he had got footing in *Macedon*, he should not want any foreign aid; and hence they concluded, that the *Achæans* ought not, on that pretence, to refuse the kings of *Egypt* the succours they required. They added, that as the *Achæan* republic could, without the least inconvenience, raise thirty or forty thousand men, so small a number, as was desired by the princes, could not lessen their strength; that they ought to seize this opportunity of assisting them; that it would be a monstrous piece of ingratitude to requite in this manner the many favours which they had received from the kings of *Egypt*; and that their refusal, on this occasion, would even be an infringement of the treaties concluded between them and that crown. This speech moved the members of the assembly, who were all for sending immediately to the kings the succours they required; which *Callicrates* observing, dismissed the assembly, pretending that it was not lawful to debate on an affair of this nature in a general meeting. It was therefore referred to a particular assembly, that was soon after held at *Sicyon*. In this all the members were of the same opinion with *Lycortas* and *Polybius*, when *Callicrates* produced a forged letter from *Marcus* the *Roman* consul, wherein he exhorted the *Achæans* to interpose their mediation, and use their good offices, in order to put an end to the war between the *Ptolemies* and *Antiochus*. This letter, which no one suspected to be forged, determined the *Achæan* confederates to send an embassy only to the contending princes (65).

(65) *Polyb. legat.* 89 — 91.



their master's name, and told him that their sovereign owed his restoration to his good offices, conjured him not to destroy his own work, but to suffer him peaceably to enjoy the crown, which he wore by his favour. But *Antiochus*, now throwing off the mask, and laying aside those tender and affectionate expressions which he had hitherto made shew of, returned the ambassadors this haughty answer; that he would not grant peace to either of the brothers, but upon condition that the island of *Cyprus*, the city of *Pelusium*, with all the lands on that branch of the *Nile* on which it stood, and the provinces of *Cœle-Syria* and *Palestine*, were delivered up to him for ever. Having thus declared his real design, he fixed a day for their returning him an answer to his demand, which not being satisfactory, he entered *Egypt* in an hostile manner, and, having reduced the whole country as far as *Memphis*, received there the submission of most of the other cities and provinces. From *Memphis* he marched to *Alexandria*, with a design to besiege that city, the reduction of which would have made him absolute master of all *Egypt*. And this he would, without all doubt, have accomplished, had not the *Roman* ambassadors put a stop to his further progress, and dashed at once all the designs which he had been so long carrying on, in order to possess himself of that country<sup>b</sup>.

The Ro-  
man em-  
bassadors  
oblige him  
to quit E-  
GYPT:

THE ambassadors came up with him at *Eleusina*, a village but four miles distant from *Alexandria*, and *Popilius* accosted him with an air of gravity proper to gain himself respect. As the king was intimately acquainted with *Popilius*, and had contracted great familiarity with him, while he was an hostage at *Rome*, as he drew near him, he offered him his hand, which was an uncommon mark of familiarity and distinction from so great a prince. But *Popilius*, disdaining this kind reception, told him, that the public interest of his country must take place of private friendship, and that he would not join hands with him till he had first read to him the decree of the senate, with which he was sent. I shall judge, said he, by your submission or refusal, whether you ought to be treated as a friend or an enemy. If you obey, I shall receive all marks of your friendship with joy. These words were very shocking to a victorious and powerful king at the head of a numerous army. However, *Antiochus* took the decree which *Popilius* offered him, and, after having read it, told him that he would advise with his council about it, and return him an answer in a short time. But the proud republican insisting on an immediate answer, drew a circle round him in the sand

<sup>b</sup> LIE & JUSTIN. ubi supra.



with a rod, which he held in his hand, and, raising his voice, You shall not go out of this circle, said he, till you either accept or reject the proposal I have made to you. I expect you will pay me the respect that is due to the authority of the *Roman* people and senate. The king, struck with this strange and peremptory way of proceeding, hesitated a moment, and then gave this answer, which would better have become a slave than a great king. Then I must satisfy you, *Popilius*, I will do what your republic expects from me. He had no sooner spoke than all the three ambassadors offered him their hands at once, and *Popilius* behaved thenceforth according to his former friendship with him. The *Roman* ambassadors, after *Antiochus* had left *Egypt*, returned to *Alexandria*, and, having there put the last hand to the treaty of peace and reconciliation between the two brothers, sailed to *Cyprus*, which *Antiochus* had conquered, obliged him to withdraw his troops from that island, and then returned to *Rome* to acquaint the senate with the success of their negotiations. They were soon followed by ambassadors from *Antiochus*, and the two *Ptolemies*. The former being introduced to the senate, made the following speech, which sufficiently shewed what a mean-spirited prince *Antiochus* was: Though *Popilius*, said they, communicated your pleasure to the king our master at a time when all *Egypt* was ready to sink under his arms; yet he preferred obedience to victory. He thought himself as indispensibly obliged to submit to the decisions of *Rome*, as to fulfil the will of the immortal gods. To this fulsome speech the senate returned the following answer; *Antiochus* did wisely in putting our orders in execution. The senate and people of *Rome* are satisfied with his conduct. After the *Syrian* ambassadors those from *Egypt* were introduced; they addressed the senate in the like extravagant strain; To you, conscript fathers, said they, we owe the deliverance of *Egypt*, and the concord that now reigns among us. The departure of *Antiochus*, and the union between the two rival princes by you brought to a happy issue, have secured our liberty, and restored peace to the kingdom. A double benefit! for which the kings and people of *Egypt* are as much indebted to you, as children to their parents, or mortals to the immortal gods. The senate answered in a few words, *Rome*, said they, shares your happiness, and is pleased with

\* POLYB. legat. 92. p. 916. LIV. l. xlv. c. 11, 12. JUSTIN l. xxxiv. c. 3. APPIAN. in Syriac. VAL. MAX. l. vi. c. 4. VELLEIUS PATERCUL. l. i. c. 10. PIUT. in apophtheg. c. 37. HIERONYM. in DAN. xi. 27.



your gratitude. *Egypt* may always depend on her protection. After these compliments were paid, the prætor was ordered to make the ambassadors the usual presents <sup>d</sup>.

*Vents his  
rage upon  
Jerusalem.*

*Antiochus*, on his return from *Egypt*, being highly provoked to see himself thus obliged to quit a kingdom, which he looked upon as his own, vented his rage upon the unhappy city of *Jerusalem*, which had no ways offended him. On his march through *Palestine* he detached twenty two thousand men under the conduct of *Apollonius*, with orders utterly to destroy the place. *Apollonius*, arriving at *Jerusalem*, carefully concealed his orders, and behaved in a friendly manner till the next sabbath, when, seeing all the people assembled in their synagogues to perform the religious duties of the day, he thought that the most proper time for putting his bloody commission in execution. Accordingly he let loose all his troops upon the unarmed and defenceless multitude, ordering them to put all the men to the sword, and seize the women and children, who, by the king's orders, were to be sold for slaves. This barbarous command was executed with the utmost rigor and cruelty; the soldiers inhumanly butchered all the men they could meet with; infomuch, that the very channels in the streets flowed with blood. They afterwards plundered the city, and set it on fire in several places, pulled down the houses, demolished the walls, and built with the ruins, which the fire had spared, a fortress on the top of one of the hills of the city of *David*, over-against the temple, which it commanded. This fortress they made their place of arms to keep the whole nation in awe, stored it with all manner of provisions, and laid up in it all the spoils which they had taken in the plunder of the city. From hence the garison used to sally out upon those who came to worship the true God in the temple, sprinkling the sanctuary with blood, and defiling it with all manner of pollutions, which their malice and hatred to the *Jewish* nation could suggest. The temple was therefore deserted, and a stop put to the daily sacrifices, none of the true servants of God daring to go thither to worship <sup>e</sup>. But the desolations he caused in *Judæa*, the cruel persecution which he stirred up against the true believers, and the bloody war which he carried on against the people of God, with the generous resistance made first by *Mattathias*, and afterwards by his son, the brave *Judas Maccabæus*, we shall de-

<sup>d</sup> LIV. l. xlv. POLYB. legat. 92. VAL. MAX: l. vi. c. 4.

<sup>e</sup> POLYB. ibid. 1 MACCAB. i. 29, 40. 2 MACCAB. v. 24, 25, 26. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xii. c. 7. & in præfat. ad histor. de Bell. Judaic. & l. i. c. 1. & l. vi. c. 11. ejusdem histor.



describe at length in the history of the *Jews*, as in a more proper place.

AFTER several of *Antiochus's* generals had been defeated, and the armies they commanded cut to pieces by *Judas Maccabæus*, the king of *Syria* sent at length *Lysias*, one of the greatest lords of his court, to complete the abolition of the law of God, and the destruction of its few defenders. The *Syrian* army designed for this purpose consisted of sixty thousand men ; and these preparations alarmed *Tiberius Gracchus*, whom the *Roman* senate had sent to visit all the kings, republics, and free cities in the east. He immediately flew to *Antioch* to watch the steps, and examine the designs of the king, whom he soon found to be no ways a formidable enemy. During the stay of *Gracchus* at *Antioch*, *Antiochus* hearing that *Paulus Æmilius* the *Roman* general, after having conquered *Perses* king of *Macedon*, and subdued that kingdom, had celebrated games at *Amphipolis* on the river *Strymon*, caused the same to be exhibited at *Daphne* near *Antioch*, having first sent emissaries into all parts to invite spectators, and to bring, at an immense expence, the best actors and most skilful workmen in *Europe* and *Asia*. The games were celebrated with incredible pomp and magnificence, and were by far the finest that had ever been in *Syria* (X). The  
part

(X) *Polybius* gives us the following account of the solemn procession which preceded the sports. In the first place marched five thousand men, all in the flower of their age, and in the attire of *Roman* soldiers ; these were followed by the like number of young men in the *Myrian* dress ; next to them came three thousand *Cilicians* in light armour, with crowns of gold on their heads ; then came three thousand *Thracians*, five thousand *Galatians*, many of them having silver shields, two hundred and forty couple of gladiators, a thousand young men mounted on *Nicean* horses, three thousand riding other horses, most of them with gold trappings, and gold crowns. These were succeeded by a thousand of the king's friends all on horseback with most costly trappings ; four thousand choice horsemen, all in purple robes interwoven with gold ; a hundred chariots drawn by six horses abreast, and forty two by four horses ; eight hundred youths with crowns of gold, walking before the statues of the *Syrian* and *Greek* deities and heroes, which were carried by men in most rich and costly robes, and attended by a thousand pages, all belonging to *Dionysius* the king's secretary, and each of them carrying a silver vessel, weighing a thousand drachmas ; the king's pages, to the number of six hundred, carrying vessels of gold, two hundred women on foot, with chaïces of gold full of sweet smelling waters to sprinkle the spectators. The



part the king there acted during the whole time, answered in every respect the character which *Daniel* had given of him, calling him a *vile* and *despicable* person. He exposed himself by a thousand indecent actions to the scorn and ridicule of that numerous assembly, and caused more laughter than the best pantomimes; insomuch, that many of the spectators shocked at a conduct so unworthy of a prince, and so repugnant to all rules of modesty and decorum, fled from the shows and returned home. On this occasion he brought out before the people all the vases and valuable moveables in his treasury, which had never before been seen in public; and there is no doubt but the spoils of the temple of *Jerusalem* were the finest part of the show. Towards the *Roman* deputy *Antiochus* behaved himself with the meanest flattery, attending him like a slave, and giving him his own palace to live in, while he himself lodged in a borrowed house the whole time *Tiberius* continued at *Antioch*; nay, he even of-

The procession was closed by fourscore women in a very rich and expensive attire, carried in litters with legs, according to the fashion of those days, of massy gold, and five hundred more in litters with legs of silver. Besides the procession, sports, shews, and diversions of all kinds were exhibited every day for the space of a month; during which time the king entertained all the spectators of any note or rank at fifteen hundred tables, which were daily served at an immense charge with the most expensive dishes of *Europe* and *Asia*. In the rooms were placed fifteen large jars of gold, filled with precious ointments for the use of the king's guests. In short, the whole was performed with such order, elegance, and splendor, as can hardly be expressed. But most of the spectators were more offended at the mean and unbecoming behaviour of the king, than pleased with all the rest. At the procession he appeared on a little palfrey, riding full speed up and down, as if he had not been in his right senses. He waited in person sometimes at one table, and sometimes at another, walking in his royal robes, and with the diadem on his head, before those who brought in the dishes. Sometimes he took it in his head to lie down on the floor, and there with a thousand indecent actions put his guests quite out of countenance. He was once carried into the room, where his guests of most distinction were entertained, in the disguise of a pantomime, and laid down on the floor as if he had been dead; but being roused by a sudden flourish of instruments, he started up, and began to dance with so many ridiculous gestures, that the whole company, shocked to the highest degree at such a mean behaviour in a king, rose up at once, and left the room (66).

(66) *Polyb. apud Athenæum, l. v. c. 4. & l. x. c. 12. Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Vallesii, p. 321.*



ferred to resign his crown to him ; which offer the wise *Roman* rejected with the utmost indignation, and judging of the king from what he himself had seen, he acquainted his republic, that they had no reason to be under the least apprehension of any danger from the king of *Syria* <sup>d</sup>.

SCARCE was the *Roman* envoy gone, when news was brought to *Antiochus*, that the armies, which he had sent against the *Jews*, were intirely cut off. Hereupon the king in a great rage drew all his troops together, which formed a very numerous army, being fully determined to destroy the whole *Jewish* nation, and settle new colonies in their country. But when he came to pay his army, he found his treasury so exhausted that there was not money in it sufficient for that purpose, he having expended vast sums in his late shows, and besides squandered away the greatest part of his revenues in the presents he bestowed on his friends and followers. For he was naturally very generous, and in this particular excelled, as the author of the book of the *Maccabees* tells us, *all the kings before him* ; and the prophet *Daniel* speaks of him as *scattering among his followers, the prey, and the spoil, and riches*. How he came by these *riches, spoil, and prey*, *Athenæus* tells us : All these expences, says he, speaking of *Antiochus*, were made partly out of the prey, which contrary to the promise he had made to *Philometor*, he took in *Egypt*, partly out of the gifts of his friends, but chiefly out of the spoils of the many temples which he had sacrilegiously robbed <sup>e</sup>.

BESIDES the straits and difficulties to which the want of money reduced him, he was greatly perplexed, according to the prophecy of *Daniel*, by tidings that came to him out of the east, and out of the north. For in the north *Artaxias* king of *Armenia* had revolted from him, and *Persia*, which was in the east, paid no longer the usual tribute, all things being there, as in the other parts of the empire, in the utmost confusion, by reason of a decree which the king had enacted, injoining all the nations subject to him to renounce the religion of their ancestors, and conform to that of the *Greeks*. To put a speedy end to these evils, and prevent their spreading, *Antiochus* resolved to divide his army into two parts, leaving one of them with *Lyfias* to reduce the *Jews*, and marching

<sup>d</sup> POLYB. apud Athen. l. v. c. 4. p. 104, 107. & l. x. c. 12. p. 439. DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt. Valefii. p. 321. DANIEL. XI. 21. MACCAB. l. i. c. i. v. 21. <sup>e</sup> MACCAB. l. i. c. 3. v. 27. & seq. ATHENÆUS Deipnosoph. l. v. p. 195.



in person with the other, first into *Armenia*, and afterward into *Persia*, to restore the affairs of those provinces to their former condition. Accordingly having left *Lysias* governor of all the provinces on this side of the *Euphrates*, and committed to his care the education of his son *Antiochus Eupator*, who was then but seven years old; he crossed mount *Taurus*, and entering *Armenia* defeated *Artaxias* (Y), and took him prisoner. From *Armenia* he marched into *Persia*, in order to oblige the inhabitants of that rich province to pay him the arrears of their yearly tribute. He there was informed, that the city of *Elymais* was greatly renowned for its wealth, and that there was in the place a temple, dedicated, according to *Polybius*, to *Diana*, according to *Appian*, to *Venus*, in which immense sums were lodged. Upon this notice he flew to *Elymais* with a design to plunder both the city and the temple, as he had done at *Jerusalem*. But his design having taken vent, the inhabitants of the city and the neighbouring villages, taking up arms in defence of their temple, repulsed him with the greatest ignominy. *Antiochus*, greatly grieved at this disgrace, withdrew to *Ecbatan* in *Media*. Soon after his arrival thither, news was brought him of the defeat of *Nicanor* and *Timotheus*, two of his generals, in *Judæa*; which enraged him to such a degree, that he immediately set out from *Media* with all possible expedition, in order to make that nation feel the most dreadful effects of his wrath, breathing nothing on his march but total ruin and utter destruction. As he was thus hastening towards *Babylonia*, through which he

(Y) *Artaxias* the first of that name, of whom mention is made here, had, according to *Polybius*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Appian*, commanded the troops of *Antiochus the great* in the provinces of *Asia*, which were subject to the crown of *Syria*, and with the consent of his master made himself sovereign of a small state in *Upper Armenia*; while *Thariades*, another of the same king's generals, established a new kingdom, likewise with the consent of *Antiochus* in *Lower Armenia*. After the defeat of *Antiochus*, they both put themselves under the protection of the *Romans*. Nevertheless *Epiphanes* made war upon *Artaxias*, cut his army in pieces, and took the prince himself prisoner. But his captivity, in all likelihood, lasted no longer than the life of *Epiphanes*. For we find him soon after at war with *Mythrobuzanes*, the son of *Thoriades*, whom he forced to abandon his dominions, and fly for refuge to *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*. *Artaxias* did all that lay in his power to prevail upon *Ariarathes* to destroy the fugitive prince. But the king of *Cappadocia* was so far from being seduced with the flattering hopes *Artaxias* gave him of sharing with him the provinces of *Lower Armenia*, that he even had the generosity to re-establish at the head of a powerful army *Mythrobuzanes* on his throne.



was to pass on his return, he was met on the road by fresh messengers, bringing him an account that *Lysias* had been defeated, that the *Jews* had retaken the temple, thrown down the images and altars which he had erected, and restored their former worship. At this news his fury and rage increased, and being impatient to reach *Antioch*, that he might from thence march in person against the *Jews*, and execute his vengeance upon the whole nation, he commanded his charioteer to drive with the utmost speed, threatening to utterly extirpate the whole nation without leaving one single person of the *Jewish* race alive. He had scarce uttered these words when he was seized with a great pain in his bowels, which no remedy could cure or abate. But notwithstanding this violent shock, suffering himself to be hurried away by the wild transports of his fury, he gave orders for proceeding with the same precipitation in the journey. But while he was thus hastening forwards, he fell from his chariot, and was by the fall so bruised, that his attendants were forced to put him into a litter. But not being able to bear even the motion of the litter, he was obliged to halt at a town called *Tabæ* (Z), situate among the mountains of *Parætacene* on the confines of *Persia* and *Babylonia*, and there keep his bed, suffering inexpressible torments, occasioned chiefly by the vermin which bred in his body, and the stench which made him insupportable even to himself. But the torments of his mind, caused by his reflecting on the former actions of his life, surpassed by many degrees those of his body. *Polybius*, who in his account of this wicked prince's death, agrees with *Josephus*, and with the authors of the first and second book of the *Maccabees*, tells us, that the uneasiness of his mind grew at last to a constant delirium or state of madness, by reason of several specters and apparitions of evil genii or spirits, which, he imagined, were continually reproaching him with the many wicked actions he had been guilty of. *Polybius* indeed ascribes all this to the sacrilegious attempt which he made on the temple of *Diana*

*The unhappy death of Antiochus Epiphanes*  
Year of the Flood,  
2834.  
Before Christ,  
165.



(Z.) *Polybius* and *Porphyrius* agree with the author of the second book of the *Maccabees*, as to the place where *Antiochus* ended his day. *Castaldus* is of opinion that *Tabæ* and *Ecbatan* are one and the same city. It is plain from the history of the *Maccabees* that *Tabæ* stood in a mountainous country, and such was the province of *Ecbatan* in *Media*. But *Niger* thinks that the situation of *Tabæ* agrees better with that of the present city of *Ispahan*. 2. *Curcius* places *Tabæ* in *Parætacene*, which is the most northern province of *Persia*.



in *Elymais*, without taking any notice of the many sacrileges and profanations which he had not only attempted, but actually committed at *Jerusalem*. But *Josephus*, with much more reason and justice, imputes his cruel death to what he did at *Jerusalem*; and of this *Antiochus* himself, as we read in the first book of the *Maccabees*, seems to have been well apprised. To what a condition, said he to his friends in the height of his torments, am I reduced! what a change of fortune have I undergone! Alas! I now remember with grief the calamities I brought on *Jerusalem*. I am but too sensible of the vengeance of the God, whom I have provoked; and it shall be now my whole business to appease him. I will restore to the *Jews*, whom I have persecuted, their antient privileges and liberties: I will make them as happy and independent as the city of *Athens*: I will restore the temple of the true God to its former lustre, and return the sacred vessels, and even increase their number. Nay, I will embrace the law of the circumcised myself, and zealously promote it in others. Thus spoke *Antiochus*, hoping he should appease the Almighty by these great promises; but as they were extorted from his mouth, and not from his heart, by the violence of his unrelenting torments, he did not obtain mercy, though he sought it with tears; and therefore, after having languished some time in this deplorable condition, he ended his unhappy life after having reigned eleven years and some months<sup>t</sup>. *Porphyrius*, *Eusebius*, *Jerom*, *Sulpitius Severus*, and others tell us, that he reigned only eleven years; but the author of the first book of the *Maccabees* says, that he began his reign in the 137th year of the kingdom of the *Greeks*, and died in the 149th, which lengthens his reign to twelve years. To reconcile the abovementioned writers with the author of the history of the *Maccabees*, we must say with the learned *Usher*, that *Antiochus* began his reign in the end of the 137th year, and died in the beginning of the 149th year of that æra, after having reigned, according to that computation, eleven years and some months (A). As *Antiochu*

<sup>t</sup> *MACCAB.* l. i. c. 6. & ii. c. 9, &c. *POLYB.* in excerpt Valesii, p. 144. *APPIAN.* in Syriac. *JOSEPH* Antiq. l. xii. c. 13. *HIERONYM.* in Dan. xi. 36. *EUSEB.* in Chron.

(A) As *Antiochus the great* attempted the same sacrilege in the country of *Elymais*, which *Antiochus* his son is said to have attempted in the city of *Elymais*, some have imagined that the identity of names may have led writers into a mistake, and made them ascribe to both the sacrilege, which was attempted only by one. On this  
sup



*chus Epiphanes* was a violent persecutor of the *Jewish* church, and a type of the *Antichrist*, who in after-ages is to afflict the christian church, more is said relating to him in the prophecies of *Daniel*, than to any other prince. But of this more at length in our notes (B). *Antiochus*

supposition *Scaliger* (67) finds fault with *S. Jerom*, for saying in his comment on the eleventh chapter of *Daniel*, that *Antiochus the great* was cut off with his whole army by the *Elymæans*, which he pretends not to be true of *Antiochus the great*, but only of his son *Epiphanes*. But what *Jerom* says is vouched by many other writers of no mean character, *viz.* that *Antiochus the great* was thus cut off in attempting to plunder the temple of the *Elymæans*, and none ever said that *Epiphanes* lost his life in such an attempt; for he escaped, with the loss indeed of many of his men, and died some time after, as *Appian* (68), *Polybius* (69), *Josephus* (70), and the authors of the first and second book of the *Maccabees* witness. Besides, though the attempt was made by both princes in the same country, yet it was not on the same temple; for that of *Antiochus the great* was on the temple of *Belus*, and that of *Epiphanes* on the temple of *Diana*, which goddess is said by *Strabo* to have had a very rich temple in the country of the *Elymæans* (71). The same author tells us, that this temple was plundered by one of the *Parthian* kings, who found in it ten thousand talents. This temple, as the same *Strabo* informs us (72), was called *Azara*, or, as *Casaubon* reads it (73), *Zara*; whence *Diana* was called by the *Persians* *Zaretis* (74).

(B) The eleventh chapter of *Daniel* from the twentieth verse to the end, is wholly concerning *Antiochus Epiphanes*. The whole may be divided into two parts, whereof the first relates to his war in *Egypt*, and the other to the persecution carried on by him against the *Jews*. And first as to his wars with *Egypt*, the prophet after having spoke of his accession to the crown in the twenty-first verse; *And in his estate* (*Seleucus Philopator's*) *shall stand up a vile person, to whom they shall not give the honour of the kingdom; but he shall come in peaceably, and obtain the kingdom by flatteries* (75); after having thus, I say, pointed out his accession to the throne, the prophet goes on thus: *and with the arms of a flood shall they* (the *Syrians*) *be overflown before him, (Antiochus Epiphanes) and shall be broken; yea also the prince of the covenant.* *Heliodorus*, who had murdered *Seleucus*, and his adherents, as also the partisans of the king of *Egypt*, who had formed designs against *Syria*, were defeated by the forces of *Attalus*, and dispersed by the arrival of *Antiochus*, whose

(67) *Scaliger. in animad-ver. ad Euseb. chron p. 140.* (68) *Appian. in Syriac.* (69) *Polybius. in excerpt. Valesii. p. 144.* (70) *Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 13.* (71) *Strab. l. xvi. p. 744.* (72) *Idem ibid.* (73) *Casaub. in notis ad pag. 744.* (74) *Hesych. in voce Ζαρητις.* (75) *Daniel. c. xi. v. 21. v. 22. v. 23. v. 25. v. 40.*



Antiochus Eupator. *Antiochus* before he expired, having sent for *Philip*, who was his chief favourite, and had been brought up with him from

presence disconcerted all their measures. By the *prince of the covenant*, some suppose to be meant *Heliodorus*, the ring-leader of the conspirators ; others *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, king of *Egypt*, who lost his life by a plot laid by his own subjects, while he was bent upon a war with *Syria*. In the following verses *Daniel* evidently speaks of *Antiochus's* four different expeditions into *Egypt* ; *And after the league made with him* (with *Ptolemy Philometor* his nephew, king of *Egypt*) *he shall work deceitfully ; for he shall come up, and shall become strong with a small people.* *Antiochus*, though he was already determined in his own mind to wage war, assumed a specious appearance of friendship for the king of *Egypt* ; nay, he even sent *Apollonius* to congratulate his nephew on occasion of his coronation, and to assist in his name at that ceremony. Nevertheless soon after, on pretence of defending him, he marched into *Egypt*, defeated his forces, and returned to *Tyre* loaded with the spoils of the plundered people. What is said in the twenty fifth, fortieth, forty-second and forty third verses, was accomplished in his second expedition into *Egypt*, viz. *And he shall stir up his power and his courage against the king of the south with a great army, and the king of the south shall be stirred up to battle with a very great and mighty army, but he shall not stand : for they shall forecast devices against him : and at the time of the end shall the king of the south push at him, and the king of the north shall come against him like a whirlwind with chariots, and with horsemen and with many ships : and he shall enter into the countries, and shall overflow and pass over.* *Antiochus*, after having employed the whole winter in making preparations for a second expedition into *Egypt*, invaded that country both by sea and land as soon as the season allowed him, and entered into *Egypt*, as we read in the first book of the *Maccabees* (76), *with a great multitude, with chariots, with elephants, and horsemen, and a great navy,--and made war against Ptolemy king of Egypt.* If we compare the history of the *Maccabees*, and indeed the profane writers, with *Daniel's* prophecies, we shall find a perfect agreement among them, with this difference alone, that the prophet is more clear and particular than any of the historians. *He shall stretch forth his hand,* continues the prophet, *also upon the countries, and the land of Egypt shall not escape. But he shall have power over the treasures of gold and silver, and over all the precious things of Egypt.* *Antiochus* after the victory, which he gained over *Ptolemy's* forces in his second expedition into *Egypt*, made himself master of all that country, *Alexandria* alone excepted, over running it with an astonishing rapidity, which his forefathers had not done, nor his father's fathers, as the prophet expresses it. What we read in the twenty-sixth verse, viz.

(76) *Maccab. i. c. i. v. 17, 18, 19.*



from his infancy, appointed him regent of the Syrian empire during the minority of his son, and delivered into his hands the

*Yea, they that feed of the portion of his (the king of Egypt's) meat shall destroy him, and his army shall overflow; and many shall fall down slain; this I say was fulfilled by the revolt of Ptolemy Macron from Philometor, and the treachery and male-administration of Lenæus, Eulæus, and other ministers employed under them. What is said in the twenty-seventh verse was fulfilled in the meeting of Antiochus and Philometor at Memphis; and both these kings hearts shall be to do mischief, says the prophet, and they shall speak lies at one table; but it shall not prosper; for yet the end shall be at the time appointed.* The two princes, in the time of the second and third expedition of Antiochus into Egypt, met at Memphis, eat frequently at the same table, and behaved towards one another with all the outward marks of a sincere friendship. The uncle seemed to have the nephew's interest at heart, and the nephew to repose an intire confidence in his uncle. But all this was mere shew and out-side; they both spoke lyes; the design of Antiochus being to seize on the kingdom for himself, and Philometor's to lay hold of the first opportunity that offered, to disappoint him; as he did accordingly by agreeing with his brother and the Alexandrians, as we have observed in the text, out of Livy and other profane historians (77). Hereupon followed what is foretold in the twenty-ninth and thirtieth verses; *At the time appointed he shall return, and come towards the south, but it shall not be as the former, or as the latter. For the ships of Chittim shall come against him; therefore he shall grieve and return, and have indignation against the holy covenant.* For advice being brought to Antiochus, that the two brothers were reconciled, he pulled off the mask, and openly owned that he intended to take possession of Egypt himself, and with this view he returned and came again towards the south, that is, into Egypt; but he did not prevail as in the former, and in the latter attempts upon that country, by reason of the ships that came from Chittim, or the country of the Greeks against him, having on board Popilius Lænas and the other Roman ambassadors. For these, having embarked on some Greek ships, which they found at Delos, sailed from thence to Egypt, and finding Antiochus before Alexandria, obliged him to leave the country, to his great grief, and return to his own dominions. However, what the prophet foretold in the forty second and forty-third verses, of his stretching forth his hand upon the land of Egypt, and his having power over the treasures of gold and silver, and all other the precious things of that country, had its thorough completion; for in all his expeditions into Egypt, he miserably harassed that country, returning from thence loaded with spoils, and carrying treasures of gold and silver taken by him and his followers (78). And thus far the prophecies of Daniel

(77) Liv. l. xliv. c. 19. Athenæus, l. v. p. 195. (78) Athen. l. v. p. 195. Hieronym. in Dan. c. xi. v. 27.



the diadem, the seal of the empire, and the other ensigns of royalty, charging him above all things to give his son, then nine years old, such an education as might qualify him to govern his subjects with justice and moderation. But *Philip*, on his arrival at *Antioch*, found the employment, which the king had conferred upon him, usurped by another. For *Lysias*, upon the first advice of the king's death, had placed his son *Antiochus*, who was then under his care, on the throne, giving him the name of *Antiochus Eupator*, and assuming to himself the tuition of his person and the government of his kingdom. *Philip* well knew that he was not at that time in a condition to contend with so powerful a rival, and therefore retired into *Egypt*, in hopes of finding at that court the assistance he wanted to drive out the intruder, and take upon him the government which the king had intrusted him with <sup>g</sup>.

**Demetrius** In the mean time, *Demetrius* the son of *Seleucus Philopator*, who had been an hostage at *Rome* ever since his father's death, and was now in the twenty third year of his age, hearing of the death of *Antiochus Epiphanes* and the accession of his son *Eupator* to the crown, which of right belonged to him, as the son of the elder brother, applied to the senate, and strongly represented to them the indisputable title he had to the crown of *Syria*. The same destiny, said he, when he was introduced to the conscript fathers, which formerly deprived *Syria* of *Seleucus* my father, has just now taken from her my uncle *Antiochus*. They succeeded one another in the throne, and each of them left a son a minor. I was of the same age as young *Antiochus* is now, when upon the death of my father I was judged incapable of governing so great an empire. Afterwards I was brought from my native country to this place as an

<sup>g</sup>APPIAN in Syriac. EUSEB. in Chron. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xii. c. 14. MACCAB. l. i. c. 6. v. 17.

relating to the wars between the kings of *Syria* and the kings of *Egypt*, or as the prophet styles them, between the *kings of the north* and the *kings of the south*. As to the other part of *Daniel's* prophecy, which relates to the cruel persecution he brought upon the *Jews*, we shall take notice of it in the history of that people. In the mean time we cannot help observing, that by *the prince of the covenant*, mentioned in the twenty-second verse, the prophet most likely pointed out *Onias* the high-priest of the *Jews*, who was deposed and banished by *Epiphanes*, and at last murdered by one of his lieutenants; and not *Heliodorus*, or the king of *Egypt*, as some interpreters would have it.

hostage,



hastage, and have here had the happiness to grow up under your eyes, and form myself by your examples. All the senators of this great metropolis are fathers to me, and all their children brothers. I am by the education you have given me become intirely *Roman*, and if I fill by your favour the throne of my ancestors, I shall only sit there to dispense your laws. How glorious will it be for you, and how advantageous for *Syria* to see two of your pupils succeed one another ! Can you in equity suffer a child to usurp my rights, and let my residence among you be prejudicial to me ? I am informed that *Antiochus* is already proclaimed king, and has taken the name of *Eupator*. My absence alone could authorise his friends to give him a diadem, which, by right of birth and order of nature, can belong only to me. I am the son of a king, and of the eldest of the two brothers, who have successively reigned in *Syria*. There is the same objection against the promotion of young *Antiochus* to the throne after his father, as there formerly was against my succeeding mine. He is too young to sustain the weight of public affairs. He has no right to the crown, but what he derives from *Epiphanes* ; and *Epiphanes* himself pretended at first to hold the crown only in trust. Upon his death therefore my right revives, and I am now able to bear the burthen of the state ; I am three and twenty years old, and have learnt the art of reigning from you. Let young *Antiochus* be brought to *Rome* for an hostage ; his youth will make him susceptible of your instructions ; and give me leave, conscript fathers, to go into *Syria*, and there take quietly possession of my crown, or make good my right by dint of sword <sup>b</sup>.

NOTWITHSTANDING the justice of this demand, the senators were divided in their opinions. The most sequitable among them thought they could no longer detain *Demetrius* at *Rome*, since by that means they debarred him from the crown, to which he had an indisputable right. But the less scrupulous, upon principles of policy and motives of interest, were for keeping the young prince still at *Rome*. These remonstrated, that such a king of *Syria* as *Demetrius*, who was in the flower of his age, of an aspiring genius, and of extraordinary parts, might in the end prove a formidable enemy to the republic, and raise new troubles in the east ; whereas a child on the throne would court their friendship, and seek for protectors at *Rome*. Nay, these refined politicians went further, and without any regard to justice proposed declaring *Antiochus*

<sup>b</sup> JUSTIN. [l. xxxiv. c. 3. POIYB. legat. 107. APPIAN. in *Syriac*. p. 117.



*The Ro-* ward of the republic, and sending guardians to govern his  
*mans* *usurp* dominions in the name and under the direction of the *Roman*  
*the guardi-* senate. This opinion, though repugnant, in a most flagrant  
*anship of* manner, to all the laws of common justice and equity, pre-  
*young Eu-* vailed in that venerable body ; and accordingly three persons  
*pator.* of consummate experience were immediately named to give  
law to *Syria*, under pretence of assisting and advising the new  
king during his minority. These were *Cn. Octavius*, who  
had discharged the consulate with great reputation, *Sp. Lu-*  
*cretius*, and *L. Aurelius*. This iniquitous decree was enact-  
ed by the senate, and confirmed by the people without the  
consent or even privity of the *Syrians*, who had no thoughts  
of desiring any foreign guardians for their king. So despotic  
a power did the haughty *Romans* assume over kings, after the  
defeat of *Perfes*, and reduction of *Macedon*. Neither was  
the senate satisfied with opposing the just claim of *Demetrius*  
to the crown of his father, and setting it on the head of a  
child, to whom it did not belong ; but moreover gave the  
guardians, who were to take care of the affairs of *Syria*,  
such instructions as tended to the weakening of the kingdom  
of their ward. For they were ordered by the senate  
to burn all the ships with decks, which the king of *Syria*  
had, as soon as they should be in possession of the guardi-  
anship, to hamstring all his elephants, and in short to  
weaken by all means possible the strength of that powerful  
kingdom. With these instructions *Octavius*, who was at  
the head of this commission, set out with his colleagues  
to govern in quality of guardians, the most powerful state in  
*Asia* <sup>1.</sup>

*Celebrated* In the mean time *Lysias*, who, as we hinted above, had  
*victories of* usurped the tuition of the young king and the government of the  
*Judas* kingdom, was pursuing with the utmost ardor the war against  
*Maccabæ-* the *Jews*, which *Antiochus Epiphanes* had begun. He had  
*us.* entered *Judæa* with fourscore thousand men, with all the  
cavalry of the kingdom, and fourscore elephants, proposing  
to make *Jerusalem* the habitation of *Gentiles*, and utterly  
abolish the worship of the true God. He had opened the  
campaign with the siege of *Bethsura*, a strong fortress between  
*Jerusalem* and *Idumæa* ; but being there defeated by the brave  
*Judas Maccabæus*, with the loss of eleven thousand foot  
and sixteen hundred horse, he had struck up a peace with the  
conqueror, one of the articles of which was, that the de-  
cree of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, which obliged the *Jews* to con-  
form to the religion of the *Greeks*, should be revoked, and

<sup>1</sup> JUST. POLYB. APPIAN. & LIV. ubi supra.



free liberty allowed them to live according to their own laws. But this peace was of no long duration ; for the governors of the neighbouring provinces, not being satisfied with it, assembled all their forces to the number of an hundred and twenty thousand foot, and five and twenty thousand horse, and marching, under the command of *Timotheus*, into *Judæa*, put all to fire and sword. But *Judas Maccabæus*, full of confidence in the God of armies, attacked and defeated them with a handful of *Israelites*. On this occasion the *Syrians* lost upwards of thirty thousand men, and the victory was attended with many advantages on the side of *Judas*, who pursuing the remains of the shattered army, came up with them at the city of *Carnion*, and finding that many of them had there taken refuge in the temple of *Atargatis* (C), he caused fire to be set to it, which soon consumed the temple, and all who were in it. After this severe execution he fell upon the *Syrians* in the town, and put them all without distinction to the sword ; and on this occasion five and twenty thousand more of *Timotheus's* forces were slain<sup>k</sup>. On his return to *Jerusalem* the city of *Ephron*, which had been well garisoned by *Lysias*, refused him admittance, though he promised to abstain from all hostilities, since he could not possibly march his army any other way but through the city itself, which lay directly in the road. This refusal exasperated the *Jewish* general, who thereupon assaulting the place, took it sword in hand, and after having put all the males, to the number of twenty five thousand to death, caused the city to be razed to the ground<sup>l</sup>. After this *Judas* made himself master of all the southern parts of *Idumæa* and the country of the *Philistines*, with the important city of *Azotus*, or *Ashdod*, demolishing

<sup>k</sup> MACCAB. l. i. c. 5. v. 37—43. & l. ii. c. 12. v. 24, 25, 26.  
<sup>l</sup> MACCAB. l. i. c. 5. v. 45—51. & l. ii. c. 12. v. 27, 28, &c.

(C) This deity is said by *Strabo* (79) to be a *Syrian* goddess. *Pliny* (80) takes her to be the same with *Derceto*, and adds (81), that she was worshipped at *Joppa* in *Phœnice*. *Diodorus Siculus* tells us (82), that the inhabitants of *Ascalon* paid her a special worship, and that she was represented in that city by an image, having in the upper part the form of a woman, and that of a fish in the lower. Hence *Selden* conjectures this deity to have been the same with *Dagon* worshipped by the *Philistines* (83).

(79) *Strab.* l. xvi. p. 748. (80) *Plin.* l. v. c. 23. (81) *Ilem.*  
*ibid.* c. 13 (82) *Diodor. Sicul.* l. ii. (83) *V. de Sc. de D. de*  
*Syris Syntag.* 2 c. 3.



every-where the heathen altars, burning their carved images, and enriching his army with the spoils of the plundered cities. But the *Syrian* garison, which still kept possession of the fortress of *Jerusalem*, and frequently sallied out upon the *Jews*, as they went up to worship in the temple, was a great thorn in their sides. Wherefore *Judas*, to redeem himself from this annoyance, having first made the necessary preparations, laid close siege to the place. But some of the apostate *Jews* who served among the *Syrians* in the fortress, knowing that they were to have no quarter, if the place were taken, found means to make their escape, and flying to *Antioch* acquainted the king and his council with the posture of affairs at *Jerusalem*, and represented the distress to which the garison was reduced so effectually, that forthwith an army was drawn together of an hundred thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse, with thirty two elephants, and three hundred chariots of war. The king in person, with *Lysias* the regent of the kingdom, put himself at the head of this formidable army, and entering *Judæa*, laid siege to *Bethsura*. Here *Judas*, with a small number of resolute men fell on the king's army in the night, and having killed four thousand of them, and thrown the whole camp into the utmost confusion, retired by break of day without the loss of one single man in so hazardous an attempt <sup>m</sup>.

THOUGH the *Syrians* were well apprised of the extraordinary valour of the *Jews*, yet they did not doubt but they should overpower them with the great number of their forces and elephants, and therefore leaving *Bethsura*, resolved to venture a general engagement, which *Judas* did not decline; nay he at the head of his small army began the onset, and killed about six hundred *Syrians*. But finding that notwithstanding all his efforts, he must at length be bore down, and perhaps hemmed in, by so numerous an army, he chose to withdraw in time, and retire in good order to *Jerusalem*. Upon his retreat the king returned to the siege of *Bethsura*, which after a long and vigorous defence was obliged to surrender for want of provisions <sup>n</sup>. From thence *Antiochus* marched against *Jerusalem*, and besieged the temple, which the garison was ready to deliver up for want of provisions when providence relieved them by an unforeseen accident <sup>o</sup>.

<sup>m</sup> Ibid. v. 65, 68, &c. &c. l. ii. c. 13. v. 15—17. &c. <sup>n</sup> MACCAB. l. i. c. 6. v. 49, 50. & l. ii. c. 13. v. 18, 22. <sup>o</sup> MACCAB. l. i. c. 6. v. 48—54.



WE have observed above, that *Philip*, whom *Epiphanes*, a little before his death, had intrusted with the education and guardianship of his son, had retired into *Egypt*, in hopes of finding assistance there against *Lysias*. But being disappointed in his expectation, by reason of the divisions which had again broke out between the two brothers, who reigned jointly at that time, he left *Egypt*. and hastening into the east, drew together a considerable army of *Medes* and *Persians*, and taking advantage of the king's absence on his expedition into *Judæa*, seized *Antioch* the capital of the empire, and there took upon him the government of the kingdom. When news of this attempt was brought to *Lysias*, he thought it necessary to make peace with the *Jews*, that he might be at liberty to turn his arms against his rival in *Syria*. A peace was accordingly granted to the *Jews* upon very advantageous and honourable terms, and sworn to by *Antiochus*. After this *Antiochus* was admitted within the fortifications of the temple, which seemed so strong to him and his officers, as truly they were, that contrary to the articles which he had sworn to, he caused them to be demolished before he set out for *Syria* <sup>P</sup>. *Lysias* on his return to *Antioch* defeated *Philip* in a pitched battle, retook the metropolis, and having got *Philip* into his hands, by his death put an end to all the disturbances he had raised <sup>Q</sup>.

WHILE *Lysias* was carrying on this war with the *Jews* and his rival *Philip*, the *Roman* ambassadors, or rather guardians, arrived in the east, and were there kindly entertained by *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*, through whose dominions they passed in their way to *Antioch*. As this young prince had nothing more at heart than to gain the good-will of the *Romans*, he expressed great joy at the guardianship which they were going to take upon them over *Antiochus* his near relation. As he knew the temper of the *Syrians*, and suspected the intrigues of *Lysias*, he offered to conduct *Octavius* with an army into *Syria*, or to put the army under his command, in order to prevent disturbances, and guard the envoys against any treacherous attempts. For he thought nothing could be more bold than the enterprize they had in hand. They were going of their own authority, without any invitation from the king, or the *Syrian* nation, to assume the government of a people, who were subject only to their own king. *Ariarathes* therefore pressed *Octavius* to accept of a guard at least; but the *Roman*, relying on the majesty of

<sup>P</sup> MACCAB. I. i. c. 6. v. 62.<sup>Q</sup> JOSEPH. I. vii. c. 11.



Rome, which he thought a safer guard than a numerous army, with those only who had attended him from Rome crossed *Cappadocia*, and entered the kingdom of *Syria*. Their arrival raised no small jealousy in the heart of *Lysias*, who as he was himself of the blood royal, could not brook that foreigners should come so far to deprive him of what he thought his right on many accounts. But *Octavius*, without even giving *Lysias* notice of his arrival, or the commission on which he was come, advanced towards *Antioch* with all the pride of his republic, fancying that every thing would give way before him at the bare name of a *Roman*. *Lysias* was then master of the person of the young king, of all the wealth of the kingdom, and had the troops at his command. However, as he was too wise to oppose the designs of Rome sword in hand, he hired an *African* born at *Leptis*, and then residing in *Syria*, to dispatch *Octavius*, without appearing to have any hand in the murder himself. The assassin soon found a favourable opportunity for making good his engagements with *Lysias*. For *Octavius*, with an unheard-of presumption, arriving at *Laodicea*, a maritime city between *Tripolis* (D) and *Antioch*, began there to put in execution the unjust orders of his republic, and to act the sovereign before he had even taken possession of the regency. He caused all the *Syrian* ships which he found there to be burnt, and the elephants to be disabled from serving in war, under pretence that, by the treaty made with the *Scipios*, *Antiochus the Great* had engaged to build no more ships of war, nor to tame more elephants. This bold step exasperated the populace to a great degree, and the *African* in the height of the public indignation, falling upon *Octavius*, killed him in the gymnasium at *Laodicea* <sup>r</sup>. This *Octavius* had been consul some years before, and was the first of his family who had attained to that honour <sup>r</sup>. *Octavius*, who afterwards became emperor, and is well known by the name of *Augustus*, was of the same family with this *Octavius*, but of another branch, which had not as yet been honoured with

Octavius,  
ambassador  
of the Ro-  
mans in  
Syria, kil-  
led.

<sup>r</sup> APPIAN. Syriac. p. 117. POLYB. legat. 114. p. 944. & legat. 122. p. 954.

<sup>r</sup> CIC. Philip. 6. n. 4.

(D) *Tripolis* stood at the foot of mount *Libanus* at a small distance from the sea, and was so called because it consisted of three great quarters, which were like so many cities, being about a stadium distant from each other, as *Strabo* informs us; but *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that it was called *Tripolis*, because inhabited by three different nations, viz. *Arabians*, *Tyrians*, and *Sidonians*. It still bears the same name.

the



the consular dignity. *Lyfias*, foreseeing the evil consequences of this attempt, did his utmost to clear himself from all suspicion of being any ways concerned in it. He caused *Octavius* to be buried with extraordinary pomp, and immediately dispatched ambassadors to *Rome* to assure the senate, that neither he nor the king had any hand in the assassination. But *Rome* sent back the ambassadors without any answer, reserving the whole to a future enquiry. But in the mean time to honour the memory of *Octavius*, they commanded his statue to be placed among those of the great men, who had sacrificed their lives for their country; and this statue was still standing near the tribunal of harangues in the time of *Augustus*<sup>1</sup>. In the mean time the assassin did not leave *Laodicea*, but publicly owned the action, which he maintained to be very commendable, and done at the instigation of the gods. Nay, one *Isocrates*, a *Rhetorician*, made a public panegyric on the assassin, and exhorted the people to dispatch in like manner the other ambassadors and all their attendants, that none might survive to stir up the *Roman* senate against them, or give any information of what had happened<sup>2</sup>.

*Demetrius*, thinking that the murder of *Octavius* might have so far alienated the minds of the *Romans* from *Eupator*, that they would no longer detain him at *Rome* for his sake, resolved to address the senate a second time, and beg permission to return into *Syria*. But as he had contracted an intimate acquaintance and friendship with *Polybius* the historian, who was then a prisoner at *Rome*, and generally deemed one of the best politicians of his age, he first advised with him; and that great man and sincere friend, when the young prince asked his opinion, whether he thought it proper for him to apply to the senate once more for leave to return into *Syria*, and take possession of a crown to which he had an indisputable right, returned him the following answer: Take care not to stumble twice against the same stone. Have you but one way of getting into *Syria*? Should a man of your age depend on the capricious will of an unjust senate like a child? Only dare to set yourself at liberty, and you will reign of course. These words struck the prince, who had a great opinion both of the fidelity and wisdom of *Polybius*, and had long governed himself intirely by his counsels. But the advice of a more timorous friend effaced the impressions they made. This was *Apollonius*, a young nobleman of *Syria*,

<sup>1</sup> Cic. *ibid.*<sup>2</sup> POLYB. *legat.* 122 JUSTIN. l. xxxiv.



who had been bred up with *Demetrius*, and was afraid his master might, by stealing privately away, disgust the senate, and thereby ruin his affairs. He therefore told him, that it was impossible *Rome* should be so unjust as to detain him in the present circumstances ; and that she would be glad to see an avenger of *Octavius* and an enemy to *Lysias* set out for *Syria*, now that he stood in no need of her armies or fleets to recover his right at her expence. The advice of *Apollonius* prevailed, and *Demetrius* had again recourse to the senate, joining entreaties to all those motives of mutual interest, which might well induce him to desire leave to depart, and the senate to grant it. But *Demetrius* was not so well acquainted with the *Romans* as *Polybius* ; for they, having still the same reasons for keeping him in *Rome*, persisted in the same resolution. After all, said they, when the matter was debated in the senate, the powerful kingdom of *Syria* is governed by a child, and *Rome* has nothing to fear during a minority. Besides, are we sure that *Demetrius*, who is a young man of uncommon parts, will be as pliant on the throne, as he affects to be at *Rome* ? Upon these considerations the second request of the prince met with a second refusal. When the decree of the senate, ordering him to continue in *Italy* till it pleased the conscript fathers to dismiss him, was read to him, he could not forbear exclaiming with great indignation against the unjust and undeserved usage he met with. He then remembered the advice of *Polybius*, and resolved to court the republic no longer, but to make his escape as soon as he could. He was greatly confirmed in this resolution by *Diodorus* his governor, who being just then returned from *Syria*, whither his master had sent him, told him that all *Syria* was in a flame, assuring him at the same time, that if he only shewed himself to his people, they would all receive him with open arms as their deliverer. However, before he took any step in so nice a matter, he desired the advice of *Polybius*, as to the manner in which he might best elude the vigilance of the *Romans*. The faithful *Achæan* took the whole management of the affair upon himself, and having communicated the design of *Demetrius* to an intimate friend of his, by name *Menithyllus*, who then resided at *Rome*, in quality of agent from the eldest of the two *Ptolemies*, he found out by his means an expedient to facilitate the prince's flight. There was at that time a *Carthaginian* ship riding at anchor in the port of *Ostia*, and bound for *Tyre* with the first fruits, which the *Carthaginians* annually sent to the gods of the city from whence they originally came. *Menithyllus*, pretending busi-  
ness



ness in the east, desired the commander of the ship to transport him and his attendants thither, and agreed with him on a price for his passage. As no body entertained any suspicion of him, he was allowed to carry on board what baggage and provisions he pleased. When every thing was got ready, *Demetrius*, to conceal his design from the many domestics he had in his household, sent most of his retinue with his hunting equipage to *Anagnia*, as if he designed to follow them thither the next day. *Diodorus*, who was a man well versed in business, was sent into *Syria* in another ship, that he might get there before him, and pave the way for his reception. *Polybius*, who was at the bottom of all this without ever appearing in it, being informed by *Menithyllus* that *Demetrius* the evening before his departure was to give a grand entertainment to his friends in a hired house, began to be very uneasy, lest he should let slip the opportunity ; for he knew that the young prince, when in company with his friends, used to indulge himself in mirth and jollity without bounds or reserve. Being therefore at that time indisposed and obliged to keep his house, he sent him a letter, as night was already far spent, containing several sentences out of the antients touching the courage, secrecy, and sobriety, which were necessary for the executing of great designs (E). The bearer was desired to give it to the master of the house, and he to deliver it into the prince's own hands. *Demetrius* having perused it, knew from what hand it came, and with what intention it was wrote, and therefore pretending to be out of order, he immediately rose from table, took leave of his friends, and returned home. There he imparted his design of leaving *Rome* that very night *Demetri-* to some *Syrian* noblemen of his retinue, inviting them to us escapes accompany him, which they readily consenting to, *Deme-* from *trius* set out in the dead of the night for *Ostia*. Rome.

(E) The sentences, which *Polybius* made use of on this occasion, were the following :

Ὁ δρῶν, τὰ τῇ μελλοντῇ, ὀίχεται φέρων  
 Εἰς ὃ φέρει νύξ, τοῖς δὲ τιλμῶσι τὸ πλῆον.  
 Τίλμα τι, κινδυνεύει, πράτ, αποτύγχανει,  
 Ἐπίτυχει πάντα μάλλον ἢ σκαυτὸν πρὸς.

To these he added the famous saying of *Epicurismus* : Ναφε, κ.  
 μέμνηται ἀπιστίας. οὐδὲν ἐστὶν ἄλλο τῶν φρονῶν.

*Menithyllus*



*Menithyllus* had gone some days before to acquaint the commander of the *Carthaginian* vessel, that he had received fresh orders from the king his master, which would keep him some time longer at *Rome*; but, however, he would put on board of him the same number of passengers, at the same price and on the same conditions. These he earnestly recommended to him, telling him that they were officers of distinction, who were going to serve in the *Egyptian* army. The prince and his retinue to the number of sixteen persons arrived early in the morning, and by break of day the *Carthaginian* weighed anchor to the great joy of *Demetrius*, who already considered himself as sitting on the throne of his ancestors. Three days passed before he was missed at *Rome*, every one believing he was gone, according to his custom, to divert himself with hunting in the neighbourhood of *Anagnia*. The secret was not discovered till the fourth day, when one of his servants, who had been ill used by his fellow-servant, went to *Anagnia* to complain to his master of the ill treatment he had met with; but not finding him there he returned to *Rome*, and discovered how long *Demetrius* had been absent. Hereupon a strict search was made after him, but no one in the city, except *Polybius* and *Menithyllus*, being privy to his escape, the messengers, who were dispatched into all parts, returned without having heard any tidings of him. The senate met the sixth day, and being fully convinced that he had made his escape, thought it needless to send after him since he had got the start of them by six days. They therefore resolved to take no further notice of it for the present; but only to send three ambassadors into *Syria* to observe what effect the return of *Demetrius* would produce there, and to watch that prince's steps. Pursuant to this resolution, *Tiberius Gracchus*, who had been two years before consul, *Lucius Cornelius Lentulus*, and *Servilius Glaucia* were a few days after appointed to go first into *Greece*, to appease the minds of the people there, who were dissatisfied with the *Roman* government, and from *Greece* to cross over into *Syria* \*.


*Writes to  
the senate.*

IN the mean time the fugitive prince landing in *Lycia*, wrote from thence a very polite letter to the senate: My design, said he, in making my escape, was only to revenge the death of *Octavius*, who was inhumanly murdered contrary to the law of nations. *Lysias* was the author of the assassination, and my aim is wholly at him. As to young

\* *Polyb. legat. 114.*



*Eupator*, though he has usurped my right, I respect him on account of his age and the protection with which you honour him. These promises had no great weight with the senate, no one doubting but *Demetrius*, when he once saw himself seated on the throne; would sacrifice to his own safety the life of his young rival. But they thought it did not become *Rome* to oppose by force of arms the settling of the lawful sovereign on the throne of *Syria*; and therefore waited without much uneasiness to hear of the prince's arrival and adventures there. From *Lycia* *Demetrius* continued his voyage, and landed at *Tripolis*, a *Syrian* city on the confines of *Phœnice*. He no sooner appeared there; but he was acknowledged and proclaimed king by all the inhabitants. In order to gain a strong party; he gave out in all the places he passed through, that he was sent by the *Roman* senate to take possession of his hereditary dominions, and that *Rome* was resolved to support him to the utmost of her power. This report was no sooner spread abroad; but *Eupator's* cause was looked upon as lost, both officers and soldiers abandoning him in troops to join the new king. His army increased daily; the cities and strong holds strove which should first submit to him, and the whole kingdom with great joy acknowledged him for their lawful sovereign. He no sooner appeared before *Antioch*, the metropolis of the kingdom; but the citizens, throwing open their gates, crowded out to him, inviting him to take possession of the palace of his ancestors. At length *Lysias* and his ward *Eupator*, being seized by their own soldiers, were delivered up to the new-comer; who ordered them to be put to death. Thus *Josephus*, *Justin*, and *Appian* relate the unhappy end of young *Eupator* and his guardian <sup>†</sup>. But the author of the first book of the *Maccabees* tells us, that they were taken prisoners by the soldiers of *Demetrius*, and by them put to death after the prince had declared that he would not see them <sup>‡</sup>. So that according to this writer they were slain by the soldiery, without any orders from *Demetrius*. *Eupator* reigned, according to *Josephus* <sup>‡</sup> and *Eusebius* <sup>§</sup>, two years, according to *Porphyrus* <sup>¶</sup>, and *Sulpitius Severus* <sup>¶</sup>, one year and six months. The author of the second book of the *Maccabees* tells us, that both

*Commander's*  
*Eupator to*  
*be put to*  
*death.*  
*Year of*  
*the Flood,*  
*2836.*  
*Before*  
*Christ,*  
*163.*  


<sup>†</sup> JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xii. c. 13. APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 117.  
JUSTIN. l. xxxiv. c. 3.      <sup>‡</sup> MACCAB. l. i. c. 7.      <sup>§</sup> JOSEPH. ibid. c. 16.  
EUSEB. in Chron.      <sup>¶</sup> In Græc. SCLIGER. l. ii.      <sup>¶</sup> SULPITIUS SEVER. histor. Sacra



he and his guardian *Lyfias* were killed in the third year of his reign, or, as others read it, after he had reigned three years <sup>e</sup>.

*Honoured  
by the Ba-  
bylonians  
with the  
surname of  
Soter.*

No sooner was *Demetrius* fixed upon the throne, but he delivered the *Babylonians* from the tyranny of *Timarchus* and *Heraclides*, two brothers, whom *Antiochus Epiphanes* had raised to great honours, upon no other merit but that of a ready compliance with his unnatural lust. The first he had made governor, and the other treasurer, of the province of *Babylon*, and their administration was insupportable to the inhabitants. *Demetrius* therefore, giving ear to the just complaints of his subjects, caused *Timarchus*, who was the most guilty, to be put to death, and banished the other. This deliverance was so acceptable to the *Babylonians*, that they gave *Demetrius* the title of *Soter* or *Saviour*, which he bore ever afterwards <sup>f</sup>. After this *Demetrius*, at the instigation of *Alcimus*, who on the death of *Menelaus* had been by *Eupator* appointed high-priest of the *Jews*, renewed the war with that nation, which had been carried on for so many years by *Epiphanes* and *Eupator* his predecessors. In this war the famous *Judas Maccabæus*, after repeated victories over the numerous armies of the king of *Syria*, lost his life, as we shall relate at length in the history of the *Jews*. Upon his death his brother *Jonathan* took upon him the command of the army, but the *Syrians* soon after withdrew their forces from *Judæa*, which, without all doubt, was owing to the letters sent by the *Roman* senate to *Demetrius* in behalf of the *Jews*. For that prince was at this time very cautious not to give the *Romans* any offence, and therefore ready to grant any thing they desired. His point in view was to get himself acknowledged king of *Syria* by the republic, knowing that this was the most effectual method to stifle all remaining factions at home, and keep up a good understanding with his neighbours abroad. Being therefore informed, that the *Romans* had three ambassadors at the court of *Arriarathes* king of *Cappadocia*, he sent *Menochares*, one of the chief lords of his court, thither to treat with them on this subject; and finding on his return by the report he made, that the good offices of the ambassadors were absolutely necessary for the gaining of his point, he sent again deputies to them, first into *Pamphylia*, and afterwards to the city of *Rhodes*, assuring them of his inviolable attachment to the in-

<sup>e</sup> MACCAB. I. ii. c. 14 v. 1, 2.  
P. 117.

<sup>f</sup> APPIAN. in Syriac.



terest of *Rome*. At length by thus continually pressing and Demetrius soliciting them, he obtained what he desired. First the em- *is acknow-*  
 bassadors, and afterwards their republic, acknowledged the *ledged king*  
 sovereignty of *Demetrius*, and gave him the title of king. *by the Ro-*  
 To cultivate the amity of that powerful republic, he sent *mans.*  
 the next year the same *Menochares* and others on an embassy  
 to *Rome*, with a crown of gold of great value, in acknow-  
 ledgment of the kind entertainment he had received while  
 an hostage in that city. With the present he sent the assas-  
 sin, who had murdered *Octavius*, and *Isocrates*, who in his  
 public declamations had maintained the justice of that ac-  
 tion, and exhorted the people to treat the other embassadors  
 in like manner. The *African* was not under the least con-  
 cern, but appeared gay during the whole journey, and boast-  
 ed that he would make even the *Roman* senate approve of  
 what he had done. But the *Rhetorician* sunk into a deep me-  
 lancholy from the moment he was seized, in order to be  
 delivered up to the republic, which he had offended. He  
 let his beard and nails grow, and could not be prevailed  
 upon without force to take any nourishment ; by which means  
 he grew so thin before he reached *Rome*, that he looked like  
 a skeleton. This was perhaps an artifice in the declaimer  
 to raise compassion. But the senate would see neither of  
 them, thinking that the punishment of these two men was  
 too small a satisfaction for the murder of their embassador.  
 They therefore rejected the two unhappy victims that were  
 offered them, and kept *Syria* in fear of a more severe ven-  
 geance. As to the embassadors, the senate received them  
 with all the usual honours, accepted of the king's present,  
 and gave him proofs of a perfect reconciliation \*.

*Demetrius*, after the orders he had received from *Rome*, *Sets up a*  
 had given *Judæa* some respite, as we have hinted above ; *pretender*  
 but as he was in the flower of his age, and had a martial *to the*  
 genius, he could not live long in peace. He therefore *crown of*  
 turned his arms against *Cappadocia*, where young *Ariarathes* *Cappado-*  
 then reigned. He was a prince endowed with many excel- *cia.*  
 lent qualities, of a sweet disposition, very gracious to his  
 subjects, and highly esteemed and beloved by them. His  
 kingdom under so mild a government would have soon be-  
 come one of the most happy and flourishing states of *Asia*,  
 had not great disturbances been raised by a pretender to his  
 crown, supported in his unjust pretensions by the whole

\* POLYB. legat. 122 p. 954, 955. APPIAN. in Syriac. ubi  
 supra. DIODOR. SICUL. legat. 25.



power of *Syria*. His rival's name was *Holophernes*, or, as others write it, *Orofernes*, and his claim was this: *Antiochis*, the daughter of *Antiochus the Great*, was married very young to the king of *Cappadocia* named *Ariarathes*, as well as his son. The queen having lived some time without children, and on that account believing herself barren, to gain the affection of her husband and subjects, feigned herself twice to be with child, and pretending to be delivered first of one son, and afterwards of another, imposed two supposititious children on the king her husband; the first of whom was called *Ariarathes*, and the other *Holophernes*. They were both brought up at the court of their supposed father, as heirs to his crown. But afterwards the queen proving truly to be with child, and being delivered first of one daughter, and then of another, and at last of a son, of whom she became passionately fond, declared to the king, that the two children, he had brought up as his eldest sons, were neither his children nor hers, and gave him strong proofs of the cheat she had put upon him. Hereupon the king immediately sent the two supposititious children out of the kingdom, with a sufficient sum of money to support them. The eldest, called *Ariarathes*, was sent to *Rome*, where he was carefully kept, and as he was a young man of a weak mind and slender parts, he was very little affected with his loss. But *Holophernes*, who was endowed with many great qualities, and had an enterprizing genius, was sent into *Ionia*, and commanded never more to set foot in the kingdom of *Cappadocia*. The true son, at first called *Mithridates*, taking thenceforth his father's name, was declared presumptive heir to the crown. Nay, the loving father, out of an excess of tenderness, as soon as the young prince was capable of governing, offered to resign the crown to him, and lead himself a private life. But young *Ariarathes* protested that he would rather die a thousand times than rob his father of his dignity; and by this generous behaviour he merited the name of *Philopator*, which the *Greeks* afterwards gave him <sup>h</sup>.

NOT long after *Ariarathes*, upon the death of his father, had ascended the throne, *Demetrius*, who had just then taken possession of the kingdom of *Syria*, offered him his sister *Ladice* in marriage. But she being the widow of *Perfes* king

<sup>h</sup> POLYB. l. iii. p. 161. & legat. 126. Appian. in Syriac. JUSTIN. l. xxxv. c. 1. Epitome LIVII, l. xlvii. DIODOR. SICUL. l. xxxi. apud Photium cod. 244. p. 1160. ZONAR. l. ix.



of *Macedon*, an avowed enemy to the *Romans*, and *Demetrius* himself not being yet acknowledged by them king of *Syria*, *Ariarathes* was afraid this match might give them offence, and therefore rejected the offer. This *Demetrius* resented, and under pretence of settling *Holophernes* on the throne, as he said, of his ancestors, made war on the king of *Cappadocia*. Besides, *Holophernes* tempted the *Syrian* with great promises, engaging to pay him a thousand talents, if he placed him on the throne. *Demetrius* therefore made great preparations for the carrying back of *Holophernes* to his native country; and on the other hand *Ariarathes*, entering into an alliance with *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus*, raised a considerable army to maintain his right. But *Demetrius* carried all before him; and driving *Ariarathes* out of *Cappadocia*, placed *Holophernes* on the throne. The dethroned prince fled to *Rome*, where, after long debates, the affair was determined, rather according to the inclinations of the judges, than the rules of equity, as we shall relate in the history of *Cappadocia* <sup>1</sup>.

*Demetrius*, having now no wars to carry on, gave himself up intirely to pleasures and ease, leading a strange, or rather gives himself up to fantastic, kind of life. For he caused a castle to be built near *Antioch*, flanked it with four strong towers, and there shutting himself up cast off all care of the public, being seldom sober the whole time he lived in that retirement. As no petitions were admitted, no grievances redressed, nor justice administered, the whole government was at a stand; which giving just cause of offence to all his subjects, they formed a conspiracy for the deposing of him. *Holophernes*, who had been driven out of *Cappadocia* and at that time lived at *Antioch*, entered into this plot against his benefactor, flattering himself that, in case the conspiracy took effect, the *Syrians* would place him on the throne in the room of the deposed king. But the whole conspiracy being soon discovered, *Holophernes* was seized, and kept under close confinement at *Seleucia*, *Demetrius* not caring to put him to death, that he might again, when a proper occasion should offer, let him loose upon *Ariarathes* <sup>2</sup>. *Demetrius*, on examining the conspirators, found that *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*, *Attalus* king of *Pergamus*, and *Ptolemy Philometor* king of *Egypt* were at the bottom of the plot; and concluding from thence, that if any misfortune should befall him, his son, named also *Demetrius*, might meet with opposition in his succession to the throne, unless his title was approved by the *Roman* senate,

<sup>1</sup> APPIAN. in *Syriac*. p. 118. POLYÆ. *legat*. 126.  
l. xxxv. c. 1.

<sup>2</sup> JUSTIN.



Alexander Balas  
lays claim  
to the  
crown.

resolved to deprive himself of his child, and send him to *Rome* to be brought up there. Accordingly the young prince set out soon after for that metropolis with a retinue suitable to his quality. But the *Romans* reviving their former resentment against his father for making his escape, and taking possession of a sceptre which they had not put into his hands, received the king's son very coldly, and scarce treated him as a nobleman. These proceedings greatly provoked the young prince's governors, who thereupon carried him back to *Syria*, when they had scarce shewn him at *Rome*. This sudden escape of the son was no less resented by the senate than that of the father had been some years before. While the republic was thus full of resentment both against the father and the son, *Heraclides*, who had been some time at *Rome* watching an opportunity to raise new disturbances in *Syria*, thought this the most proper time to succeed in a plot against *Demetrius*, which had been contrived by the abovementioned kings, *Ptolemy*, *Attalus*, and *Ariarathes*, and privately carried on by *Heraclides*. These princes being highly incensed against the king of *Syria*, the former for an attempt he had made upon the island of *Cyprus*, and the two others for the war he had waged with them in behalf of *Holophernes*, employed *Heraclides* to find out some young man of parts and address, and suborn him to personate the son of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, and under that title to lay claim to the crown of *Syria*. This *Heraclides*, as we have related above, had been a great favourite of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, and his treasurer in the province of *Babylon*, while *Timarchus* his brother was governor of it. But on the coming of *Demetrius* to the crown, the two brothers being found guilty of malversation and other crimes, *Timarchus* had been executed, and *Heraclides* banished. The latter being obliged to quit the dominions of the king of *Syria*, took up his residence at *Rhodes*, and there having found a young man named *Balas*, of mean extraction, but every way qualified for the abovementioned design, he thoroughly instructed him to act the part that was given him<sup>1</sup>.

HAVING thus formed him for the imposture, he caused him in the first place to be acknowledged by the three kings abovementioned, who acted underhand in concert with him; and then carrying him to *Rome* with *Laodice*, the real daughter of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, whom he had gained over, intro-

<sup>1</sup> LIV. Epitome, l. lii, POLYB. legat. 142. p. 966. JUSTIN l. xxxv c. 1. APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 131. ATHENÆUS, l. 211. SULPITIUS SEVERUS, Hist. Sacr. l. ii. c. 22. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 3.



duced them both to the senate, a few days after the flight of young *Demetrius*. As *Rome* was at that time highly incensed against *Demetrius* for the sudden escape of his son, the senate received them very graciously. *Heracledes*, who presented them to the senate, made on that occasion a very artful speech, which he concluded with the following words, after having expatiated on the inviolable attachment of *Antiochus Epiphanes* to the interest of *Rome*, and the cruelties supposed to have been practised by *Demetrius*, both over his subjects and the children of *Epiphanes*: But you, conscript fathers, are already too well acquainted with *Demetrius*, and my complaints will add nothing to the opinion you entertain of that subtle and crafty usurper. You have already openly discovered your sentiments by the reception you gave young *Demetrius*. You did not think the son of an usurper worthy of your education; nor would you form for the throne a person designed to perpetuate injustice on it. Nevertheless you did not then know, that two children of *Antiochus Epiphanes* had survived their father and their brother *Eupator*, who was cruelly assassinated. Appear then, you illustrious offspring of one of the heroes of *Asia*, I have rescued you from want and oppression, only to present you before the powerful and equitable tribunal of *Rome*. Make your demands yourselves; and be assured that the protection you will meet with, will be as favourable as your cause is just. Accordingly *Balas* spoke for himself, *The impostor Balas* and addressed the senate thus: The only favour I ask is, that you would remember king *Antiochus* my father. If his conduct was agreeable to you, you may as much depend on the submission of his son. Assist him with your protection, and he will soon give you proofs of his gratitude. If you desire to see *Syria* united in a close confederacy with *Rome*, give me only leave to return home. *Polybius*, who was then at *Rome*, tells us, that the whole city was fully convinced of the imposture, and therefore greatly surprized to hear that the senate had passed a decree in favour of the two pretenders. This famous decree was couched in the following terms: The senate and people of *Rome* having examined the petition of *Alexander* and *Laodice*, the children of *Antiochus Epiphanes* king of *Syria*, the friend and ally of the *Roman* people, give the son leave to recover the rights of his father; and our will and pleasure is, that our allies assist him therein<sup>m</sup>. *Balas* had changed his name, and taken that of *Alexander*, as *Justin* informs us; whence he is commonly called by the ancients

<sup>m</sup> POLYB. LIV. APPIAN. JUSTIN. ubi supra.



*Alexander Balas*; the latter was, according to *Appian*, his mother's name.

*Alexander* being thus countenanced by the *Roman* senate, met with no difficulty in raising troops as soon as he landed in *Syria*. *Ariarathes*, *Ptolemy*, and *Attalus*, sent him immediately powerful succours; so that he was soon in a condition to appear before *Ptolemais* in *Palestine*, and even make himself master of that important place; the reduction of which was no sooner heard of in *Syria*, but great numbers of *Syrians*, out of disaffection to *Demetrius*, flocked to him from all parts. This brought *Demetrius* out of his castle to provide for his own defence; he drew together all the forces he could, took the field, and, at the head of a formidable army, marched out to meet the impostor. He was well apprised that *Rome* had set up this rival to his crown; and therefore to appease the republic, he sent to *Rome* an impostor, named *Andriscus*, who pretending to be the son of *Perfes* was come to the court of *Syria* to solicit his establishment on the throne of his father in *Macedon*. The senate was well pleased to have this mock-king in their hands, but did not on that account discountenance in the least the pretender to the crown of *Syria*; nor shew any inclination to assist *Demetrius*. This prince, finding the *Romans* bent on his ruin, had recourse to *Jonathan*, who had succeeded the famous *Judas Maccabæus* in the command of the *Jewish* forces, and made him most tempting offers. He wrote a very obliging letter to him, appointing him commander in chief of all his forces in *Judæa*; and empowering him to raise what troops he thought fit. At the same time he commanded the governor of the fortress of *Jerusalem* to deliver up into his hands all the hostages of the *Jewish* nation, which were kept there as pledges of their fidelity to the *Syrian* interest. As the assistance of *Jonathan* was like to carry great weight with it, and turn the balance in favour of that side for which he should declare; *Alexander*, hearing what *Demetrius* had done to gain so powerful an ally, sent also his proposals to him, appointing him high-priest of the *Jews*; honouring him with the title of the king's friend (F), and presenting him with a purple robe, and a crown of gold, as ensigns of the high dignity conferred upon him, none but

(F) The title of *the king's friend* was highly esteemed under the *Syro-Macedonian* kings, being bestowed upon persons only of the first quality; and to wear a purple robe was a mark of great distinction, not only among the *Macedonians*, but other nations; whence the word *Purpuratus*, in the *Latin* tongue, signifies *a man of quality*, or *a prince*.

princes





princes and nobles of the first rank being in those days allowed to wear purple. *Demetrius*, being informed of the advantageous offers of *Alexander*, resolved to out-bid him, hoping, by that means to secure to himself an ally of such weight; he therefore sent a second message to *Jonathan*, offering to confirm all the grants of his rival, and adding to them many extraordinary gifts and privileges to be enjoyed for ever by him and the whole *Jewish* nation, provided he would espouse the cause, and maintain the undoubted rights of his family; but as he had, on all occasions, betrayed an irreconcilable hatred to the *Jews*, and endeavoured to extirpate the whole nation, *Jonathan* looked upon all these offers as extorted only by the necessity of his affairs, and which he would certainly revoke, as soon as he saw himself again in quiet possession of the crown. He therefore rejected the proposals of a *Jonathan* prince, on whom he could not, by any means, depend, and declares resolved to enter into an alliance with *Alexander*. Of him for *Alex-* he accepted the high-priesthood, and, with the consent of the *ander* Ba- people, on the feast of tabernacles, which happened soon af- las. ter, he put on the pontifical robes, and officiated as high-priest, after that office had been vacant seven years<sup>a</sup>.

THE two kings having taken the field at the head of their respective armies, *Demetrius*, who wanted neither courage nor conduct, when his reason was not impaired by immoderate drinking, gained the victory in the first battle; but it was of no advantage to him, for *Alexander* being speedily reinforced by the three kings who first set him up, and vigorously supported both by *Jonathan* and the *Romans*, he still maintained his ground. The *Syrians* likewise, notwithstanding the overthrow of *Alexander*, continued to desert in troops from *Demetrius*, who, by his surly temper, had rendered himself odious to all his subjects; wherefore *Demetrius*, beginning to apprehend the event of the war, sent his two sons, *Demetrius* and *Antiochus*, to *Cnidus*, a city of *Caria*, and there committed them, with a great treasure, to the care of a friend of his in that place, that, in case any misfortune should befall him in this war, his children might be out of the reach of his rival, and wait in a place of safety for some favourable turn of fortune<sup>b</sup>.

*Demetrius*, having thus secured his children, and recruited his army the best he could, took the field anew, and being resolved to put the whole to the issue of a battle, engaged his rival at the head of an army far superior in number to his own. Both parties

<sup>a</sup> MACCÆE. l. i. c. 10. ver. 21. & c. 7. ver. 14. JOSEPH Antiq. l. xv. c. 3. <sup>b</sup> JUSTIN. LIV. ibid. & EUROP. l. iv.



fought with incredible bravery, being encouraged by the example of their leaders. At first *Demetrius's* left wing put the enemy's right to flight; but, pursuing them too far, a fault which has occasioned the loss of many victories, on their return they found the right wing, in which *Demetrius* fought in person, quite routed, and the king himself killed in the flight. As long as he could prevail upon his men to keep their ground, he distinguished himself in a very eminent manner; and when they began to give way, being bore down by the enemy's numbers, he displayed an extraordinary skill in military affairs, by retiring in good order, and keeping his men together, in hopes that his left wing might return in the mean time from the pursuit; but in the retreat his horse having unluckily plunged into a bog, he was abandoned by his own men, and surrounded on all sides by the enemy. In this situation, quitting his horse, he fought a considerable time on foot with incredible bravery, putting all those to death who dared to approach him; insomuch that none venturing to come within his reach, they kept at a distance, discharging incessantly showers of darts, arrows, and javelins against him from all quarters. He fell at length, after having received a great many wounds, and for some time made head alone against the enemy's whole army<sup>p</sup> (G). *Polybius* and *Porphyrius*, who were both intimately acquainted with this prince, give him a most extraordinary character, and tell us, that he was killed after he had reigned twelve years; but *Josephus*, upon what authority we know not, will have him to have reigned eleven years only.

Demetrius  
defeated  
and killed  
Year of  
the Flood,  
2846.  
Before  
Christ,  
153.

*Alexander*, by this victory, having made himself master of the whole *Syrian* empire, sent a solemn embassy into *Egypt*, to demand *Cleopatra*, the daughter of *Ptolemy*, in marriage. The king not only complied with his request, but conducted her to him in person; and the nuptials were celebrated at *Ptolemais* with great pomp and rejoicings. *Jonathan*, the *Jewish*

<sup>p</sup> *MACCAB.* l. i. c. 10. ver. 48, 49, 50. *JOSEPH.* *Antiq.* l. xiii. c. 5. *JUSTIN.* l. xxxv. c. 1. *APPIAN* in *Syriac.* p. 131. *POLYB.* l. iii. p. 165.

(G) *Polybius*, *Justin*, and *Josephus* agree with the author of the first book of the *Maccabees* concerning the unfortunate death of *Demetrius*; and *Appian* tells us in express words, that *Demetrius* lost at the same time his crown and his life, though the *Latin* translator makes this author say, that the dethroned prince died in banishment; a sense which the *Greek* original will not by any means bear.

high-



high-priest, being invited by *Alexander*, to assist at the ceremony, went thither, and was received by both kings with all possible marks of honour, especially by *Alexander*, who caused him to be clad in purple, and inrolled among the first princes of his kingdom. He likewise honoured him with the chief command of all his forces in *Judæa*; and because many, out of envy, presented petitions against him, the king not only refused to peruse them, but issued a proclamation, forbidding any one to speak ill of him, or offer any complaints against his conduct <sup>9</sup>.

*Alexander Balas*, seeing himself in the quiet possession of the crown, thought that his only business now was, to glut himself with all the pleasures which the plenty and power he had attained to could afford him; and therefore, abandoning himself to his natural inclination for luxury, idleness, and debauchery, he shut himself up in the inner parts of his palace with lewd women, spending his whole time with them, and leaving the intire management of affairs to a favourite called *Ammonius*, who, to use the expression of *Justin*, discharged the office of a sovereign in his room. As this *Ammonius* was a man of a suspicious, cruel, and savage disposition, he behaved more like a despotic tyrant than a minister, putting all those to death whom he imagined capable of disturbing his master in the possession of the crown which he had usurped. All those of the blood-royal, who fell into his hands, were most inhumanly massacred, and, among the rest, *Laodice*, the sister of *Demetrius*, and *Antigonus*, one of his sons, who had remained in *Syria*, when the other two were sent to *Cnidus*: This conduct soon drew, both upon the king and his minister, the hatred of the whole nation; of which *Demetrius*, the eldest of the deceased king's sons, being informed, he thought this a favourable opportunity to recover his right; and therefore having, by means of *Lasthenes* (H), hired some

<sup>9</sup> MACCAB. l. i. c. 10. ver. 59—66. JOSEPH. Antiq l. xiii. c. 7.

(H) The person with whom *Demetrius* intrusted his children, is supposed to be that *Lasthenes*, of whom mention is made in *Josephus*, and the history of the *Maccabees*. He was a native of *Cnidus*, and zealously attached to the interest of *Demetrius*, whose children he brought up with great care. Hence *Demetrius Nicator*, the eldest of the two, looked upon him, even after he came to the crown, as his father, and honoured him with this title in the letter which is still extant in the history of the *Maccabees*. And indeed *Lasthenes* could not expect less gratitude from a pupil who owed his



some companies of *Cretans*, he left *Cnidus*, where he had been educated, and set sail for *Cilicia*, which he soon made himself master of, the inhabitants flocking from all parts to join him. This roused *Alexander* from his lethargy; he quitted his seraglio, drew together what forces he could, and, having committed the government of *Antioch* to *Hierax* and *Diodotus*, who was afterwards called *Tryphon*, he took the field; but, upon advice that *Apollonius* (1) governor of *Cæle-Syria* and *Phænice*, had declared for *Demetrius*,

crown to him. This zealous tutor did not conceal from him any of those large sums, which *Demetrius Soter*, uncertain of the event, had deposited in his hands, but employed them all in making the necessary preparations for a war with the usurper of the crown of *Syria*. But, after all, *Lasthenes* no sooner got the power into his hands, upon his pupil's accession to the crown, but he proved a most cruel and oppressive tyrant, and, by his cruelties and oppressions, estranged the minds of the *Syrians* from their lawful sovereign.

(1) As the name of *Apollonius* often occurs in the history of these times, it being very common among the *Greeks* and *Syro-Macedonians*; to avoid confusion, we shall give an account of the persons who bore it, and are mentioned in the occurrences of the times which we are now writing of. The first we meet with of this name in the history of the *Maccabees*, is *Apollonius* the son of *Thraseas*, who was governor of *Cæle-Syria* and *Phænice*, under *Seleucus Philopator*, when *Heliodorus* was sent to *Jerusalem* to plunder the temple, and who supported *Simon* against *Onias* the high-priest (84). He was also prime minister to the same king, but on the accession to the crown of his brother *Antiochus Epiphanes*, he left *Syria*, and retired to *Miletus*, finding himself in all likelihood excluded from the administration, and some way obnoxious to the new king. While he resided at *Miletus*, a son of his bearing the same name resided at *Rome* with *Demetrius* the son of *Seleucus Philopator*, then an hostage in that city. As this *Apollonius* was a great favourite of *Demetrius*, as soon as that prince recovered the crown of his ancestors, he bestowed on the son the same government of *Phænice* and *Cæle-Syria*, which the father had enjoyed under *Seleucus Philopator* (85). And this we take to be the *Apollonius*, who, being continued in the same government by *Alexander Balas*, revolted from him, as we have related, to side with *Demetrius* the son of his old master (86). Another *Apollonius* is mentioned in the second book of the *Maccabees* (87), and said to be chief minister to *Antiochus Epiphanes*; but he seems to have been of another fa-

(84) *Maccab. l. ii. c. 3. ver. 5. & c. 4. ver. 4.* (85) *Polyb. legat. 114. p. 944, 945.* (86) *Maccab. l. i. c. 10. ver. 69.* (87) *Maccab. l. ii. c. 4. ver. 21.*



*Demetrius*, he began to suspect the fidelity of the *Syrians*, and thereupon called in king *Ptolemy*, his father-in-law, to his assistance<sup>r</sup>.

*Apollonius*'s first attempt, after he had declared for *Demetrius*, was to reduce *Jonathan*, who, mindful of the many favours he had received at the hands of *Alexander*, persisted in his attachment to that prince's interest. *Apollonius* having assembled all the troops that were dispersed in *Cæle-Syria*, *Phœnice*, and the neighbouring provinces, advanced to *Jamnia*, a maritime city between *Azotus* and *Joppa*. From thence he sent a proud message to *Jonathan*, challenging him to an engagement. Hereupon *Jonathan*, marching out of *Jerusalem* with ten thousand men, advanced to *Joppa*, and being there joined by his brother *Simon*, who commanded a separate body, besieged and took the place in the sight of *Apollonius* and his army. Being master of *Joppa*, he fell upon *Apollonius*, and routed him with great slaughter. The remains of the enemy's army fled to *Azotus*, and not thinking themselves safe within the walls of the city, they took sanctuary in the temple of *Dagon*; but *Jonathan*, not thinking himself obliged to pay any respect to an idolatrous asylum, entered *Azotus* by force, and setting fire to the city, reduced

<sup>r</sup> *MACCAB.* l. i. c. 10. ver. 67. *JOSEPH.* *Antiq.* l. xiii. c. 8. *JUSTIN.* l. xxxv. c. 2. *DIODOR. SICUL.* in excerpt. *Valesii.* p. 346.

mily being called, in the above-mentioned history, the son of *Meneftbeus*. He was sent by *Epiphanes*, with the character of ambassador, first to *Rome* (88), and afterwards to *Ptolemy Philometor* king of *Egypt* (89). This *Apollonius* is in all likelihood the same, who, in the history of the *Maccabees*, is said to have been over the tribute, and who, on *Antiochus*'s return from his last expedition into *Egypt*, was sent with a detachment of twenty-two thousand men to destroy *Jerusalem*, and build the citadel on mount *Acra*, which kept the whole *Jewish* nation in awe for many years. Besides these, there are two others bearing the same name in the history of the *Maccabees*, one of whom, being governor of *Samaria* under *Antiochus Epiphanes*, was slain in battle by *Judas Maccabæus* (90), and the other called the son of *Gennaüs*, being likewise governor of some seigniory in *Palestine*, distinguished himself by his hatred to the *Jewish* nation (91).

(88) *Liv.* l. xliii. c. 6. (89) *Maccab.* l. ii. c. 4. ver. 21.  
(90) *Maccab.* l. i. c. 3. ver. 10. *Joseph.* *Antiq.* l. xii. c. 7. §  
10. (91) *Maccab.* l. ii. c. 12 ver. 2.



it to ashes, together with the temple ; all those who had fled thither for shelter, perishing in the flames. All the neighbouring places which had declared for *Demetrius* underwent the same fate ; so that *Apollonius* lost on this occasion above eight thousand men. And now *Jonatban*, being master of the field, turned his arms against *Ascalon* ; but the inhabitants, being struck with terror at his approach, opened their gates to him, and received him and his army within their walls. And now, having no more enemies to contend with in those parts, he led back his army to *Jerusalem*, loaded with the spoils of the conquered enemy and the riches of the plundered cities. *Alexander*, when informed of these successes, testified his gratitude with new marks of distinction, sending him a clasp of gold, such as the princes only, who were of the royal family, used to wear, and bestowing upon him the sovereignty of the city of *Accaron* and its territory<sup>f</sup>.

IN the mean time *Ptolemy Philometor*, to whom *Alexander* had applied for succours, advanced to his relief, at the head of a mighty army. The author of the second book of the *Maccabees* emphatically compares his troops to the sand of the seashore. As he entered *Palestine*, all the cities, through which he passed, received him with loud acclamations. As he marched by the place on which *Azotus* formerly stood, some persons of his retinue, disaffected to the *Jews*, shewed him the ruins of that city, and of the once magnificent temple of *Dagon*, telling him, that these were the sad effects of *Jonathan's* fury ; but notwithstanding these complaints, and the sight of many dead bodies, which still lay unburied on the road and in the adjoining fields, *Ptolemy* gave *Jonathan*, when he came to wait on him at *Joppa*, as favourable a reception as he could desire. Both princes spent the night in that city, and leaving it the next day, *Jonathan* accompanied the king as far as *Eleutherus* a river of *Phœnice*, and then returned to *Jerusalem*. *Ptolemy* pursued his march, hastening to the defence of his son-in-law and ally ; but, upon his arrival at *Ptolemais*, he was, to his great surprize, informed, that *Alexander* had a design upon his life, and that *Ammonius*, the king of *Syria's* great favourite, had taken upon him to execute this detestable piece of treachery ; Perhaps *Alexander* fearing that *Ptolemy*, coming with so powerful an army, might seize on *Syria* for himself, had resolved to prevent this danger, by cutting him off at *Ptolemais* ; for in that city the conspirators were all assembled. *Ptolemy* could not be persuaded at first, that *Alex-*

<sup>f</sup> MACCAB. I. I. C. 10. ver. 69—89 JOSEPH. Antiq. I. xiii. c. 8. DIODOR. in excerpt. Valesi p. 346.



*ander* had any hand in the plot, ascribing the whole to the jealous temper of his imperious minister, who, without any orders from his master, nay, even without his privity, had put to death many *Syrian* lords of great distinction. He therefore wrote a letter to the king of *Syria*, complaining of the attempt, and demanding the criminal to be delivered up to him; but *Alexander* refusing to comply with so just a demand, *Ptolemy* concluded from thence, that he was privy to the plot, and that *Ammonius* had only executed his master's orders. Hereupon, being highly exasperated, he resolved to turn his arms against the prince he was come to defend, and accordingly sent ambassadors to young *Demetrius*, offering him his daughter *Cleopatra*, *Alexander's* wife, in marriage, and promising to settle him on the throne of his ancestors. *Demetrius* willingly embraced this advantageous offer, went immediately to wait on *Ptolemy*, and received from him his daughter, who, too easily complying with her father's will, was not ashamed to break through her former engagements, and, abandoning her first, marry a second husband<sup>c</sup>.

WHEN news of this was brought to *Antioch*, the inhabitants of that city, who had long groaned under the oppressions of the favourite minister, thinking this a proper opportunity to revenge the many violences he had committed in their city, rose up in arms in a tumultuous manner, surrounded his palace, and killed him, as he was attempting to make his escape from the rage of the incensed multitude in the attire of a woman<sup>d</sup>. Nor did the death of *Ammonius* put a stop to the sedition; the *Antiochians* were uneasy to see a prince on the throne, whom his wicked ministers and his own indolence had rendered odious to the whole nation, and therefore thought of nothing but shaking off the yoke. *Ptolemy*, taking advantage of the present disposition of the *Antiochians*, did all that lay in his power to engage them in favour of *Demetrius*; but they, remembering the many evils they had suffered under *Demetrius Soter* his father, were afraid the son might prove a no less cruel tyrant when once fixed on the throne, and therefore refused to declare in his favour. However, their hatred to *Alexander* so far got the better of their prejudices against *Demetrius*, that they entered into a confederacy against the former, and opened their gates to *Ptolemy*, offering to place the crown on his head; but that prince, who, as *Josephus* tells us, knew how to set bounds to his ambition, when not agreeable to the rules of the strictest equity, rejecting their of-

<sup>c</sup> JOSEPH. l. xiii. c. 8. LIV. Epit. lib. l.  
MACCAB. l. i. c. 11. ver. 13.

<sup>d</sup> JOSEPH. ibid. &



fer, and assembling all the inhabitants of that great metropolis, with a generosity scarce to be paralleled, declared, that he could not, without the most flagrant injustice, place himself on the throne of *Syria*, by excluding the lawful heir. He represented *Demetrius* to them as a young prince of such amiable qualities as promised a mild and peaceable reign; and, to calm their fears, he offered to be their guarantee for their new sovereign's conduct, undertaking to assist him with his advice, and teach him the art of governing. The disinterested representations of *Ptolemy* had the desired effect; *Demetrius* was proclaimed king of *Syria*, and placed on the throne of his ancestors <sup>w</sup>.

IN the mean time *Alexander*, who was then in *Cilicia*, having assembled a numerous army, advanced to *Antioch*; and being met in the neighbourhood of that city by *Ptolemy* and his new son-in-law, a bloody engagement ensued, in which *Alexander* being vanquished, all those, who had hitherto stood by him, abandoning his party, came over to *Demetrius*. The unhappy *Alexander*, instead of gathering together the remains of his shattered forces, betook himself to a precipitous flight, and, being attended only by five hundred horse, never halted till he got into *Arabia*. He there thought himself safe in the house of a chief lord of that country, whom the author of the history of the *Maccabees* calls *Zabdiel*, *Josephus*, *Zabel*, and *Diodorus Siculus*, *Diocles*; but the place proved fatal to him, for the treacherous *Zabdiel* stabbed him with his own hand, and made this base act matter of merit with *Ptolemy* and *Demetrius*; but the former was scarce able to taste the fruits of the victory, for his horse, terrified in the heat of the battle at the braying of an elephant, started and threw him; and, while he was on the ground, *Alexander's* men having surrounded him, wounded him mortally on the head, and would have killed him on the spot, had not his own guards rescued him out of their hands. But this only prolonged his life a short time; he lay senseless four days, the fifth he seemed to recover, and in this interval the head of *Alexander*, which *Zabdiel* had caused to be struck off, was brought to him as a present from the *Arabian*; but the joy he felt on this occasion soon put an end to his life <sup>\*</sup>. As for *Demetrius*, he took, without any further opposition, possession of his father's dominions, styling himself from this victory *Nicator*, that is, the Conqueror. *Alexander Balas*

<sup>w</sup> MACCAB. I. i. c. II. ver. 8—19. JOSEPH. ubi supra: DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt. Photii. cod. 244. <sup>\*</sup> JOSEPH. I. xiii. c. 8. LIV. Epit. I. lii. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.



had reigned, according to *Josephus*, five, according to the history of the *Maccabees*, six years, reckoning from the one hundred and sixtieth year of the kingdom of the *Greeks*, or the *Æra* of the *Seleucidæ*, to the one hundred and sixty-seventh, which was the first of the reign of *Demetrius Nicator* (K).

THIS

(K) *Alexander Balas* is called, in the first book of the *Maccabees*, (92), the son of *Antiochus Epiphanes*; but as all the profane historians are unanimous in this, viz. that he was an impostor, and no ways related to the family of the *Seleucidæ*, we have, upon their authority, contradicted the writer of that book. *Polybius*, who was then at *Rome*, tells us, that the whole city was fully convinced, that *Alexander Balas* had no right to the crown of *Syria*, and that the whole was a cheat carried on by *Heracles*, who had long waited in *Rome* for some opportunity of raising disturbances against *Demetrius* by whom his brother had been put to death, and himself banished. The same author adds, that the people of *Rome* were much surprized to hear, that the senate had passed a decree in favour of the impostor, and even began to suspect, that *Heracles*, being well apprised of the present disposition of the senate, had set up this impostor to please them (93). *Livy* tells us, that he was meanly born, and that his descent was not well known (94). *Athenæus* calls him the supposititious son of *Antiochus Epiphanes* (95). *Appian* says, that he intruded himself into the family of the *Seleucidæ* (96). *Sulpitius Severus* calls him a *Rhodian*, and adds, that he impudently passed himself upon some for the son of *Antiochus Epiphanes* (97). Some modern writers urge the following argument to prove, that he was truly the son of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, *Jonathan*, say they, the virtuous high-priest of the holy nation, preferred his alliance to that of *Demetrius*; whence it is plain, that he had a just title to the crown (98). But herein they run counter to their own principles; for allowing him to have been the true son of *Epiphanes*, yet, as he was the son of the younger brother, who had himself usurped the crown, he could have no right to it in the life time of *Demetrius*, who was the son of the elder brother. *Epiphanes* himself knew, that *Demetrius* had an indisputable right to succeed his father in the kingdom of *Syria*, and therefore pretended at first to govern the empire only as guardian to the young prince, who was then under age. Besides, *Jonathan*, that virtuous high-priest of the holy nation, did not afterwards scruple to side with the son of *Demetrius* against the son of *Balas*, as we shall see in the sequel of this history. The conduct therefore of *Jonathan*:

(92) *Maccab. l. i. c. 10. ver. 1.* (93) *Polyb. legat. 140.*  
 (94) *Liv. in Epit. l. iii.* (95) *Athenæus l. v. c. 10.* (96) *Appian. in Syriac. p. 31.*  
 (97) *Sulp. Sever. Hist. Sacr. l. ii.*  
 (98) *The authors of the Roman history publishing at Paris. i. xlvii.*



THIS is the account which *Josephus* gives us of the troubles of *Syria*, and the death of *Alexander Balas*. But the author of the history of the *Maccabees* varies greatly from him, especially in what relates to the character of *Ptolemy Philometor* king of *Egypt*, whom *Josephus* highly commends, as we have seen, and the author of the first book of the *Maccabees* represents as an ambitious and perfidious prince, trampling under foot the most sacred laws of nature and justice, to raise himself on the ruins of his own son-in-law. The account which the latter author gives us of this famous revolution, which put an end both to the life and reign of *Alexander Balas*, is as follows.

*Ptolemy Philometor*, being a prince of an unbounded ambition, had formed a design of uniting in his person the crowns of *Syria* and *Egypt*. As *Alexander Balas* had married *Cleopatra* the daughter of *Ptolemy*, and was in imminent danger of being driven from the throne by *Demetrius Nicator* the son of *Demetrius Soter*, the king of *Egypt* laid hold of this opportunity to put his design in execution. Accordingly, having raised a numerous army, he entered *Syria*, under the specious pretence of assisting his friend and relation against the attempts of his rival. All the cities through which he passed opened their gates to him, *Alexander* having commanded them to pay the king of *Egypt* the honours that were due to him as the father-in-law of their sovereign; but the treacherous *Ptolemy*, under plausible appearances, only took advantage of the credulity of the unfortunate *Alexander*, putting *Egyptian* garisons into the cities which had received him as a friend, and by that means securing the possession of them to himself. Thus he advanced into *Syria*, making himself master of all the places he found in his way as far

is no proof of *Alexander's* right, nor could those authors have alledged it as such, but out of a supine and unpardonable inadvertency.

*Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that *Alexander* having some time before his death, consulted a famous oracle in *Cilicia*, was warned by the god to beware of a place which had given birth to a creature of two shapes. It was generally thought, that the city of *Abas*, where *Alexander* was killed, was pointed at by this answer; for, after his death, upon enquiry, they found, that a woman called *Herais* the daughter of *Diophantus* a *Macedonian*, and of an *Arabian* woman, after she had been some years married to one *Samiadas*, all on a sudden changed her sex, and took her father's name (99).

(99) *Diodor. Sicul. in fine. l. xxxii. apud Photium. cod. 244.*



as *Seleucia*, a maritime city on the mouth of the *Orontes*. And now it was in vain for him to dissemble any longer, the least sagacious being fully apprised of his wicked design; he therefore pulled off the mask, and sending deputies to *Demetrius*, inviting the young prince to join him against their common enemy, he offered him, in order to convince him of his sincerity, his daughter *Cleopatra*, *Alexander Balas's* wife, in marriage; and, the better to palliate his injustice, he pretended, that *Alexander* and his prime minister had formed a plot against him, and hired assassins to take away his life, without any regard to their affinity and ancient friendship. *Demetrius*, not daring to withstand the solicitations of the ambassadors from so powerful a prince, went to wait on *Ptolemy*, who had nothing in view but his own interest in this alliance; for not caring to contend with two enemies at once, he made use of *Demetrius* to hasten the destruction of *Alexander*, not doubting, but when he had once got rid of him, the other would fall an easy victim to his ambition. After the ceremonies of the marriage were over, *Ptolemy* set out for *Antioch*, and there treacherously caused himself to be crowned king of *Syria*, without any regard to the most sacred rights, and the solemn promises given to the unhappy *Demetrius*.

ALL these things were transacted in the heart of the kingdom, while *Alexander Balas*, deceived by the false promises of his father-in-law, was reducing the cities of *Cilicia* but the news of the unfaithfulness of his wife, and the treachery of *Ptolemy*, made him drop that enterprize; however, he did not sink under this shocking news, but assembling his troops without loss of time, he advanced, by great marches, to stop the progress of the usurper. *Ptolemy* met him, and offered him battle, which *Alexander* accepted, having no other resource but in his courage, which fortune did not prosper. His troops were entirely defeated, and himself forced to take refuge in *Arabia*, where he miserably perished by the hands of *Zabdiel*, one of the lords of that country. The *Barbarian* cut off his head, and sent it to *Ptolemy*, who did not long enjoy the fruit of his crimes, death three days after putting an end both to his ambitious projects and his life. Upon his death *Demetrius* took possession of the throne, and was by all the *Syrians* acknowledged for their sovereign.

THIS is the account which the author of the first book of the *Maccabees* gives us of the troubles of *Syria*. The



disagreement between him and *Josephus*, especially with relation to *Ptolemy*, is very palpable; and therefore, in this opposition, we leave the reader to judge which of the two deserves the preference. As for us, we cannot help thinking it highly improbable, that *Alexander Balas* should hire assassins to murder *Ptolemy*, while he was actually marching to his assistance with the whole strength of his kingdom. What great advantage could that prince propose to himself by cutting off so powerful an ally, and the only true friend he then had, as *Josephus* himself is pleased to tell us? Some writers have endeavoured to reconcile *Josephus* with the book of the *Maccabees*, by saying, that *Alexander* formed the design of assassinating *Ptolemy* by means of his favourite minister *Ammonius*, after the unjust proceedings of the king of *Egypt* had convinced him, that this prince had entered his dominions with a design to seize them for himself. But this is rather contradicting *Josephus* than reconciling him with the other writer; for the former tells us in express terms, that *Alexander* had received no provocation from *Ptolemy*, and this, in our opinion, has not the least appearance of truth. But *Josephus* is not the only author who contradicts the history of the *Maccabees*; for *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that *Alexander Balas*, having retired after the battle to *Aba* a city of *Arabia*, put himself there under the protection of *Diocles*, one of the chief lords of the country, whom he had a little before entrusted with the care of his son *Antiochus*, who was then a child. While he was here, the officers, who had attended him in his flight, entering into a conspiracy against him, sent privately messengers to the conqueror, offering to rid him of an enemy, who was formidable even in his retreat. *Demetrius*, who had no other view but to secure to himself the crown of *Syria*, accepted the offer made him in the name of the conspirators; whereupon *Alexander* was seized, and barbarously murdered by those, who, to that time, had acknowledged him for their sovereign. *Eusebius*<sup>2</sup> tells us, that *Alexander* survived *Philometor* four years; and that he married the daughter of *Ptolemy Euergetes* the brother of *Philometor*; and in this he not only contradicts the book of the *Maccabees* and *Josephus*, but all the profane historians whose works have reached us.

<sup>2</sup> DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt. Valesii. l. xxxii. p. 194.  
<sup>2</sup> EUSEB. in Chron.



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A N

I N D E X

T O T H E

E I G H T H V O L U M E.

*The Numbers direct to the Page, and the great Letters  
to the Notes.*

- A** *Bdalominus* made king of *Sidon*, by *Alexander*, 100.  
K. His answer to him, *ibid.*  
*Abissures's* submission to *Alexander*, 209.  
*Abreas* killed by the *Malli*, 220.  
*Abulites* put to death for oppression, 234, 235.  
*Abydos* forsaken by *Antiochus*, 531.  
*Accaron* given to *Jonathan*, 606.  
*Acesines's* river pass'd by *Alexander*, 210.  
*Achæus* regent of *Syria's* valour and fidelity, 473. Forced to  
take the government, 483. Besieged in *Sardis*, 492.  
Betrayed to *Antiochus*, *ib.* Beheaded, 494.  
*Ada*, the *Carian* queen's conduct towards *Alexander*, 85.  
Made by him governess general of all *Caria*, *ib.*  
*Admetus* general of *Alexander*, killed at the siege of *Tyre*,  
108.  
*Æacides*, king of *Epirus*, driven out, 337. Slain by the  
*Macedonians*, 340, 341.  
*Ægyptians*, why disaffected to the *Persians*, 115, & seq.  
—astronomers flattery to *Alexander*, 124.  
*Æmilius* sent against *Antiochus*, 524. Defeats his fleet, 530.  
*Æschines's* character of king *Philip*, 16. Sent to the *Am-  
phyetions*



- phyetions* court, 36. Betrays the interests of *Greece* to *Philip*, 37.
- Ætolians* distressed by *Antipater*, 323. Make peace with him, *ib.* Invade *Thessaly*, 324. Defeated, *ib.* Treacherous to the *Acarmanians*, 339. Punished by *Philip*, 340.
- Agathocles*, the son of *Lysimachus*, his success against *Demetrius*, 309. Suspected by his father of a design to usurp the crown, and poisoned, 355.
- Agis* defeated by *Antipater*, 132.
- Agrion* king of *Illyria*, his short success against the *Macedonians*, 366.
- Alcetas*, Brother of *Perdiccas* betrays *Eumenes*, 267. Proscribed, 270. Joins himself to him, 271. Defeated by *Antigonus*, 2 3. His death, *ib.*
- II. Murdered, 341.
- Alcimalus* sent, by *Alexander the Great*, to settle democracy in *Greece*, 81.
- Alcyonius* generously reproved by *Pyrrhus*, 362.
- Alexander the Great* born, 8, & C. Made regent during *Philip's* absence, 25, & seq. Saves his life, 36. Commands the left wing at *Cheronea*, 39. His rencounter with *Attalus*, 46. Recalled to court, 47. Whether privy to his father's murder, 54. P. His education and character, 49, N. 59. Punishes his father's murderers, 61. Declared general of *Greece*, 62. Invades the *Triballi* and *Illyrians*, 63. Makes a general peace with the barbarous nations, 65. His sudden return into *Greece*, 66. Takes and sacks *Thebes*, 67. Spares the house of *Pindar*, *ibid.* Continued generalissimo at *Corinth*, 70, 71. Visits *Dio-genes*, 71. Account of his troops, 72. His expedition into *Asia*, *ibid.* & seq. Spares *Lampsacus*, through the art of *Anaximenes*, 75. Victory at the *Granicus*, 76. Consequences of it, 79. Comes to *Ephesus*, 80. Dismisses his fleet, why, 81, & seq. Invades *Caria*, 85. Sends his married soldiers to winter at home, 86. Discovers a conspiracy, 87. His passage thro' the ladders, whether miraculous, 88, H. March thro' *Phrygia*, 90. Cuts the *Gordian* knot, 92. Enters *Cilicia*, 93. Cured by *Philip*, 94. Fights *Darius* at *Issus*, 96, & seq. His generosity to his family, 97, I. Invades *Cæle-Syria*, 100. His letter to *Darius*, 102. Moderation towards the *Greek* ambassadors, 103. Besieges *Tyre*, 105. Cruelty to the *Tyrians*, 108. Answer to *Darius*, 111. Respectful behaviour to the *Jewish* high-priest, *ib.* & seq. Takes *Gaza*, 113, & seq. Cruelty to *Betis*, 114. Goes into *Egypt*, 115, & seq. Builds a new city there, 116. Con-
- sults



sults the *Hammonic* oracle, 118, & seq. Settles the *Egyptian* government, 121. Punishes the *Samaritans*, 122. Passes the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, 123. Defeats *Darius* at *Guagamela*, 126, & seq. Goes to *Babylon*, 130. To *Susa*, 133. Destroys *Persepolis*, 138. Marches into *Media*, 139. Pursues *Darius's* traytors, 143. Reduces *Hyrkania* and the *Mardi*, 144, 145. His vain attempt against luxury, 149. Conspired against, 151. Punishes the conspirators, 153, & seq. Pursues his designs, 157. His cruelty to the *Branchidæ*, 160, S. Ill success against the *Scythians*, 167, & seq. Degenerates, and affects the *Persian* customs, 172, & seq. Kills *Clytus*, 174, & seq. W. Challenges divine honours, 180, & seq. Conspired against, 185. Re-enters *Sogdia*, 188. In love with *Roxana*, 193. Marches towards *Indus*, 195, & seq. His cruelty to the *Indians*, 200. Passes the *Indus*, 203. The *Hydaspes*, *ib.* & seq. His treatment of king *Porus* 209. Penetrates further into *India*, 209, & seq. Stops at the river *Hyphasis*, 213, & seq. His strange vanity, 214, E. Embarkes his army, 217. In imminent danger from the *Malli*, 220. Sails down the *Indus* into the ocean, 225. Goes by land to *Babylon*, 227, & seq. Takes two wives, 235. Endeavours to unite the *Macedonians* and *Persians*, *ib.* Generosity to his army, *ib.* & seq. Quells a mutiny on the *Tigris*, 236, & seq. Goes into *Media*, 238. *Babylon*, 241. Threatened with ill omens, *ib.* & seq. and N. His death, 246, & seq. and O. Character, 248. His vast designs set aside, 261. His corps buried in *Egypt*, 266.

———— the son of *Alexander the Great*, 250. Imprisoned by *Cassander*, 286. Murdered by him, 293, 342.

———— the son of *Polysperchon*, his character, 327. Favoured by *Antigonus*, 338. Made general of *Peloponnesus*, *ib.* Murdered, *ib.*

———— the son of *Cassander*, drives his brother out of *Macedon*, 348. Put to death by *Demetrius*, 305, & seq. & 349.

———— the son of *Pyrrhus* invades *Macedon*, 363.

———— the son of *Perseus* sent prisoner to *Rome*, 413. Forced to lead a private life, 415.

———— a sham son of *Perseus* invades *Macedon*, 425.

———— prince of *Syria* revolts against *Antiochus*, 474, & seq. His tragical end, 480.

---



- *Balas* set up against *Demetrius*, 598. Acknowledged by the *Romans*, 599. Courts the *Jews*, 600. Defeats and kills *Demetrius*, 602. Marries *Gleopatra*, *ib.* Degenerates, 603. Abandoned by *Philometor*, 607. Defeated and killed, 608. His character, 609, K.  
 ——— the *Pherean* murdered, by his wife and brethren, 10.  
 ——— the son of *Æropus* conspires against *Alexander the Great*, 87.  
*Alexandria*, when and by whom built, 160. Besieged by *Antiochus*, 565.  
*Alexandrians*, their fidelity to *Philometor*, 562.  
*Amastrius* married to *Craterus*, 235.  
*Ammon*, *Jupiter*, the temple and oracle of, 120. Consulted by *Alexander*, *ib.*  
*Ammonius's* cruelties, 603. Murdered by the *Antiochians*, 607.  
*Amphimachus's* lot after *Alexander's* death, 270.  
*Amphipolis* taken by *Philip*, 6.  
*Amphyetions* condemn the *Locrians*, 37. Chuse *Philip* general, *ib.*  
*Amyntas*, *Alexander's* governor murdered, 66.  
 ——— general suspected of treason, 156. Makes his defence and is cleared, *ib.*  
*Anaxarchus* the sophist's flattering speech to *Alexander*, 180.  
*Anaximenes* saves *Lampsacus*, 75.  
*Anchor*, why and how born by the *Seleucidæ*, 433, & A.  
*Andriscus* set up for *Philip* the son of *Perseus*, 417. Sent prisoner to *Rome*, 418. Escapes into *Thrace*, *ib.* Invades *Macedon*, 420. Defeats the prætor *Juventius*, 423. Turns tyrant, *ib.* Defeated twice by *Metellus*, 424. Sent prisoner to *Rome*, 425.  
*Andronicus* forced to surrender *Tyre*, 288.  
 ——— *Perseus's* governor in *Thessaly* put to death, 391.  
 ——— murders *Onias*, 559. Put to death for it, *ib.*  
 ——— a cruel governor of *Samaria*, 564.  
*Anicius* sent to *Illyria*, 396. His success there, 411, E. Carries *Gentius* to *Rome* and triumphs, *ib.*  
*Annius's* forged history, how discovered 458, M.  
*Antigenes's* lot after *Alexander's* death, 270. Treachery to *Eumenes*, 283. Cruel punishment, 284.  
*Antigonia* razed by *Seleucus*, 443.

*Antigonus,*



*Antigonus*, his lot after *Alexander's* death, 258, 270. Defeats *Alcetas*, 272, & seq. Outwitted by *Eumenes*, 273. Repulsed with loss, 277. Defeated by *Eumenes*, 280. His treachery to him, 282, & seq. And to his own friends, 284. Marches into *Babylon*, 285. Calls *Seleucus* to an account, *ib.* Seizes *Syria* and *Phœnice*, 286. Repels *Cassander*, 287. The provinces recovered from him by *Ptolemy*, 287, 288. Makes a new partition with the confederates, 293. Invaded by them, *ib.* Takes the title of king, 296. His extraction and character, 297, & seq. Ill success against *Egypt*, 298, & seq. Invaded by the confederates, 301, & seq. Slain at the battle of *Ipsus*, 302.

—— *Gonatus* the son of *Demetrius*, his filial piety, 314. Gentleness, 351. Seizes the crown of *Macedon*, 359. Defeats the *Gauls*, 360. Invaded by *Pyrrhus*, *ib.* Expelled by him, 361. Defeats him at *Argos*, 362. Deserted by his men, 363. Takes the citadel of *Corinth*, 364. His death, 365.

—— *Doson* chosen regent of *Macedon*, 367. Afterwards king, *ib.* His character, *ib.* Courted by the *Achaëans*, 368. Friendship to *Aratus*, 369. Success against *Cleomenes*, *ib.* & seq. Kindness to the *Spartans*, 370. Defeats the *Illyrians*, 371. Overstrains his voice in the battle, and dies with a spitting of blood, *ib.*

*Antioch*, metropolis of *Syria*, 432. By whom built, 442. Described, *ib.* & seq. & E.

—— metropolis of *Mygdonia*, where situate, 479, R.

*Antiochis*, her spurious brood, 596.

*Antiochus Soter's* pretensions to *Macedon*, 359. Succeeds his father *Seleucus* in *Syria*, 458. Yields *Greece* to *Antigonus*, 460. Why surnamed *Soter*, *ib.* Defeats the *Gauls*, *ib.* His death, 461.

—— *Theos*, why so called, 461. Wars with *Egypt*, 462. Loses several provinces, 463, & seq. Makes peace with *Ptolemy*, 464. Poisoned by his wife, 465.

—— *Hierax*, why so called, 469. Wars against his brother, 470. Expelled *Syria*, 472. His death, *ib.*

*Antiochus the Great* invades *Egypt*, 476. Forced to retire, 477. Defeats his rebellious subjects, 480. Wars against *Ptolemy* 484, & seq. Takes *Ptolemais* and *Tyre*, 485. Defeats the *Egyptians*, 488. Marches into *Judæa*, *ib.* Defeated by *Ptolemy*, 489. Makes peace with him, 490. Marches against *Achæus*, 491. Against *Arfaces*, 494, & seq. Puts *Achæus* to death, 494. Invades *Bactria*, 496. *India*, *ib.* Joins *Philip* against *Egypt*, 497. Recovers *Palestine*, &c. VGL. VIII. 4 J 500.



500. Allies with *Ptolemy*, 501. His conquests in *Asia Minor*, *ib.* & seq. In *Chersonesus*, 503. Answer to the *Roman* ambassadors, 504. Sends ambassadors to *Rome*, 508. Declares war against it, 510. Invades *Pisidia*, 513, & seq. His conference with the *Roman* deputies, 515. Marries a young wife, 520. Defeated at *Thermopylæ* by the *Romans*, *ib.* At sea, 522. Invades *Pergamus*, 525, & seq. Defeated at sea, 527. His ill conduct, 530. Sues to the *Romans*, 532, & seq. His proposals rejected, 533. His gallant army, 535. Defeated at *Magnesia*, 536. Makes peace with *Rome*, 541, & 543, Q. His death and character, 545, & seq. Reign foretold by *Daniel*, 546, R.

———— *Epiphanes*, the son of *Antiochus the Great*, sent holtige to *Rome*, 542. Exchanged for *Demetrius*, 552. Mounts the *Syrian* throne, 554. His character, *ib.* & seq. Surnamed *Epimanes*, 555. War with *Egypt*, 561, & seq. His embassy to *Rome*, 560. Injustice to the *Jews*, 561, & seq. Conquers *Egypt*, 562. Marches into *Judea*, 563. Profanes and plunders the temple, *ib.* & seq. Returns into *Egypt*, 565. His career stopt by the *Romans*, 570. Wreaks his revenge on the *Jews*, 572. His gambols at the games of *Daphne*, 573, & seq. Repulsed at *Elymais*, 576. His miserable end, 577.

———— *Eupator* succeeds his father in *Syria*, 580. The *Romans* usurp the guardianship of him, 584. His ill success against the *Jews*, *ib.* & seq. Treachery to them, 587. Put to death, 593.

*Antipater's* character, 43. Conduct in *Greece*, 132. Victory over *Agis*, *ib.* Whether guilty of *Alexander's* death, 246, O, & 247. His post after that prince's death, 258. Chosen protector to his son, 270. Divides the provinces a-new *ibid.* His descent and character, 316, & seq. Marches against the revolted *Greeks*, 318. Defeated by *Leosthenes*, 319. By *Antiphilus*, *ib.* Makes peace with them, 320. Wars with the *Ætolians*, 323. Marches against *Perdiccas* *ib.* & seq. Chosen protector, 324. His death and successor, 325, 326, & B.

———— the son of *Cassander*, his bloody parricide, 348. Expelled by his brother, *ib.* Flies to *Lyfimachus*, 349. Put to death by him, 350.

———— the son of *Philip*, chosen king of *Macedon*, 358. *Antiphilus's* success against *Antipater*, 319.

*Aornus*, a city in *India*, described, 201. The rock of, taken by *Alexander*, 202.

*Apamea*,



- Apamea*, by whom built, 445.  
*Apellonia*, the country submits to *Glaucias*, 341.  
*Apollonius's* bloody expedition against the *Jews*, 572, & seq.  
 Defeated by *Jonathan*, 605. Several generals of that name, 604, I.  
*Apollophanes's* advice to *Antiochus*, 482.  
*Appius Claud.* sent against *Perseus*, 390. Sadly distressed, 393.  
*Arabs* invaded by *Antigonus*, 289, & seq.  
*Arachosia*, surrendered to *Alexander*, 158.  
*Aratus*, his policy against the *Macedonians*, 365, & seq. Revenge on the treacherous *Athenians*, 366. Surprizes *Corinth*, 365. Joins with *Antigonus, Dofon*, 369. Conference with him, *ib.* Poisoned by *Philip*, 372.  
*Arbela*, the battle of, 126, & seq.  
*Archidamus*, defeated by *Demetrius*, 305.  
*Argos*, treacherously entered by *Pyrrhus*, 362. Relieved by  
 Relieved by *Antigonus*, *ibid.*  
*Arians* defeated by *Alexander*, 147. By *Erigyne*, 158.  
*Ariarathes II.* crucified by *Perdiccas*, 263, 264.  
 — VI. his character, 595, & seq. Dethroned by *Demetrius*, 597.  
*Arideus*, *Alexander's* brother, appointed to succeed him, 254.  
 Called *Philip* by the army, *ib.* Put to death by *Olympias*, 334.  
*Aristomenes*, sent guardian of *Egypt*, 498.  
*Aristotle*, whether conversant with *Moses's* writings, 86, & F.  
*Arfaces* revolts from *Antiochus*, 463. Founds the kingdom of *Parthia*, 464. Invades *Syria*, 471.  
 — II. Invades *Media*, 494. Makes peace with *Antiochus*, 495, & seq.  
*Arfanes*, brought bound to *Alexander*, 170.  
*Artabazanes*, invaded by *Antiochus*, 481.  
*Artabazus's* fidelity to *Darius*, 142. Rewarded by *Alexander*, 144.  
*Artaxias I.* king of *Armenia*, revolts against *Antiochus*, 575, 576, & Y. Defeated by him, 576.  
*Ascalon*, taken by the *Jews*, 606.  
*Aspendus*, its strong situation, 89. Surrenders to *Alexander*, *ibid.*  
*Asphaltes*, the lake of, measured by *Demetrius*, 290. Computes the profit of its bitumen, 291.  
*Aspii*, invaded by *Alexander*, 197.  
*Assaceni*, invaded by *Alexander*, 198.  
*Aster*, a famed archer, the story of, 9, note, D.



- Atalanta*, sister of *Perdiccas*, put to death, 269.  
*Atargatis*, the temple of, burnt, 585.  
*Atheneus* sent against the *Arabs*, 289. Slain by them, 290.  
*Athenians* outwitted by *Philip*, 7. Assist the *Olynthians*, 13.  
 13. Send *Phocion* against *Philip*, 34. Beaten at *Cheronæa*,  
 39, 40. Their rank flattery to *Philip*, 50. To *Alexan-*  
*der*, 68. Treachery to *Demetrius*, 303. Punished, 305.  
 Forced to submit to *Antipater*, 322.  
*Athens* taken by *Demetrius*, 305. Its government altered by  
*Antipater*, 322. Garisoned by *Antigonus Gonatus*, 363.  
*Atropatia*, where situate, 481, X.  
*Attalus's* speech to *Philip*, 46. Abuse of *Pausanias*, 52.  
 Treasonable views, 62. But to death, 63.  
 ——— *Alexander's* admiral, 269. Joins with *Eumenes*,  
 271. Defeated and taken by *Antigonus*, 273.

## B.

- B** *Abylon*, the ruins of, described, 447, & 448, H.  
*Babylonians* submit to *Alexander*, 131. Forced to abandon  
 their city, 291. Freed by *Demetrius*, 594. Submit  
 to *Seleucus*, 440.  
*Bactra*, metropolis of *Bactria*, taken by *Alexander*, 162.  
*Bactria*, the kingdom of, when and by whom founded, 464.  
 Invaded by *Alexander*, 162.  
*Bagdad*, where situate, 450, sub fin. note.  
*Bagoas's* revenge on *Orsines*, 233, note.  
*Balas*, vid. *Alexander Balas*, 598.  
*Balm of Gilead*, a plantation of, near *Asphaltes*, 291.  
*Barsina* married to *Alexander*, 235. Her issue by him, 250.  
 Murdered by *Polysperchon*, 343.  
*Baryaxes* put to death by *Alexander*, 234.  
*Barzaentes* murders *Darius*, 143. Put to death by *Alexan-*  
*der*, 148.  
*Bastarnæ* invited into *Macedon* by *Philip*, 376. Fall out  
 with the *Thracians*, 382. Ill treated by *Perseus*, 395.  
*Bazira* taken by *Alexander*, 201.  
*Belus*, the temple of, at *Elymais*, 546.  
*Berenice's* intrigues at the *Egyptian* court, 355.  
 ——— princess of *Lydia*, assassinated *Demetrius*, 463:  
 ——— daughter of *Ptolemy* married to *Antiochus*, 464.  
 Murdered by *Laodice*, 466.  
*Berosus*, his character, writings, &c. 461, & note.  
*Bessus's* treason to *Darius*, 142. Proclaims himself king,  
 146.



146. His cowardly conduct, 162. Delivered up to *Alexander*, 164. His punishment and death, 171, & T.  
*Bethsura* besieged by *Lysias*, 584.  
*Betis* defends *Gaza*, 113. *Alexander's* cruelty to him, 114.  
*Brachmans* put to death by *Alexander*, 224, & H.  
*Branchidæ* massacred by the same, 160, S.  
*Bucephalus* taken and restored by the *Mardi*, 145.  
 ——— a city built by *Alexander*, 209.  
*Bythis* defeats the *Achæans*, 366.

## C.

**CALANUS** burns himself alive, 234.  
*Calisthenes's* free speech against adoring *Alexander*, 180, & seq. His character, 184, Y. Death, 187.  
*Callas's* success against *Polyperchon*, 334, & seq.  
*Callicrates* prevents the *Achæans* succouring *Egypt*, 568, W.  
*Callines's* speech to *Alexander*, 237.  
*Capros*, a river in *Assyria*, 479, I.  
*Caramanians* complain to *Alexander*, 231.  
*Carnion* taken and burnt by the *Maccabees*, 585.  
*Cassander*, whether he poisoned *Alexander*, 246, & seq. & O. His post after that prince's death, 270. Leagues against *Antigonus*, 286. Repelled by him, 287. Murders *Roxana* and her son, 293, 342. Invades *Peloponnesus*, 342. Corrupts *Polyperchon*, 343. Raises a confederacy against *Antigonus*, 345. Hatred to *Alexander*, 347, C. Defeated by *Demetrius*, 300. Makes a new alliance against *Antigonus*, 301. Why he did not succeed his father, as governor of *Macedon*, 326, B. His severity to *Demades*, 327. Attempt against *Polyperchon*, 328, & seq. Goes to *Nicanor*, 331. Marches against *Olympias*, 334, & seq. Against *Polyperchon*, 337. Outwits *Antigonus*, 338. Wars with the *Ætolians*, 339. Ill success in *Asia*, 341. His death, 346.  
*Cassandria*, by whom built, 336.  
*Cathei* confederate with the *Oxyaracæ* and *Malli* against *Alexander*, 210. Defeated, *ib.* & seq.  
*Cebalinus* discovers a conspiracy against *Alexander*, 152.  
*Celtes* sue to *Alexander*, 65. Their answer to him, *ib.* Ranked in the number of his allies, *ib.*  
*Cestrius*, river, described, 543, P.  
*Chalonitis*, where situate, 481, W. Whence so called, *ib.*  
*Chares* the *Athenian*, sent to relieve *Percynthus*, 26. The promise of *Chares* becomes proverbial, *ib.*

*Charidemus*



- Charidemus* put to death, 91.  
*Cheronæa*, the battle of, 39.  
*Chersobleptes* invaded by *Philip*, 21, & 22, note. Gives up the *Chersonese* to the *Athenians*, 21.  
*Chersonesus* invaded by *Demetrius*, 303.  
*Choasprians* subdued by *Alexander*, 196.  
*Chorienes* besieged in his fortress, in the *Paratacæ*, 193. Surrenders himself, 194.  
*Cilicia* invaded by *Demetrius*, 304.  
*Cilles* defeated by *Demetrius*, 289.  
*Cleomenes's* success against the *Achæans*, 368, & seq. Defeated by *Antigonus Doson*, 370.  
*Cleopatra* put to death by *Antigonus*, 294. Daughter of *Antiochus*, married to *Ptolemy*, 512.  
*Cleophes*, queen of *India*, subdued by *Alexander*, 198, & seq. His treatment of her, 200.  
*Clitander* put to death for oppression, 231.  
*Clondicus*, who, 394. Outwitted by *Perseus*, *ib.* & seq. Spoils *Thrace* and raises enemies to *Perseus*, 395.  
*Clytus*, king of *Illyria*, revolts from *Alexander*, 65. Defeated, *ib.*  
 ——— general of *Alexander* joined in command with *Hephestion*, 157. Reproves *Alexander*, 175, & seq. Killed by him, 176, & W.  
*Cæle-Syria* reduced by *Alexander*, 99, & seq.  
*Cænas*, general of *Alexander*, wounded at *Gaugamela*, 128. Made commander of *Bactria*, 189. Defeats the rebels, 190. His speech in behalf of the soldiers, 213. His death, 217, note F. Lamented by the soldiers, *ib.*  
*Colophon*, the city of, described, 529.  
*Coracesium* besieged by *Antiochus*, 502.  
*Corinth*, the citadel of, taken by *Gonatus*, 364. By *Aratus*, 365.  
*Corycus*, the naval fight of, 521, 522.  
*Cossæans*, why subdued by *Alexander*, 239.  
*Cotys II.* joins the *Macedonians* against the *Persians*, 387.  
*Craterus* appointed protector after *Alexander's* death, 258. Sent against *Eumenes*, 266. Defeated and killed, 268.  
 ——— assists *Antipater*, 320. His death, 323. Defeats the *Massagetes*, 189. And other rebels, 195. Made governor of *Andaca*, 196.  
*Cratespolis*, her conduct and bravery, 338.  
*Crenides* taken by *Philip*, 8. Rebuilt by him and called *Philippi*, *ib.*  
*Crocodiles* in the river *Indus* lead *Alexander* into a strange notion about the *Nile* 216, F. Changes his opinion, *ib.*  
*Cynans*



*Cynane* put to death by *Perdiccas*, 265.  
*Cypriots* assist *Alexander* against *Tyre*, 106.  
*Cyprus* island taken by *Ptolemy*, 293. By *Antiochus*, 568.  
*Cyropolis* taken by *Alexander*, 165, & seq.  
*Cyrus's* camp abandoned to *Alexander*, 93.  
 ——— tomb described, 232.

D.

**D***Agon's* temple burnt by *Jonathan*, 605.  
*Damides's* stratagem against *Polysperchon*, 332.  
*Daniel*, several of his prophecies fulfilled, 466, O. 468, P. 546, R. 552, 554, 575, & 579, B.  
*Daphne*, the infamous grove of, described, 444, E. ---- the sanctuary of, forced by *Laodice*, 466. --- the games of, described, 573, X.  
*Dardanians* expelled by the *Bastarnæ*, 382.  
*Darius* marches against *Alexander*, 94, & seq. Defeated at *Iffus*, 96. His first message to *Alexander*, 102. Second message rejected, 111. Defeated near *Guagamela*, 126, & seq. A great instance of his goodness, 131, sub fin. note. His treasure at *Susa*, 133 & P. Flies to *Ecbatane*, 139. Betrayed by *Bessus*, 142. Murdered, 143.  
*Delphic* oracle corrupted by *Philip*, 39.  
*Demades's* speech to *Philip*, 68, & seq. Successful embassy to *Antipater*, 321. His character, 325. Severe punishment, 327.  
*Demetrius* son of *Antigonus*, left with the government of *Syria*, 287. His character, *ib.* Defeated by *Ptolemy*, 288. Defeats *Cilles*, 289. His gallantry to *Ptolemy*, *ib.* Sent against *Petra*, 290. Measures the lake *Asphaltes*, *ib.* Marches into *Babylon*, 291. Recovers *Cilicia*, 293. His conquests in *Cyprus*, 294, & seq. Saluted king by his father, 296. His ill success against *Rhodes*, 300. His behaviour to *Protogenes*, *ib.* Degeneracy, *ib.* & 352. Defeated at *Ipsus*, 302, 303. Gives his daughter to *Seleucus*, 304. Becomes king of *Macedon*, 305, & 350. Prepares for the conquest of *Asia*, 307. Driven out of *Macedonia*, 308. Ill success against *Lysimachus*, &c. 309. Against *Pyrrhus*, *ib.* 352, & seq. Retires to *Cassandria*, 353. Surrenders himself to *Seleucus*, 312, & seq. His last letter to his son *Antigonus*, 313. Death, 314. Funeral honours, *ib.* Wives and offspring, 315, & seq.  
 ——— the son of *Demetrius*, king of *Cyrene*, 315.  
 ——— the son of *Gonatus*, his early valour, 363. Marries.



- ries *Nicæa*, 364. His troublesome reign, 366, & seq.  
 — the son of *Philip*, his character, 373. Pleads for his father before the *Roman* senate, 375. Envied by his natural brother, 373, & seq. Suspected by his father, 378. Put to death, 379.  
 — prince of *Macedon*, marries *Apame*, 462. Murdered by her daughter, 463.  
 — the son of *Seleucus* sent to *Rome*, 552.  
 — the son of *Seleucus*, his suit to the *Roman* senate, 582, & seq. Rejected, 584. Presents a second, 589. Escapes into *Syria*, 591. His letter to the senate, 592. Wars against *Ariarathes*, 595. Degenerates, 597. Courts the friendship of the *Jews*, 600. Defeated, 602. His extraordinary valour, *ib.* Killed, *ib.*  
 — *Nicator* repulsed by the senate, 598. Dethrones *Alexander Balas*, 608. Allies with *Philometor*, 607. Restored to his kingdom, 608.  
*Demosthenes* the orator, his character of king *Philip*, 10, note. Whether the pacific oration be really his, 18, E. His speech in favour of *Diopithes*, 20. Outwrestles *Philip*, 23. Withdraws the *Thebans* from him, 38, & seq. His cowardise at *Chæroneæ*, 40. *Philip's* character of him, 41, note. His excessive joy at the death of *Philip*, 62. Raises the *Greeks* against *Alexander*, *ib.*  
*Dicæarchus's* impiety punished, 506.  
*Dinarchus* put to death, 330.  
*Diadorus Siculus*, how far preferable to *Plutarch*, 292, D.  
 — a *Syrian* facilitates *Demetrius's* escape, 590.  
*Diogenes's* treachery to the *Macedonians*, 368.  
 — the philosopher's surliness to *Alexander*, 71.  
*Diopithes* invades *Philip's* territories, 19.  
*Diophanes's* brave attempt against *Seleucus*, 526, L.  
*Dioscuri* substituted to *Bacchus*, 174, 179.  
*Doloaspis* made president of *Egypt*, 121.  
*Dolopians* reduced by *Perseus*, 383.  
*Doxareas's* submission and presents to *Alexander*, 204.  
*Drypetis*, daughter of *Darius*, married to *Hephestion*, 235. Murdered by *Roxana*, 261.  
*Dura*, where situate, 480, U.  
*Dymnus* conspires against *Alexander*, 151. Dies, 152.

## E.

**ECLYPSE** of the moon, foretold by *Sulpitius Gallus*, 399. Throws the *Macedonians* into a panic, *ib.*  
*Elateæ*



*Elatea* taken by *Philip*, 37. Great advantages of seizing the place, 38, not. H.

*Elea*, where situate, 514.

*Emilianus Scipio* passes mount *Olympus*, 397.

*Emilius Paulus*, Roman consul, sent against *Perseus*, 396, & seq. Defeats him, 400, & seq. His speech to him, 405. Treatment of him, *ib.* & seq. New models the *Macedonian* government, *ib.* & seq. His triumph at *Rome*, 412, & seq. Behaviour to *Perseus*, 413.

*Epaminondas*, his character, 2, A. Parallel with *Philip*, *ib.*

*Ephesians*, their pride, 80.

*Ephesus* visited by *Alexander*, 80. Taken by *Antiochus*, 502.

—— the temple of, spared by *Demetrius*, 303.

*Epigenes* envied by *Hermias*, 475, & seq. Good advice to *Antiochus*, *ib.* Treacherously murdered by him, 478.

*Epigoni*, whence so called, 235.

*Erasistratus's* stratagem in favour of *Antiochus*, 453, & seq.

*Erigyus* defeats the *Arians*, 158.

*Evander*, a cowardly *Cretan*, 389. His unlucky advice to *Perseus*, *ib.* — hated by the *Macedonians*, 401. Takes refuge in *Samothrace*, 403. Put to death by *Perseus*, 404.

*Eubæa* island invaded by *Philip*, 23, & seq.

*Euergetæ*, whence so called, 157. Favoured by *Alexander*, *ibid.*

*Eulæus*, regent of *Egypt*, 557. Corrupts the young king, 563.

*Eumenes II.* wars with *Antiochus*, 513, & seq. His bravery at the battle of *Magnesia*, 539. Assists *Antiochus*, 554. Wounded by *Perseus's* assassins, 385. Allies with *Rome* against him, 389. Repulsed from *Cassandria*, 392.

—— *Alexander's* secretary, his moderation towards *Hephestion*, 238, 239. Declares for *Aridæus*, 255. His character, *ib.* vid. 262, & seq. His fidelity, 263. Sent against *Ptolemy*, 266. Defeats *Neoptolemus*, 267. Is proscribed, 269. His defeat, and singular valour, 271, & seq. Loyalty, 274, & seq. Repulses *Antigonus*, 277. Marches to *Persepolis*, 278. His speech to his officers, 279, C. Defeats *Antigonus*, 280. Betrayed to him, 283. Put to death by him, *ib.*

*Eupalemus* defeated by *Ptolemy*, 340.

*Euthycrates* betrays *Olynthus* to *Philip*, 14.



*Euthydemus*, king of *Bactria*, invaded by *Antiochus*, 496.  
Makes peace with him, *ib.*

## F.

**FIRE**-ships invented by the *Rhodians*, 530.  
*Flaminius's* answer to *Antiochus's* ambassadors, 509.

## G.

**G**abene seized by *Eumenes*, 280. By *Antiochus*, 281, & seq.  
*Gadrosi* subdued by *Alexander*, 228, & seq.  
*Galatia*, whence so called, 459.  
*Galilee* invaded by *Antiochus*, 488.  
*Gallogrecia*, whence so called, 459.  
*Gangaridæ*, where situate, 215, in fin. E.  
*Gauls* first invasion of *Macedon*, 357. Second, 359. Third, *ib.* Rife the Royal tombs, 361. Defeated by *Gonatus*, 363. Settled in *Asia Minor* by *Nicomedes*, 459. Their treachery to *Hierax*, 470.  
*Gaza* taken by *Alexander*, 113, & seq. Its governor cruelly treated, 114. By *Ptolemy*, 288. By *Antiochus*, 500.  
—— in *Bactria*, taken by *Alexander*, 166.  
*Gentius*, king of *Illyria*, ill treated by the *Romans*, 386. Outwitted by *Perseus*, 394. Sent prisoner to *Rome*, 411, & E.  
*Getæ* defeated by *Alexander*, 64.  
*Glaucias*, king of *Illyrium*, invaded by *Cassander*, 339. Makes peace with him, *ib.*  
—— officer of *Cassander*, murders *Roxana*, and her son, 342.  
*Glausæ* invaded by *Alexander*, 209.  
*Gold* mines seized by *Philip*, 8.  
*Gordian* knot, the origin of, 91. Cut by *Alexander*, 92.  
*Gracchus* sent to watch over *Antiochus*, 573. Behaviour of *Antiochus* to him, 574. His report to the senate, 575.  
*Granicus*, battle of, 76, & seq.  
*Greece* invaded by *Philip*, 37, & seq.  
—— the democracy, of, restored, 48.  
—— alarmed at *Alexander's* success, 132. Forced to submit to *Antipater*, 141, & 320.  
*Greek* mercenaries, how used by *Alexander*, 145, 146. Revolt after his death, 261. Massacred, 262, & 320.  
*Greeks* arm against *Philip*, 39. Defeated at *Cheronæa*, *ib.* & seq. Chuse *Alexander* their general, 62. Revolt from him, 66.

*Guagamela*,



*Guagamela*, the battle of, 126, & seq.  
*Gymnic* games instituted by *Alexander*, 108.

## H.

- H** *Alicarnassus* besieged by *Alexander*, 83, & seq. Bravely defended by *Memnon*, 83. Demolished, 85.  
*Haloneſus* taken from the pirates by *Philip*, 30. By the *Pe-  
 parethians*, *ib.*  
*Halys* river deſcribed, 545, in fin. Q.  
*Hammon*, *Jupiter*, the temple of, 118.  
*Hannibal* ſhelters himſelf with *Antiochus*, 506. Sends *Ariſto*  
 to *Carthage*, 510, & ſeq. Outwitted by the *Romans*, 515.  
 His advice to *Antiochus*, 518. Untimely rejected, *ib.*  
*Harpalus*, *Alexander's* treaſurer, why favoured, 140. His  
 treachery, 238. Punished, *ib.*  
*Heliodorus's* attempt on the temple at *Jeruſalem* puniſhed,  
 550, & ſeq. Poisons the king, 552.  
*Hepheſtion* wounded at *Guagamela*, 128. Made general of  
 the horſe with *Clytus*, 157. Sent towards *Indus*, 196.  
 Rewarded by *Alexander*, 235. Reproved for his treat-  
 ment of *Eumenes*, 238. His death and obſequies 239.  
*Heraclides* baniſhed for oppreſſion, 594. Plots againſt the  
 king of *Syria*, 598, & ſeq. His ſpeech to the *Roman ſe-  
 nate*, 599.  
*Heracon* accuſed by the *Medes*, is acquitted, 231. Charged  
 by the *Sufans*, is put to death for oppreſſion, *ib.*  
*Hercules* the ſon of *Alexander* murdered by *Polyspercon*, 250,  
 & 343.  
*Hermias* firſt miniſter of *Syria*, his brutiſh character, 475.  
 Treacherous advice to *Antiochus*, *ib.* Treachery to  
*Epigenes*, 478. Tragical end, 482.  
*Hermocrates* the ſophiſt, his advice to *Paufanias*, 53, 54.  
*note.*  
*Hermolaus*, why he conſpired againſt *Alexander*, 185. His  
 ſpeech to the army, 186. Death, 187.  
*Hippias*, *Perſeus's* general oppoſes the *Romans*, 391. Sur-  
 renders to them, 402.  
*Hippoſtratus* made general of *Media*, 284.  
*Holophernes's* pretenſions to the *Cappadocian* crown, 596.  
 Supported by *Demetrius*, 597.  
*Homer*, his poems, why ſo much eſteemed by *Alexander*, 60.  
*Hydaſpes* paſſed by *Alexander*, 203, & ſeq. Repaſſed, 211,  
 & ſeq.



*Hydraotes*, river, passed by the same, 210. Repassed, 216.  
*Hyphasis*, river, the boundary of *Alexander's* conquests, 214,  
 E. & 215.  
*Hyrkania* invaded by *Alexander*, 144.  
*Hyrcanus* made governor of *Judæa* by *Seleucus*, 553.

## I.

**J** *ASON* al. *Jesus*, buys the *Jewish* high-priesthood, 556  
 Supplanted by his brother, 558 & seq. Drives him out,  
 563.  
*Jerusalem* garisoned by *Scopas*, 499. Taken by *Antiochus*,  
 563, & T. Burnt and sacked by *Apollonius*, 572.  
*Jews* planted in *Syria* by *Seleucus*, 450. In high favour with  
*Antiochus*, 500. Persecuted by his son, 572, & seq.  
*Illyria* invaded by the *Romans*, 390, 393.  
*Illyrians* subdued by *Philip*, 6, 8.  
*Indians*, defeated by *Alexander*, 199. Treacherously treated  
 by him, 200.  
*Indus* passed by *Alexander*, 203.  
*John Hyrcan*, vid. *Hyrcanus*, 552.  
*Ion's* treachery to *Perseus*, 405.  
*Jonathan* succeeds *Judas Maccabæus*, 594. Courted by the  
 kings of *Syria*, 600. His victories 605, & seq. Honours,  
 606.  
*Joppa* taken by *Antigonus*, 286. Retaken by *Jonathan*,  
 605.  
*Ipsus*, the battle of, 302.  
*Isaurians*, their desperate end, 264.  
*Issus*, the battle of, 96, & seq.  
*Judæa*, *Syria*, &c. seized on by *Antigonus*, 286. By *Ptolemy*,  
 287, & seq. Recovered by the former, 289. By the lat-  
 ter, 302. By *Antiochus*, 488. By *Philopator*, 490. By  
*Antiochus*, 499. How it continued in the possession of  
*Seleucus*, 553. Wasted by *Antiochus*, 563, & seq. &  
 572.  
*Juventius* sent against *Andriscus*, 422. His rashness, *ib.* De-  
 feated and slain, 423.

## L.

**L** *Amia*, concubine of *Demetrius*, 315.

———— a city in *Thessaly*, besieged, 319.

*Lampsacus* spared by *Alexander* by the address of *Anaxime-  
 nes*, 75. Besieged by *Antiochus*, 502.

*Langarus's*



- Langarus's* known to *Alexander*, 65.  
*Laodice*, married to *Perseus*, 384.  
 ——— wife of *Antiochus*, 464. Poisons him, 465.  
*Laodicea*, by whom built, and whence so called, 445.  
*Lasthenes*, his character, 603, H.  
*Laurandians* severely punished by *Perdiccas*, 264.  
*Lenneus*, regent of *Egypt*, challenges *Palestine*, 557.  
*Leomedon's* government after *Alexander's* death, 258, 270.  
*Leonatus* rescues *Alexander* from the *Malli*, 220. His post after the king's death, 258. Succours *Antipater*, 319. Killed, *ib.*  
*Leonidas*, tutor of *Alexander*, 60. Appointed to command the turbulent battalion, 157.  
*Leosthenes's* zeal for democracy, 318. Success and death, 319.  
*Lepidus* made guardian of *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, 498, & B.  
*Liba*, where situate, 479, S.  
*Ligoras's* stratagem at the siege of *Sardis*, 491, Y.  
*Livius* the Roman admiral, defeats *Antiochus*, 522. His success in the *Hellepont*, 523. Succeeded by *Æmilius*, 524.  
*Lycophron* wars with *Philip*, 11.  
*Lycus*, a river, described, 479.  
*Lyfandra* married to *Agathocles* son of *Lyfimachus*, 355. Persecuted by *Arsione*, *ib.* Flies to *Seleucus*, *ib.*  
*Lyfias* sent against the *Jews*, 575. Defeated by them, 577. Seizes on the government of *Syria*, 582. Defeated by *Judas Maccabæus*, 584. Causes *Octavius* to be assassinated, 588. Seized by his own soldiers, 593. Put to death by *Demetrius*, *ib.*  
*Lyficles*, defeated by *Philip*, 40. Put to death, *ib.*  
*Lyfimachia*, rebuilt by *Antiochus*, 503. Forsaken by him, 531.  
*Lyfimachus*, tutor to *Alexander*, 60. His post after the king's death, 258. Defends it against *Seuthes*, 262. Gets *Thrace* by the new treaty, 293. Marches against *Antigonus*, 301, & seq. His success against *Demetrius*, 307. Seizes on *Macedon*, 355. Poisons his eldest son, *ib.* Defeated and killed by *Seleucus*, 356.

## M.

**M**ACCABEES, their victories over the *Syrians*, 573, 576, 584, & seq. Make peace with *Lyfias*, 584.  
*Macedonia*,



- Macedonia*, invaded by the *Athenians*, 19. By the *Illyrians*, 22. Subdued by the *Romans*, 402, & seq. Its new division, government, &c. 407, & seq. Various changes since, 416, & seq.
- Macedonians*, rewarded by *Alexander*, 235. Mutiny, 236. Frighted at a lunar eclipse, 399.
- Macedonian* empire, how divided after *Alexander's* death, 258, 270.
- Macron's* treachery to the king of *Egypt*, 561, S. Mentioned often in the *Maccabees*, *ib.*
- Magas*, king of *Libya's* alliance with *Ptolemy*, 462. Broken by his widow, *ib.*
- Magnesia*, the battle of, 536, & seq.
- Malli*, confederate against *Alexander*, 210. Defeated, *ib.* & seq. & 219, & seq.
- Maracanda*, besieged by the *Scythians*, 167. Relieved by *Alexander*, 170.
- Mardi*, subdued by *Alexander*, 145.
- Marmarians*, their desperate defence against *Alexander*, 86. Force the *Macedonian* guard, *ib.*
- Maronites* plundered by *Onomastus*, 374.
- Martius* outwits *Perseus*, 387. Sent against him, 390. Gets into the vale of *Tempe*, 391. Ill success in *Macedon*, 392.
- Massaga*, besieged and taken by *Alexander*, 198, & seq.
- Massagetæ* defeated by *Craterus*, 189.
- Mazaces* surrenders to *Alexander*, 122, 123, 130, 131.
- Medius* feasts *Alexander*, 244.
- Megalopolitans* besieged by *Polysperchon* 331, & seq.
- Megasthenes's* character and writings, 457, & M.
- Meleager* declares for *Aridæus*, 254. His character, *ib.* Supplanted by *Perdiccas*, 256.
- brother of *Ceraunus*, chosen king of *Macedon*, 358. Deprived by his subjects, *ib.*
- Memnon* defeated by *Alexander*, 77. Defends *Miletus*, 81. Defends *Halicarnassus*, 83, & seq.
- Menelaus* the Jew, buys the high-priesthood, 558. Apostatizes, *ib.* Causes *Onias* to be murdered, 559. Convicted of many crimes, 561.
- Menidas* wounded at *Guagamela*, 128.
- Menippus's* speech to the *Romans*, 509.
- Menybillus* facilitates *Demetrius's* escape, 590.
- Meroe* persuades *Porus* to submit to *Alexander*, 208.
- Messene* besieged by *Demetrius*, 305.
- Metellus* defeats the *Pseudo-Philip* in *Macedon*, 426. Reduces it into a *Roman* province, *ib.* & seq.



*Methone* razed by *Philip*, 9.

*Miletum* besieged by *Alexander*, 81.

*Minio's* haughty speech to the *Roman* ambassadors, 516.

*Mithridates* goes over to *Alexander*, 85.

*Molo*, prince of *Syria*, revolts from *Antiochus*, 474, & seq.  
Defeats his generals, 476. Is defeated, 480. Kills himself, *ib.* His body crucified, 481.

*Mosaic* laws, whether copied by *Aristotle*, 86, F.

*Musicanus's* submission and presents to *Alexander*, 223. Revolts, and is crucified, 224, & H.

*Mycaberna* taken by *Philip*, 13, 14.

*Myndians* deceive with false promises, and repulse *Alexander*, 83.

## N.

**N** *Abatean Arabs* invaded by *Antigonus*, 289. & seq. Make peace with his son, 290. Fall foul on his collector of the bitumen, 291.

*Nearchus* made admiral to *Alexander*, 218. Sails down the *Indus*, 226, & seq. & I. Rejoins *Alexander*, 231, 232.

*Neolaus*, his tragical end, 481.

*Neoptolemus*, a flattering poet to *Philip*, 46, L.

—— the son of *Amyntas*, killed at *Halicarnassus*, 84.

—— governor of *Armenia*, defeated by *Eumenes*. 267, & seq. Killed, 268.

*Nicæa* built by *Alexander*, 209.

*Nicanor's* lot after *Alexander's* death, 270. Defeated by *Seleucus*, 287. Refuses to obey *Polysperchon's* edict, 329. Defeated by *Clytus*, 332. Defeats him, *ibid.* Slain by *Cassander*, *ibid.*

*Nicolaus*, officer to *Ptolemy*, his fidelity to him, 487. Made his generalissimo, *ib.* Defeated by *Antiochus*, 488.

*Nicias*, *Perseus's* general, throws his treasure into the sea, 391. Put to death to conceal it, *ib.*

*Nicomedes*, prince of *Bithynia*, calls in the *Gauls*, 459. Gives them part of *Asia Minor*, *ib.*

## O.

**O** *ATHS* how taken and given by the *Romans*, 544, 545.

*Octavius*, *Roman* admiral, 396. Discharges his duty well, *ib.* Brings *Perseus* prisoner to the consul, 405.

—— Sent to be guardian to young *Eupator*, 584. Murdered by *Lyfias*, 588.

*Olophernes*, *al.* *Oraphernes*, dethrones *Ariarathes VI.* 597.

*Olympias*,



- Olympias*, *Philip's* queen, her character, 45. Divorce, *ib.* Message to *Alexander*, 121, 141. Forced to retire into *Epirus*, 274. Instances of her pride and cruelty, 326, B. Recalled by *Polysperchon*, 327. Her cruel behaviour at her return, 333. Shuts herself up in *Pydna*, 335. Besieged by *Cassander*, *ib.* Put to death, 336.  
 ——— queen of *Acarmania*, allies with *Demetrius II.* 367.  
*Olympics* instituted by *Philip*, 14.  
*Olynthians* invaded by *Philip*, 13. & seq. Cause defended by *Demosthenes*, *ib.*  
*Onasiecritus*, his character as an author, 215 sub fin. not. Made captain of a galley by *Alexander*, 218.  
*Onias*, the worthy *Jewish* high-priest, falls out with *Simon*, 550. Opposes *Heliodorus*, *ib.* & seq. Deposed by *Antiochus*, 556. Murdered at *Antioch* by *Andronicus*, 559.  
*Onomarchus*, general of the *Phocians*, defeats *Philip*, 11. Killed by him, *ib.*  
*Ora*, a city in *India*, taken by *Alexander*, 209, & seq.  
*Oracle* at *Delphi*, an account of it, 48, note.  
*Orchemenus*, rebuilt by *Alexander*, 68.  
*Oreos* in *Eubœa* taken by *Philip*, 24.  
*Oritæ* subdued by *Alexander*, 228.  
*Oroandes's* treachery to *Perseus*, 404.  
*Orantobates* made governor of *Media*, 284.  
*Orophernes*, vid. *Olophernes*, 596.  
*Orsines* put to death for his cruelty, 233, & M.  
*Oxathres* saves *Darius's* life, 97, I. Put to death, 234, 235.  
*Oxicanus* submits to *Alexander*, 224, & H.  
*Oxus*, how passed by *Alexander*, 163.  
*Oxyartes* surrenders to *Alexander*, 193. Prevails on *Chorienes* to do the same, 194. Receives marks of the conqueror's favour, *ib.* & seq. His lot after that monarch's death, 270.  
*Oxydracæ* confederate against *Alexander*, 218. Defeated, 222, & seq.

## P.

- P***Antauchus* wounded in a single combat and defeated by *Pyrrhus*, 351, 352.  
*Paphlagonia* submits to *Alexander*, 93.  
*Parisatis*, daughter of *Ochus*, married to *Alexander*, 235.  
*Parmenio* seizes on *Darius's* treasure, 98, 103, & seq. Surrounded by *Persians* at *Guagamela*, 128. Succoured by *Alexander*,



- Alexander, ib. & O.* Accused by his son, 153. Put to death, 154.
- Paropamisus*, the country of, described, 158, note, and 159.
- the mountain of, 160.
- Parthia*, the kingdom of, when and by whom founded, 464.
- Patrocles* forced to abandon *Babylon*, 291. Defeated and killed by the *Bithynians*, 459.
- Pattala*, the king of, submits to *Alexander*, 225.
- Pausanias*, murderer of *Philip*, his motive, 52, & seq.
- Pella*, taken by the *Romans*, 402.
- Pelusium* taken by *Antiochus*, 562, 568. Surrendered to *Alexander*, 115.
- Perdiccas*, *Alexander's* general, his advice after his death, 253. Character, 254, & seq. Supplants and puts *Meleager* to death, 257. His great power, *ib.* & seq. Subdues *Capadocia*, 263. Marries *Nicæa*, 264. Wars with *Ptolemy*, Murdered by his men, 269.
- a traitor to *Eumenes*, hanged, 271.
- Perga* delivered up to the *Romans*, 543, & P.
- Perinthus*, *al. Perynthus*, besieged by *Philip*, 25, 35. Relieved by *Phocion*, 35.
- Persepolis* destroyed by *Alexander*, 138, & seq.
- Perseus*, the natural son of *Philip*, cabals against his brother, 373, 377. Discovered, and disinherited, 381. Mounts the throne by main force, 382. His character, &c. *ib.* & seq. Falls out with the *Romans*, 383. Goes to *Delphi*, *ib.* Undermined by *Eumenes*, 384. Accused to the *Romans*, 386. Makes war with them, 387, & seq. Defeats them, 389. His pusillanimity, 391. Mad actions, *ib.* Covetousness, 393. Defeated by the *Romans*, 400, & seq. His miserable flight, 401. Takes sanctuary in *Samothrace*, 403. Surrenders to *Octavius*, 404. How treated by the *Roman* consul, 405, & seq. Vindicated against the *Roman* writers, 409, D. His miserable end, 413. Character and progeny, 414, & seq.
- Persians* worship *Alexander*, 182, & X.
- Petra* plundered by *Antigonus*, 290.
- Peucestas's* lot after *Alexander's* death, 270. Outwitted by *Eumenes*, 276, & seq. His treachery to him, 282. Punished, 284.
- Phalanx*, by whom invented, 4, B.
- Pharaimenes*, king of *Chorasmenæ*, 187. His embassy to *Alexander*, *ib.*



*Phernophorus*, *Ptolem. Phil.* why so called, 465.

*Philip II.* comes into *Macedonia*, 1. His policy, 2, & A. Defeats *Argeus*, 5. Makes peace with *Athens*, *ib.* His conquests, 6, & seq. Loses an eye, 9, & D. His success in *Thessaly*, 10, & seq. Against the *Olynthians*, 13, & seq. Makes peace with *Athens*, 16. Puts an end to the sacred war, 17, & seq. Invades part of *Thrace*, 21, & seq. & F. *Eubœa*, 24, & seq. *Propontis*, 25, & seq. His letter to the *Athenians*, 27, & seq. Driven by *Phocion*, 35. Defeats the *Triballi*, 36. Chosen general by the *Amphictyons*, 37. Beats the confederates, 40. Makes peace with *Athens*, 42. Arms against *Xerxes*, 43, & seq. Marries *Cleopatra*, 45. Murdered, 53. His character, 55, & seq.

———— *Cassander's* general success in *Ætolia*, 340.

———— the son of *Demetrius II.* left an infant, 367. Prospers under his uncle *Doson*, *ib.* & seq. Mounts the *Macedonian* throne, 371. His treachery to *Aratus* and his son, 372. Overpowered by the *Romans*, 373, & seq. Vain struggles against them, 372, & seq. Family broils, 377. Puts his son to death, 379. Runs mad, 380. His death, 381.

———— the pretended son of *Perseus*, *vid. Andriscus*, 417.

———— a *Phrygian* and cruel governor of *Judæa*, 564.

———— regent of *Syria*, 580, & seq. Defeated and put to death by *Lysias*, 587.

———— the *Acarnanian*, his faithfulness to *Alexander*, 94. His lot after his death, 270.

*Philistides*, tyrant of *Oreus*, made so by *Philip*, 24, note.

*Philla*, daughter of *Antipater*, married to *Craterus*, 323.

*Philo* chosen chief of the rebels, 261.

*Philocles* betrays young *Demetrius*, 379. Put to death, 380.

*Philotærus*, first king of *Pergamus*, 454, K. Buys the body of *Seleucus*, 457.

*Philotas* suspected of treason, 153. Tortured and put to death, 154. His character, 155, & seq.

*Philoxenus's* lot after *Alexander's* death, 270.

*Phocians* war with *Philip*, 11, & seq.

*Phocis* entered by *Philip*, 17, & seq.

*Phrygians*, why submit to *Midas*, 92.

*Pithon* sent to reduce *Musicanus*, 224. Plots against *Perdiccas*, 262. Chosen protector of *Macedon*, 269. Put to death by *Antigonus*, 284.

———— attempt against *Eumenes*, 276:



*Plataea* rebuilt by *Alexander*, 68.

*Polybius's* advice to young *Demetrius*, 589, 591, & seq. & E.

*Polydamas* sent to kill *Parmenio*, 155.

*Polysperchon* chosen governor of *Alexander's* sons, 273.

Left with the care of *Macedon*, &c. 323. Appointed *Antipater's* successor, 325, 326, & B. His character, and wrong measures, 327, & seq. First edict confuses all *Greece*, 329. Cruelty to the *Peloponnesians*, 331. Defeated by *Callas* 334, & seq. Forced to flee into *Greece*, 337. Murders *Hercules* and his mother, 343.

*Polyxenidas*, defeated by the *Romans*, 522. His second defeat, 530.

*Popilius*, his speech to *Antiochus*, 570.

*Porthmos* in *Eubæa*, taken by *Philip*, 24.

*Porus* opposes *Alexander*, 205, & seq. Loses his son, 207.

Is defeated, 208. How honoured by the conqueror, 209.

—— another of that name abandons his kingdom to *Alexander*, 210.

*Potidea* in *Macedon*, taken by *Philip*, 7.

*Praxa* discovers *Persus's* treachery, 385.

*Propontis* invaded by *Philip*, 25, & seq.

*Prusias* king of *Bithynia*, rejects the offers of *Antiochus*, 528.

*Ptolemy Soter* sent to seize *Bessus*, 163. Defeats the *Aspii*, 197. His advice after *Alexander's* death, 253. Post and government, 270. Flourishing kingdom, 265. Invaded by *Perdiccas*, 266. Allies with *Seleucus*, 286. Takes *Syria* from *Antigonus*, 287, & seq. Beaten out of it, 289. Defeated by *Demetrius*, 295, & seq. Takes the title of king, 296. Allies against *Antigonus*, 286. Invades *Judæa*, &c. 302.

—— *Ceraunus* persecuted by *Lyfimachus*, 355. His treachery to *Seleucus*, 356, 456. Seizes the *Macedonian* crown, 456. Treachery to *Arsinoe*, 357. Slain by the *Gauls*, 358.

—— *Euergetes*, whence so called, 468.

—— *Epiphanes* invaded by *Philip* and *Antiochus*, 497. Protected by the *Romans*, *ib.* & seq.

—— *Philometor* invaded by *Antiochus*, 561. Taken by him, 563. Restored to his crown, 568. Divides his kingdom with *Phyſchon*, *ib.* Marches into *Judæa*, 606, & seq. Allies with *Demetrius*, 607. Reinthrones him, 608. His death and character, 608, & seq.



*Ptolemy Physcon* placed on the throne of his brother, 564, 565.  
Divides it with him, 568. Their joint authority established  
by the *Romans*, 570, & seq.

———— the son of *Selaucus* killed at *Iffus*, 96.

———— general of *Antigonus*, his treachery, 342, & seq.  
Poisoned by the king of *Egypt*, 343.

*Pydna*, a city of *Macedon*, subdued by *Philip*, 7. Besieged  
by *Cassander*, 335.

*Pyrrhus* II. brought up by *Glaucias*, 346. Allies with *De-*  
*metrius*, *ib.* With *Ptolemy*, 307. Drives *Demetrius* out  
of *Macedon*, 353. Made king of it, 354. Driven out  
by *Lyfimachus*, *ib.* Recovers it from *Gonatus*, 361.

## Q.

*Quinda*, the treasure of, plundered by *Demetrius*, 304.

## R.

*Rabbath Ammon* submits to *Antiochus* for want of water,  
488.

*Rammius* discloses *Perseus's* treachery to the *Romans*, 385,  
& seq.

*Raphia*, where situate, 512, G. The battle of, 489.

*Rhodians* ally with *Perseus*, 384. Their haughty message to  
*Antiochus*, 502.

*Romans* protect young *Ptolemy*, 498. And the free cities of  
*Asia*, 503. Their first embassy to *Antiochus*, *ibid.* & seq.  
The second, 514. Defeat him by sea and land, 520, &  
seq. And at *Magnesia*, 540, & seq. Make peace with  
him, 541, & seq. The treaty at length, 543, Q. Their  
degeneracy from that time, 545.

*Roxana* taken prisoner by *Alexander*, 193. Captivates him,  
*ib.* Her cruelty, 261. Imprisoned by *Cassander*, 336.  
Murdered by him, 342.

## S.

*Salii*, among the *Romans*, their office, 532, M.

*Salt of Jupiter Hammon*, a royal present, 120.

*Samaritans* apply to *Alexander*, 112. Disgusted at his favour  
to the *Jews*, 122. Murder *Andromachus*, *ibid.* Severely  
punished, *ibid.*

*Sambus* submits to *Alexander*, 224, & H.

*Samian* war, whence began, 318.

*Sandrocottus*



*Sandrocottus* drives the *Macedonians* out of *India*, 441. Concludes a peace with *Selucus*, 442.

*Sanggala* razed by *Alexander*, 210, & seq.

*Sardis* surrendered to *Alexander*, 79.

*Satibarzanes* murders *Darius*, 143. Revolts from *Alexander*, 146, & seq. Killed by *Erigyus*, 158.

*Satyrus*, his request to *Philip*, 15.

*Scipio Nasica* sent into *Macedon*, 421.

—— *L. Cornel.* sent against *Antiochus*, 522. Comes to *Troy*, 532. Defeats *Antiochus*, 549, & seq. Makes peace with him, 551, & seq.

—— *Africanus* serves under his brother, 522. His answer to *Antiochus*, 533. Advice to him, 534. His son restored to him, 534, 535. Speech to his ambassadors, 541.

*Scopas's* services to *Egypt*, 499, & C. Taken prisoner, ib.

Treasonable attempt against *Ptolemy*, 505. Punished, 506.

*Scythians* defeated by *Alexander*, 127. Reduced by him, 165, & seq. Make peace with him, 168.

*Seleucia*, by whom built, 444, & F. Recovered from the *Egyptians*, 484.

—— *Trachiotis*, by whom built, 505, E.

—— on the *Tigris*, described, 445, & seq.

*Seleucidæ*, whence so called, 432. A list of them, 433.

Their reigns and history, ib. & seq.

—— the æra of, how and whence computed 438.

*Seleucus Nicator*, founder of the *Syro-Macedonian* empire, 433.

His several attempts against *Eumenes*, 276, 434. Attach-

ment to *Antigonus*, 285. Falls out with him, 285, 435,

& seq. His reception at the *Egyptian* court, 436. In-

vades *Babylon*, ib. Defeats *Nicanor*, 437. Gains *Susia-*

*na*, *Media*, &c. ib. His great strength, 438. Recovers

*Babylon* from *Demetrius*, 440. Assumes the royal title,

*ibid.* Goes into *India*, ib. & seq. Defeats and kills *An-*

*tigonus*, 303, 442. Builds *Antioch*, 442. Allies with *De-*

*metrius*, 446. Strips him of *Cilicia*, 447. Imprisons him,

312, 451. Yields his wife and part of his empire to his

son, 452, & seq. His kindness to *Ptolemy Ceraunus*,

355. Defeats and kills *Lysimachus*, 356, 455. Takes

the name of *Nicator*, 455. Treacherously murdered by

*Ceraunus*, 356, 456. His character, 457, & seq.

—— *Callinicus* mounts the *Syrian* throne by parricide, 465.

Invaded by *Ptolemy*, 467. Defeated by him, 469. By his

own brother, 470. Drives him off, 471. Taken prisoner

by *Arfaces*, 472. His death, 473. Why called *Callini-*

*cus*, *ibid.*

*Seleucus*



- Seleucus Ceraunus*, his character, 473. Death, 474.  
 ——— *Philopator*, the son of *Antiochus*'s success in *Asia*, 523.  
 Driven out of *Pergamus*, 526. Succeeds his father, 547.  
 His generosity to the temple of *Jerusalem*, 549. Poisoned  
 by *Heliodorus*, 552.  
*Selga*, where situate, 513, H.  
*Sibyrtius* promoted by *Antigenus*, 284.  
*Sidon* taken by *Antiochus*, 499. *Abdalonimus* made king there,  
 100, K.  
*Simon*, a *Benjamite*, plots against the *Jews*, 549, & seq.  
*Sisygambis*, how treated by *Alexander*, 99, 135, & seq. Her  
 death, 261.  
*Sitalces*, put to death for oppression, 231.  
*Smyrna* confederates with *Seleucus*, 469. Besieged by *Antiochus*, 503.  
*Sogdia* invaded by *Alexander*, 161, & seq.  
*Sogdian* rock taken by him, 191, & seq. Described, 192,  
 194, B.  
*Sogdians* revolt against *Alexander*, 188, & seq.  
*Sothenes* chosen general of *Macedon*, 359. Totally destroys  
 the *Gauls*, 358. Slain by a new inundation of them,  
 359.  
*Spitamenes* offers to deliver up *Bessus* to *Alexander*, 163. Be-  
 sieges *Maracanda*, 167. Defeats *Pharnaces*, 169. Dri-  
 ven off by *Alexander*, 170. Heads the revolted *Sogdians*,  
 189. Defeated by *Cænus*, 190. Murdered by the *Scy-  
 thians*, *ib.* & A.  
*Statira*'s death and burial, 123.  
 ——— daughter of *Darius*, married to *Alexander*, 235.  
 Murdered by *Roxana*, 261.  
*Stesantor*'s lot after *Alexander*'s death, 270.  
*Strato*, king of *Arados*, submits to *Alexander*, 100.  
*Stratonice* married to *Seleucus*, 304. Yielded by him to his  
 son *Antiochus*, 452, & seq.  
*Suffes* at *Carthage*, what, 507.  
*Sulpitius* sent to *Antiochus*, 513, & seq.  
*Susa* delivered up to *Alexander*, 133. The great treasures  
 there, *ib.*  
*Syllanus Jun.* accused by the *Macedonians*, 427. Condemned  
 by his own father, 428. Hangs himself, *ib.* Inference  
 drawn from his punishment, *ib.* note K.  
*Syria*, the kingdom of, described, 432. Its boundaries af-  
 ter *Alexander*'s death, *ib.* & 445. Kings, 433. Why  
 called *Tetrapolis*, 445. Invaded by *Eumenes* and *Attalus*,  
 471. See the rest under its respective kings.



## T.

- T***Abæ*, where situate, 577, & Z. Thought by some to be *Ecbatan*, *ib.*
- Taxila*, a city in *India*, described, 204, D.
- Taxiles's* submission and presents to *Alexander*, 195, & seq. Speech to him, 204, D. Sent back to his dominions, 209.
- Telmiffians* great soothsayers, 91.
- Telmiffus*, the pass of, taken by *Alexander*, 90.
- Teos*, the city of, described, 529.
- Thebans* join with *Philip* against the *Spartans*, 23. Join the *Greeks* against him, 39. Defeated, *ib.* Revolt from *Alexander*, 66. Defeated by him, 67.
- Thebes* destroyed by *Alexander*, 67, & seq. Rebuilt by *Cassander*, 337. Besieged and taken by *Demetrius*, 350.
- Theodotus* I. founder of the *Bactrian* kingdom, 464. Invades *Syria*, 471.
- II. allies with *Arfaces* against *Seleucus*, *ib.* Defeated by *Euthydemus*, 496.
- *Ptolemy's* general goes over to *Antiochus*, 485. Made governor under him, 486. Attempt on *Ptolemy's* life, and escape, 489.
- Thessalonica*, taken by the *Romans*, 402.
- Tbimbro* defeated and crucified, 266.
- Thoas*, *Ætolian* ambassador's speech to *Antiochus*, 519.
- Thrace*, the kingdom of, invaded by *Philip*, 22, & note.
- Thrasydæus*, made king of *Thessaly* for his flattery, 46, L.
- Timarchus*, a creature of *Antiochus*, put to death for oppression, 594.
- Timotheus* defeated by the *Maccabees* with a prodigious loss, 585.
- Tlepolemus*, *Alexander's* general, his lot after that prince's death, 270.
- Torquatus*, *Tit. Man.* an instance of his great justice, 428.
- Tralles* razed by *Alexander*, 85.
- Triballi*, defeated by *Philip*, 36. Make peace with *Alexander*, 65.
- Tripoli*, whence so called, 588, D.
- Tuta* succeeds her husband in *Illyria*, 366. Her ill conduct, *ib.*
- Tyre* besieged by *Alexander*, 105. Taken and resettled, 108, & seq. Taken by *Antigonus*, 286. By *Ptolemy*, 288. Betrayed to *Antiochus*, 485.

Tyrians



*Tyrians* refuse to admit *Alexander*, 104. Their brave defence, 105, & seq. Cruelly butchered by him, 108.

## U.

**U** *XIANS* defeated by *Alexander*, 134, 135.

## X.

**X** *ENOCRATES*'s character, writings, and death, 321, A.

*Xenoctas*, general of *Antiochus*, defeated and killed, 476.

*Xenxes*'s salutary advice to *Antiochus*, 479.

## Z.

**Z** *ABDIE L.* murders *Alexander Balas*, 608.

*Zariaſpa*, surrendered to *Alexander*, 170.

*Zaira* taken by *Philip*, 13.

*Zeno*, general of *Antiochus*, defeated, 476.

*Zephyrium* and other cities submit to *Antiochus*, 501.

*Zaida Crata* surrendered to *Alexander*, 146. Solemn games celebrated by him there, *ib*,

*Zipetes I.* king of *Bithynia* dies for joy, 459.

———— *II.* defeated by his brother, 459.

*The End of the Eighth Volume.*





A N

# Universal HISTORY,

FROM THE

Earliest Account of Time to the Present:

COMPILED from

## ORIGINAL AUTHORS;

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V O L. IX.

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Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέρχουσαι μὴ κατανοί, ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ ἐυρήσῃς ἀκόπως  
ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχαίου συνῆξαν ἐγκόπως. Basil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.

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*D. Pomarede. Sc.*

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D U B L I N:

Printed by EDWARD BATE, for the EDITORS:

M, DCC, XLV.



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# C O N T E N T S

O F

## V O L U M E IX.

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### C H A P. II.

#### S E C T. IX.

*A Continuation of the history of the Seleucidæ in Syria to the  
reduction of their dominions by the Romans,* page 1

#### S E C T. X.

*The history of Egypt from the foundation of that monarchy by  
Ptolemy Soter to its being made a Roman province,* 46

---

### C H A P. III.

*The history of the Armenians.*

#### S E C T. I.

*Description, Antiquity, Government, Laws, Religion, Lear-  
ing, Arts and Trade of Armenia,* 178

#### S E C T. II.

*The history of the kings of Armenia Major,* 192

S E C T.



# CONTENTS.

## SECT. III.

*The history of Armenia Minor,* page 230

---

## CHAP. IV.

*The history of the kingdom of Pontus.*

### SECT. I.

*The description of Pontus,* 233

### SECT. II.

*The history of the kings of Pontus,* 240

---

## CHAP. V.

*The history of the Cappadocians.*

### SECT. I.

*Description, Antiquity, Government, Laws, Religion, Arts,  
and Trade of Cappadocia,* 314

### SECT. II.

*The history of the kings of Cappadocia.* 319

---

## CHAP. VI.

*The history of the kings of Pergamus,* 328

---

## CHAP. VII.

*The history of Thrace,* 361

---

## CHAP. VIII.

*The history of the antient kingdom of Epirus,* 380

CHAP.



# CONTENTS.

## CHAP. IX.

*The history of Bithynia,*

431

---

## CHAP. X.

*The history of the kingdoms of Colchis, Iberia, Albania, Bosphorus, Media, Bactria, Edessa, Emesa, Adiabene, Characene, Elymais, Commagene, and Chalcidene,*

453

---

## CHAP. XI.

*The history of the Jews, from their return from the Babylonish captivity to the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus Vespasian, with an account of their dispersion and condition to this present time,*

496

### SECT. I.

*From their return from Babylon to their coming under the government of their high-priests,*

*ibid.*

### SECT. II.

*Their government under their high-priests and Maccabees,*

554



*Directions to the Book-binder for placing the Maps.*

|                                                                             |       |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|
| A Map of <i>Egypt</i>                                                       | P. 46 |
| A Map of the Kingdoms of <i>Armenia, Pontus, Cappadocia, Media, &amp;c.</i> | 176   |
| A Map of <i>Palestine</i>                                                   | 496   |



# Universal History.

## S E C T. IX.

*A continuation of the history of the Seleucidæ in Syria, to the reduction of their dominions by the Romans.*

**D**EMETRIUS, having now no rival to contend with, and being altogether a stranger to state affairs, left the whole care of the government to *Lasthenes*, who had hired those *Cretans* by whom he was attended into *Cilicia*, when he first set out from *Cnidus*. As *Lasthenes* was a man of a severe and imperious temper, he soon alienated the minds of the *Syrians* from their new king. The first wrong step he took was to command all the *Egyptians*, whom *Ptolemy* had placed in the maritime cities of *Phœnice* and *Syria*, to be cruelly massacred by the troops of *Syria* who were in the same garisons. Hereupon the *Egyptian* army, which was still in *Syria*, and had placed *Demetrius* on the throne, full of just horror for so barbarous an execution, abandoned him and returned home <sup>b</sup>. After this, *Demetrius*, at the instigation of his prime minister caused a strict search to be made after those who had been against him or his father in the late wars, and put them all to death. Having by this means got rid, as he imagined, of all his enemies, he disbanded the greatest part of his army, keeping in pay only his *Cretans* and some other mercenaries. By this means he not only deprived himself of those veterans who had served under his father, and, being well affected to him, would have maintained him on the throne, but made them his greatest enemies.

IN the mean time *Jonathān*, seeing every thing quiet in

<sup>b</sup> MACCAB. l. i. c. 11. ver. 19. JOSEPH. l. xiii. c. 8.



*Judæa*, having gathered together what forces he could, and<sup>d</sup> prepared the necessary engines of war, laid siege to the fortrefs which the *Syrians* still held at *Jerusalem*. Hereupon complaints being made to *Demetrius*, that prince advanced as far as *Ptolemais*, and summoned *Jonathan* to wait on him there, and give an account of his conduct. *Jonathan*, ordering his men to pursue the siege with all possible vigour during his absence, set out for *Ptolemais*, with some of the priests and principal men of the nation, carrying with him many rich and valuable presents. These not only appeased the king's wrath, but proved such an efficacious recommendation in behalf of *Jonathan*, that *Demetrius*, having dismissed the informers, confirmed him in the office of high-priest, admitted him into the number of his friends, and, at his request, annexed to *Judæa* the three governments of *Aphermis*, *Lydda* and *Ramatha*, which had formerly belonged to *Samaria*. Moreover, the king agreed to free the whole country under his government from all duties, customs, and tributes, for three hundred talents to be paid to him by way of equivalent. *Demetrius*, having thus settled matters with the *Jews*, returned to *Antioch*, where he gave himself up to all kind of excesses, *Lasthenes* putting him, as he was but very young, upon most wicked attempts. This behaviour alienated more and more the affections of his people from him, and disposed the whole nation for a general revolt; which being observed by *Diodotus*, afterwards called *Tryphon*, he thought this a favourable opportunity to make a bold push, aiming at nothing less than to place the crown on his own head. *Diodotus* was born in the territory of *Apamea*, at a place called *Secoan*, and brought up in the city of *Apamea*<sup>d</sup>. He had been very sanguine in the cause of *Alexander Balas*, who had appointed him, in conjunction with *Hierax*, governor of *Antioch*, and therefore had no share in the confidence of *Demetrius Nicator*; but an obscure and private life did not suit the taste of *Diodotus*, who was a man of an unbounded ambition. He had very early formed vast schemes, and, if we believe *Strabo*, in the very beginning of *Nicator's* reign, seized the fortrefs of *Coracesium* in *Cilicia*, and made it his place of arms, scouring from thence the seas with impunity, and taking all the inhabitants of the coasts who fell into his hands, and carrying them to *Delos*, where he sold

<sup>c</sup> *MACCAB.* l. i. c. 11. ver. 23—37. *JOSEPH.* *Antiq.* l. xiii. c. 8. <sup>d</sup> *MACCAB.* l. i. c. 11. ver. 39. *STRABO*, l. xvi. p. 752. *LIV.* l. lii, liii. *JOSEPH.* l. xiii. c. 9. *APPIAN.* in *Syriac.* p. 132.



them to the *Romans*, who, after the reduction of *Carthage* and *Corinth*, piqued themselves upon having great numbers of slaves. The indolence of *Demetrius Nicator*, adds the same author, the avarice of the governors, who had their shares of the profits arising from his piracies, and the connivance of the king of *Egypt*, a declared enemy to *Nicator*, encouraged these robberies and other disturbances in the *Syrian* empire. At length *Diodotus*, being well apprised of the disaffection of the people to their sovereign, began to entertain thoughts of seizing the crown for himself. With this view he went into *Arabia*, and there laying before *Zabdiel*, who had been intrusted with the person and education of *Antiochus* the son of *Alexander*, the state of affairs in *Syria*, with great difficulty prevailed upon him to put the youth into his hands, that he might take advantage of the present disturbances to place him on the throne of his father: *Appian* calls this prince *Alexander*, and not *Antiochus*, contrary to the testimony of the history of the *Maccabees* and of *Josephus*. He was the son of *Alexander Balas* by *Cleopatra*, and was very young when *Diodotus* drew him from his retreat (L). The traitor's scheme was to make use of the pretensions of *Antiochus*, till he had drove *Demetrius* from the throne, and afterwards to cut off the young prince, and place the crown on his own head.

IN the mean time, *Jonathan* was carrying on the siege of the fortress of *Jerusalem* with great vigour; but not being able to reduce it, he sent deputies to *Demetrius*, desiring him to withdraw the garison which he could not drive out. As that prince was then involved in great difficulties, on account of the seditions and tumults which daily broke out at *Antioch*, the inhabitants of that metropolis having an utter aversion both to his person and government, he promised to grant *Jonathan* his request, upon condition he would send him some troops to keep the *Antiochians* in awe. Hereupon *Jonathan* sent him immediately three thousand men, by which reinforcement the king believing himself sufficiently strong to undertake any thing, resolved to disarm the *Antiochians*, and accordingly ordered them all to deliver up their

(L) *Antiochus* was, according to *Eusebius*, about seven years of age when *Tryphon* drew him from his retreat. *Livy* tells us, that he was then but two years old, wherein he contradicts himself, if some mistake has not crept into the copy; for he e'sewhere owns, that *Antiochus* reigned only two years under the guardianship of *Tryphon*, by whom he was, according to him, put to death in the tenth year of his age.



arms. This unexpected order caused a great uproar in the city; the inhabitants ran to their arms, and, to the number of one hundred and twenty thousand men, invested the king's palace, with a design to kill him. The *Jews* hastened to his relief, fell upon the mutiniers, killed about an hundred thousand of them, and set fire to the city, which soon obliged the rest to submit, and sue for pardon, which was granted them. The tumult being thus quelled, the *Jews* returned, loaded with spoils, to *Jerusalem*, after having taken this dreadful revenge on the *Antiochians*, for the wrongs they had suffered from them in *Judæa* and *Jerusalem*, especially in the reign of their great persecutor *Antiochus Epiphanes*<sup>1</sup>.

*Demetrius*, notwithstanding the pardon he had granted to the *Antiochians*, put many of them to death, confiscated their estates, and practised upon that unhappy people all sorts of cruelties and oppressions; whereupon the whole kingdom conceived such an hatred and animosity against him, that they only wanted an opportunity to make him feel the most dreadful effects of their vengeance. That ungrateful and impolitic prince behaved no better towards *Jonathan*, than he did towards his own subjects; for, notwithstanding the promises he had made to him, and the great obligations he owed him for his late assistance, he refused to stand to the treaty concluded with him at *Ptolemais*, in virtue of which he was to free the *Jewish* nation from all taxes and tributes for three hundred talents. This sum had been paid; but, for all that, the king exacted the same taxes and tributes with the utmost rigour, by which means he alienated the *Jews* from him, as he had done his own subjects<sup>2</sup>.

WHILE things were in this unsteady condition, *Tryphon* arrived in *Syria*, with *Antiochus* the son of *Alexander Balas*, and laid claim to the crown in his name, stiling himself guardian and protector of the young king. He no sooner appeared, but the veterans, whom *Demetrius* had disbanded, and multitudes of others, whom he had provoked with his ill conduct, flocked to him, proclaimed him king, and marching under his banners against *Demetrius*, obliged that prince to come to an engagement, wherein his army was intirely routed, all his elephants taken, and he himself forced to shelter himself within the walls of *Seleucia*. *Antiochus's* party being thus master of the field, marched strait to *Antioch*,

<sup>1</sup> MACCAB. I. i. c. 11. ver. 41.—52. JOSEPH. Antiq. I. iii. c. 6. DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt. Valesii. p. 347, 348. <sup>2</sup> DIODOR. SICUL. ibid. MACCAB. I. i. c. 11. ver. 53. JOSEPH. ibid.



which opened its gates to them, and there placed the young prince on the throne of the kings of Syria, giving him the surname of *Theos*, that is, *the God* <sup>h</sup>.

*Antiochus* being now in possession of *Antioch* and the throne, *Tryphon*, his guardian, made it his first business to gain over *Jonathan* and the *Jewish* nation. With this view he sent an embassy to *Jonathan*, and an obliging letter confirming him in the office of high-priest, renewing the grant of the three seigniories mentioned above, to which a fourth was added, and allowing him to wear purple with a gold clasp, to drink in a gold cup, and to have place among the king's chief friends, or the first lords of the kingdom, with many other privileges and advantages to be enjoyed by the whole *Jewish* nation. In virtue of the same letter, which was wrote in the new king's name, *Simon* was appointed commander in chief of all the king's forces, from *the Ladder of Tyre*, a mountain so called on the sea-coast between *Tyre* and *Ptolemais*, to the borders of *Egypt*: the whole on condition, that the two brothers and the *Jewish* nation would declare for *Antiochus*. *Jonathan*, provoked at the ingratitude of *Demetrius*, accepted the invitation, and espoused with great warmth the new king's party; whereupon a commission being sent him, empowering him to raise forces for the king's service throughout all *Cœle-Syria* and *Palestine*, he drew together a great army, and marching round the country as far as *Damascus*, secured all those parts in the interest of *Antiochus*. In the mean time, the forces which *Demetrius* had, in *Cœle-Syria* and *Palestine*, invaded *Galilee*, in order to make a diversion, and oblige *Jonathan* to turn his arms that way; which he did accordingly, leaving *Simon* to command in *Judæa*. On his entering *Galilee*, he was very near being cut off with his whole army by a stratagem; but, while most of his men fled, being seized with a panic fear, a small body of the most resolute and courageous stood their ground, and made head against the enemy, till the rest rallied, and, returning to the charge, renewed the fight, and gained at last a complete victory. On the other hand, *Simon*, laying siege to *Bethsura*, made himself master of that important place, which had been long in the hands of the *Syrians* <sup>i</sup>. The commander of the king's forces in *Galilee*, having recruited his army with great expedition, returned against *Jonathan*, who, upon advice of his march, went to meet him as far as *Amathis* on the borders

<sup>h</sup> *MACCAB.* l. i. c. 11. ver. 54. — 56. *LIV.* *Epit.* l. lii. *JOSEPH.* *ibid.* *APPIAN.* in *Syriac.* <sup>i</sup> *MACCAB.* l. i. c. 11. ver. 57 — 62. *JOSEPH.* *ibid.*



of *Canaan*; and there the two armies encamped over-against each other. The *Syrian* commander formed a design of attacking *Jonathan's* camp in the night-time, in hopes of surprising him; but finding, on his approach, the *Jews*, who had received intelligence of his design, ready to receive him, he was so discouraged at the disappointment, that he returned to his camp, and having caused fires to be lighted there to deceive the enemy, he marched off the same night, and got so far before *Jonathan* received advice of his retreat, that he could never come up with him; wherefore, after having pursued him in vain to the banks of the *Eleutherus*, he turned his arms, first against the *Arabians* who were of *Demetrius's* party, and afterwards entered the territory of *Damascus*, putting all those to the sword who refused to side with *Antiochus*; by which means he intirely suppressed the party of *Demetrius* in those parts, while his brother did the same in the country of the *Philistines*, after having made himself master of *Joppa*, and placed a strong garison in it<sup>\*</sup>.

THE partisans of *Demetrius* being thus every-where destroyed or driven out of the country, *Tryphon* thought it high time to put in execution the design he had formed from the beginning of cutting off *Antiochus*, and seizing the crown of *Syria* for himself; but foreseeing that *Jonathan* would, to the utmost of his power, oppose such a black and treacherous attempt, he resolved, in the first place, to rid himself of so formidable an enemy, and with this design entered *Judæa*, at the head of a powerful army. *Jonathan* met him with forty thousand men at *Bethsan*, a city of the tribe of *Manasseh* (M). At the sight of so numerous an army, *Tryphon* was intimidated,

<sup>\*</sup> MACCAB. l. i. ubi supra. & c. 12. ver. 24. & seq. JOSEPH. ibid

(M) The city called *Bethsan* by the *Jews*, *Methora* by *Zonaras*, and *Bazan* by *Cedrenus*, stood on the confines of *Galilee*, and is the same that is mentioned in the book of *Joshua*<sup>\*</sup>. The *Canaanites* kept possession of this city, which was the most considerable in the *Decapolis*, after the *Israelites* had conquered *Palestine*. It stood in the middle of a great plain, near the mountains of *Gilboa*, about a mile on this side of the *Jordan*, and 120 furlongs, according to *Josephus*, from the lake of *Gennesareth*, and 600 furlongs from *Jerusalem*. The *Greeks* gave it the name of *Scythopolis*; and so it is called in the history of the *Maccabees* (100), because antiently inhabited by the *Scythians*, who, according to *Herodotus*,

<sup>\*</sup> *Josh.* xvii. 11. (100) *Maccab.* l. ii. c. 12. v. 29.

had



intimidated, and had recourse to artifice instead of force. No declaration of war had been made, and therefore the Syrian, under a false appearance of friendship, easily circumvented the high-priest. He told him, That he was come thither only to consult with him about their common interest, and to put *Ptolemais* into his hands, as a reward for the services he had done young *Antiochus*. Credulity is too often the fault of good men. *Jonathan* believed him, and suffered himself to be prevailed upon to dismiss his army, keeping only three thousand men with him, and of these he afterwards sent two thousand into *Galilee*, so that he entered *Ptolemais* with a guard only of a thousand men, expecting, according to the traitor's oath, to be put in possession of the place; but he was no sooner got within the walls, than the gates were shut upon him, and he seized, after all his followers had been put to the sword. Troops were likewise immediately detached after the two thousand men, who were upon their march towards *Galilee*; but they, having received advice of what had happened to *Jonathan* and his men at *Ptolemais*, put themselves in a posture of defence, being resolved to sell their lives at a dear rate; which the enemy perceiving, suffered them to proceed on their march without molestation; so that they arrived safe at *Jerusalem*, where they found all the inhabitants in tears for what had happened to *Jonathan*. However, they did not despond, but choosing *Simon* for their general instead of *Jonathan*, applied themselves, with all possible speed, to the finishing of the fortifications begun by *Jonathan* at *Jerusalem*. On the other hand, the Syrian army, leaving *Ptolemais*, advanced towards the land of *Judah*, and encamped near *Addus*, which is called by *Josephus* *Addida*, and stood on a mountain that commanded the plains of *Judah*, and was not far from *Jerusalem*. *Simon*, at the head of a powerful

had, in the reigns of *Psammitichus* king of *Egypt*, and *Cyaxares* king of *Media*, extended their conquests as far as *Syria* and *Palestine*. *Pliny* tells us, upon the credit of an antient tradition, that *Bethsan* was, in former times, called *Nysa*, from *Bacchus*'s nurse, whom the *Scythians* buried near that place. It is now known among the eastern nations by the name of *Elbyzan*. It was on the walls of this city, if *Josephus* is to be credited (101), that the *Philistines* hung up the dead bodies of *Saul* and *Jonathan*. Some Jewish authors say, that it was subject to the *Israelites* before the *Babylonish* captivity, they having at length driven out the *Canaanites*; but that the *Assyrians* afterwards made themselves masters of it, and held it long after the return of the *Jews*.

(101) *Joseph. Antiq. l. vi.*



army, marched out against *Tryphon*, and posted himself near the *Syrian* camp. *Tryphon*, not daring to give him battle, had recourse to his usual treachery; he sent a deputation to the camp of the *Israelites*, informing *Simon* that his brother was alive, that he had detained him prisoner only on account of the money which he owed to the king of *Syria*, and that he would set him at liberty, if the *Jews* sent him an hundred talents, of silver and *Jonathan's* two sons as hostages. The embassadors insisted upon the delivering up of the hostages as a necessary precaution, lest *Jonathan*, who was highly provoked, said they, against *Tryphon*, should revolt from *Antiochus*, and join *Demetrius*. *Simon* saw plainly, that his proposal was no more than a feint, and that some treachery was concealed under these artful speeches; however, as he apprehended, that upon his refusal, *Tryphon* would put *Jonathan* to death, and the people blame him as the author of it, he resolved to comply with the request, and accordingly sent the hundred talents and the two hostages. And then the traitor, having received all he demanded, pulled off the mask, and declared himself an enemy to the *Jewish* nation. He returned into *Syria*, carrying *Jonathan* and his two sons along with him, and having there reinforced his army, he re-entered *Judæa*, with a design utterly to destroy the whole nation; but *Simon* kept so close to him in all his marches and countermarches, that he was forced to retire with disgrace. On his retreat, he put *Jonathan* to death in the neighbourhood of *Bascama* (N); but whether by poison or the sword, no historian is exact enough to tell us<sup>1</sup>. *Tryphon*, after the death of *Jonathan*, believing he had no body to fear, caused *Antiochus* to be privately murdered. That young prince was troubled with the stone, and his guardian causing him to be cut for it, ordered the surgeons to dispatch him in the operation<sup>m</sup>. Upon his death the treacherous *Tryphon* declared himself king of *Syria* in his stead, and accordingly took possession of the crown, no one daring to oppose him.

<sup>1</sup> MACCAB. l. i. c. 12. ver. 39—53. & c. 13. ver. 1—11 & 20. 24. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 12. <sup>m</sup> MACCAB. l. i. c. 13. ver. 31, 32. LIV. l. lv. STRABO. l. xvi. p. 752. JUSTIN. l. xxxvi. c. 1.

(N) The author of the history of the *Maccabees* tells us, that the snow which fell prevented *Tryphon* from entering into the country of *Gilead*, and that he stopped at *Bascama*; whence it is plain, that this city was not, according to that author, in the land of *Gilead*, where *Josephus* and some modern geographers place it.



THE first step he took, after he had ascended the throne, was to try whether he could prevail upon the *Romans* to acknowledge him king, since, without their protection, his affairs, as he was well apprised, could never prosper. He therefore sent ambassadors to *Rome*, to notify to the republic his accession to the crown of *Syria*, and to present the *Roman* senate with a statue of a victory of massy gold, weighing a thousand of those pieces of gold which were called *aurei*. He hoped, that, in regard of so valuable a present, and the good omen of victory which the statue carried with it, the senate would not scruple to acknowledge his title; but the *Romans* cunningly eluding his expectation, received the present, and ordered the name of young *Antiochus*, whom *Tryphon* had lately murdered, to be engraved on it, as if it had been sent by him <sup>n</sup>. About this time *Sarpedon*, one of *Demetrius's* commanders, attempted to recover *Phœnice*; but his army was defeated by the forces which *Tryphon* had in those parts. As the victorious army of the usurper was returning from the pursuit, and quietly marching along the sea-side between *Ptolemais* and *Tyre*, a wave swelling all on a sudden to an incredible height, and breaking with great violence on the shore, overwhelmed a great many of them, and then, running back with the same rapidity, left the dead bodies on the strand, and a vast quantity of fish mingled with them; whereupon *Sarpedon's* men, returning with all speed, found, that those who had escaped the disaster, had retired to the neighbouring cities, especially to *Ptolemais*, whither *Sarpedon* advanced, and, under the very walls of the city, offered up the fish, which he found mingled with the dead bodies on the shore, to *Neptune the deliverer*, by way of thanksgiving for the disaster which had befallen the enemy <sup>o</sup>.

*Demetrius* in the mean time lay idle at *Laodicea*, abandoning himself to all manner of lewdness and debauchery, without so much as seeming to be sensible of his misfortunes. However, as *Tryphon* had given the *Jewish* nation just reason to renounce his friendship, *Simon* sent ambassadors to *Demetrius*, with a crown of gold, to treat with him about an alliance, and to offer him all the forces of *Judæa* against the usurper. The ambassadors were kindly received by the king, who, as he had no other resource in the melancholy situation of his affairs, willingly granted them all they demanded, *viz.* a confirmation of the high-priesthood and sovereignty to *Simon*, an exemption from all taxes and tributes, and a general amnesty for all

<sup>n</sup> DIODOR. SICUL. legat. 31.      <sup>o</sup> STRABO. l. xvi. p. 758. ATHEN. l. viii. c. 2. ex Possidonio Stoico.



past acts of hostility, upon condition that the *Jews* joined him against *Tryphon* <sup>P</sup>.

NOT long after *Demetrius* had concluded this alliance with *Simon* and the *Jewish* nation, he was encouraged to attempt the recovery of his kingdom by other embassadors sent to him out of the east, and inviting him thither. The *Parthians* having over-run and reduced most of the eastern provinces, from the *Euphrates* to the *Indus*, such of the inhabitants of those countries as were originally *Macedonians*, not being able to bear that usurpation, nor the pride and insolence of their new masters, earnestly intreated *Demetrius*, by repeated embassies, to come into those parts, promising him a general revolt from the *Parthians*, and a sufficient number of troops to expel those usurpers, and recover all the provinces of the east. *Demetrius*, seduced with these promises, embarked in this enterprize, and passed the *Euphrates*, leaving *Tryphon* in possession of the greatest part of *Syria*. He imagined, that, after he should have made himself master of the east, with such an encrease of power, he should be in a better condition to suppress that rebel on his return. As soon as he appeared in the east, the *Elmeans*, *Persians*, and *Bactrians* declared in his favour; so that, by their assistance, he defeated the *Parthians* in several engagements; but at last, being deceived by false appearances of a treaty of peace, he inadvertently put himself into the power of a *Parthian* commander, who seized on his person, and cut his whole army in pieces. The king who reigned in *Parthia* at this time, was *Mithridates* the son of *Priapatius*, a valiant and wise prince. As soon as *Demetrius* was delivered up to him, he carried the captive prince round the provinces which had revolted, exposing him every-where to public view, that the people, by seeing the person, whom they had looked upon as their deliverer, reduced to so low and shameful a condition, might be the easier brought to submit to their former yoke. After this he treated him as a king, sent him into *Hyrcania* to reside there, with a maintenance suitable to his dignity, and even gave him his daughter *Rhologone* in marriage; however, he kept him still in captivity, tho' with all the liberty that could be granted him in that condition. *Justin* adds, that *Mithridates* engaged to carry him back into *Syria*, at the head of a powerful army, and to drive out the usurper; but the death of the *Parthian*

<sup>P</sup> Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Valesii, p. 355. MACCAB. l. i. c. 13. ver. 31—32 & c. 14. ver. 38—41. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 11.



king frustrated all these expectations <sup>9</sup>. *Syncellus* tells us, upon what authority we know not, that *Demetrius* was kept in irons by *Mithridates* and his successor *Phrabates*, and that he was from thence surnamed *Siderites*.

*Cleopatra* wife to *Demetrius*, upon advice of her husband's captivity, shut herself up with her two children in *Seleucia* on the *Orontes*, whither many of *Tryphon's* soldiers flocked daily to her ; for as he was naturally of a cruel and inhuman temper, he soon made the *Syrians* feel all the weight of a tyrannical government, which they not being able to bear, abandoned him, and went over to *Cleopatra* ; but still her party alone was not strong enough to support her, and therefore fearing least the people of *Seleucia* should chuse rather to give her up to *Tryphon*, than bear a siege out of affection to her person, she invited *Antiochus Sidetes* (O), her husband's younger brother, to join his interest with her's, promising on this condition, to marry him and procure him the crown ; for being abandoned by *Demetrius*, who had married the *Parthian* king's daughter, she resolved to seek a new interest, by disposing of herself in marriage to some-body else ; and not seeing how she could do this more to her advantage than by marrying the next heir to the crown, she fixed upon him, and took him in the room of his brother <sup>1</sup>. This *Antiochus* was the second son of *Demetrius Soter*, and had been sent to *Cnidus* with his brother *Demetrius*, to be kept there as in a place of safety, during the war between their father and *Alexander Balas*. He seems to have continued in those parts, even after his brother's accession to the crown ; for he is said to have been at *Rhodes* when *Demetrius* was taken prisoner ; and there in all likelihood the messenger sent by *Cleopatra* found him : For he, having accepted the offer, and thereup-

<sup>9</sup> *MACCAB.* l. i. c. 14. ver. 1, 2, 3. *JOSEPH.* *Antiq.* l. xiii. c. 9. *JOSEPH.* l. xxxvi. c. 1. & l. xxxviii. c. 9. <sup>1</sup> *APPIAN.* in *Syriac* p. 132. *JUSTIN.* *ibid.* *JOSEPH.* *ubisupra.* c. 12.

O: He was called *Sidetes* or *Sedetes*, from the *Syriac* word *Zida'*, which signifies *to hunt*, he being much given to that manly diversion (103). *Syncellus* thinks he had this appellation from the city of *Sidon*, whence he first marched against *Tryphon*. *Josephus* bestows upon him the surname of *Pius* (104). *Justin* calls him after his father's name, *Soter* (105), and *Eusebius* gives him no other name but that of *Sidetes*, a name, say, that writer, which he well deserved from his passion for hunting.

(103) *Plut.* in *Prob.* (104) *Joseph.* *Antiq.* l. xii. & l. xiii. c. 10. (105) *Justin.* in *Prolog.* l. x. xix.



on assumed the title of king of *Syria*, wrote immediately a letter to *Simon*, dated from the *isles of the sea*, that is, from *Rhodes*, as is commonly understood, since he had been there a little before<sup>†</sup>. In this letter he complained of *Tryphon's* unjust usurpation, and acquainted *Simon*, that he was preparing to come into *Syria*, to take vengeance on that treacherous assassin and usurper, and recover his father's kingdom; and therefore, to gain him over to his interest, he confirmed to him all the privileges and immunities which other kings had granted to the *Jewish* nation, exempted *Jerusalem* from the jurisdiction of the kings of *Syria*, and to many other valuable privileges, added that of coining money, the only regal prerogative which the heads of the *Jewish* nation seemed to want<sup>†</sup> (P). The wise high-priest therefore did not think it adviseable to reject such advantageous offers, whereby he was invested in the rights of royalty, and made a free, independent and sovereign arbiter of the religion, revenues, and government of his country; but prepared to assist *Sidetes* in mounting the throne of his ancestors, and driving out the usurper.

THE young prince therefore, depending on the friendship of the *Jews*, in the beginning of the following year, left *Rhodes*, and landed in *Syria*, with an army of mercenaries, whom he had hired in *Greece*, *Asia Minor*, and the islands, and having married *Cleopatra*, joined what forces she had to his own, took the field, and marched against *Tryphon*. At the sight of a prince of the blood of the *Seleucidæ*, most of the usurper's forces, weary of his tyranny, abandoned him, and going over to *Antiochus*, augmented his army to the number of an hundred and twenty thousand foot and eight thousand horse. *Tryphon*, not being in a condition to keep the field against so great a force, had no resource but in flight; he therefore retired to the city of *Dora* in the

<sup>†</sup> MACCAB. l. i. c. 15. ver. 1. JUSTIN. APPIAN. ibid. <sup>†</sup> MACCAB. l. i. c. 4. ver. 2—9.

(P) Till the reign of *Antiochus*, the *Syrian* kings had constantly refused the *Jews* the privilege of coining money; but *Simon*, it seems, did not wait for the new king's grant, the kings of *Syria* not being then in a condition to dispute with him that prerogative. He had three years before struck medals with his own name, and the year in which the *Jews* had been restored to their full liberty, by the reduction of the fortrefs of *Jerusalem*. This event was represented on the reverse by the figure of a palm-tree, the symbol of *Judæa*.



neighbourhood of *Ptolemais*, where he was close besieged by *Antiochus*, who employed all his sea and land-forces against the place. During this siege the high-priest *Simon* signalized his zeal for the new king, sending him two thousand chosen men, with considerable presents in gold, silver, arms, and engines of war. But prosperity had changed the heart of *Antiochus*; he sent back to *Simon* his presents and troops, and with them *Athenobius*, one of his friends, to demand the restitution of *Gazara*, *Joppa*, and the fortress of *Jerusalem*, with several other places then held by *Simon*, which he claimed as belonging to the crown of *Syria*, or else five hundred talents in lieu of them, and five hundred more for the damages that were done by the *Jews* within the borders of his dominions. To this message *Simon* answered, That for *Gazara* and *Joppa* he was willing to pay the king an hundred talents; but, as to the other places, they originally belonged to *Judæa*, and had been unjustly taken from the *Jewish* nation; wherefore, since he had now re-taken them, he was resolved not to part with them. *Athenobius* was highly offended at this answer, and on his return to the king's camp, inspired him with the same rage and hatred to the *Jews* which he had conceived. Hereupon *Cendebeus*, one of the chief commanders of the *Syrian* troops, was immediately detached with one part of the army against *Simon*, while the king in person, with the other, pursued the siege of *Dora*. When the city was reduced to the last extremity, *Tryphon* found means to make his escape from thence to *Orthosia*, another maritime town of *Phænice*, and from *Orthosia* to *Apamea*, his native city<sup>u</sup>. *Frontinus* tells us, that all the way he scattered money on the road, in order to keep the pursuers employed, and by that means retarded the troops of *Antiochus*, and got safe into *Apamea*; but the city being taken by assault, as *Josephus* informs us, *Tryphon* was killed in the third year of the captivity of *Demetrius*. *Appian* tells us, that he was taken after a most gallant resistance, and put to death by *Antiochus*. *Strabo* says, that he shut himself up in a strong castle, where he was reduced to such straits, that, out of despair, he laid violent hands on himself; and lastly, *Syncellus* writes, that the city of *Orthosia* being set on fire, he leaped into the flames, and there perished. Thus *Tryphon* ended his days, after he had raised great disturbances in *Syria*, dethroned one of her kings, put

<sup>u</sup> MACCAB. l. i. c. 15. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 12. APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 132. STRABO, l. xiv. p. 668.



his ward to death, possessed himself of the crown, and most grievously oppressed both his friends and enemies ( Q ). His death having put an end to the intestine broils, *Antiochus* ascended his father's throne without any further opposition, and enjoyed it nine years. Having now no rival to contend with, for his brother was still a captive in *Parthia*, he, in the first place, reduced all the cities of *Syria*, which, taking advantage of the late troubles, had shaken off the yoke, and made themselves independent. He then turned his arms against *Judæa*, and was attended in this expedition with far better success than *Cendebæus* one of his generals had been; for he laid siege to *Jerusalem* itself, and reduced it to such straits, that *John Hyrcanus*, who had succeeded his father *Simon* in the office of high-priest, was obliged to capitulate and deliver up the city. But as to the wars which he had made upon the *Jews*, first by *Cendebæus*, and afterwards in person, we shall relate them at length in the history of that people. As the *Jews* were at that time under the protection of the *Romans*, since the treaties made by them with *Simon* still subsisted under his son and successor in the high-priesthood, *Sidetes* fearing the resentment of that powerful republic, on account of the devastations he had committed in *Judæa*, sent embassadors to *Scipio Africanus*, who was then in *Spain*, with magnificent presents, hoping, by this means, to appease the wrath of the senate, and obtain the protection of *Rome*, without which he did not think himself well settled on the throne. *Scipio*, who had known *Antiochus* in *Asia*, received his embassadors in a very polite and obliging manner, assured them of the esteem and affection he had for their master, and accepted of the valuable jewels which they had brought so far; but immediately distributed them among his soldiers, generously rewarding the valour of those

( Q ) There are still some medals to be seen, representing *Typhon* with a diadem on his head, and on the reverse a helmet, the symbol of war, which he had declared against his lawful sovereign. On these medals he is honoured with the title of *king Typhon*, and *Typhon the powerful king*. His former name, which was *Diodorus*, he changed, as soon as he ascended the throne, for that of *Typhon*. *Josephus* says, that he reigned only three years; but others will have him to have reigned six years complete; that is from the beginning of the second year of *Simon's* high-priesthood, to the end of the seventh, when the usurper died. According to this computation, he died in the one hundred and seventy-sixth year of the kingdom of the *Greeks*, or the era of the *Seleucidæ*.



who had distinguished themselves in the siege of *Numantia*, which he was then carrying on <sup>w</sup>.

*Antiochus* having, as he thought, gained himself a powerful protector among the *Romans*, and concluded a peace with the *Jews*, prepared to march with a powerful army into the east, against *Phraabates* king of *Parthia*, under pretence of delivering his brother *Demetrius Nicator*, who had been detained several years a prisoner in *Hyrkania*. The captive prince had all the honours paid him that were due to a crowned head. He had married *Rhodogune* the sister of *Phraabates*, as we have related above, and seemed to live very happily with that princess, being plentifully supplied by his brother-in-law with all the pleasures and diversions he could wish for; but all this did not make him amends for the loss of a throne. In the midst of all his pomp and shew, he still considered himself as a captive and a dethroned king, and had several times attempted to make his escape, but without success, having been pursued, taken, and, for some time, more closely confined. Under the plausible pretence of delivering him, but, in reality, with a design to recover some provinces lately usurped by the *Parthians*, *Antiochus* marched with a numerous army against *Phraabates*. He is said to have had in that expedition above fourscore thousand men well armed and disciplined; but the train of luxury, as *Justin* styles it, consisting of sutlers, cooks, confectioners, actors, singers, lewd women, &c. whose only business was to promote luxury and effeminacy, was four times as numerous as the army; for they are said by *Athenæus* to have amounted to three hundred thousand persons and upwards; however, fortune favoured *Antiochus* in his first enterprizes. Upon the report of his march, the *Assyrians* and *Babylonians* flocked to him from all parts, acknowledging him for their lawful sovereign. As they had been accustomed to live under the government of the successors of *Alexander the Great*, they could not brook a foreign yoke. *Antiochus*, depending upon the affection of those who came daily to join him, advanced into *Babylonia* and *Media*, and being met by *Indates* the *Parthian* general, on the banks of the *Lyus*, intirely defeated him, as he did afterwards *Phraabates* himself in three successive battles; by which means he recovered all the provinces which had formerly belonged to the *Syrian* empire, except *Parthia* alone, where *Phraabates* was reduced within the narrow

<sup>w</sup> Liv. Epit. l. lvii



bounds of the antient *Parthian* kingdom. *John*, the high-priest of the *Jews*, followed *Antiochus* in this expedition, and is said by *Eusebius* and *Sulpitius Severus* to have penetrated as far as *Hyrkania*, and to have taken the surname of *Hyrcanus* from the victories he gained over that people. Be that as it will, he certainly had a great share in all the victories gained by *Antiochus*, and, at the end of the campaign, returned to *Jerusalem*, loaded with glory and rich spoils<sup>\*</sup>.

THE rest of the army wintered in the east, and, on account of the prodigious number of the soldiers and their attendants, amounting in all to four hundred thousand persons, were obliged to separate, and quarter at such a distance from each other, that they could not, in case of any sudden attack, join in one body for their mutual defence. The inhabitants, whom they had most tyrannically oppressed in all the places where they were quartered, taking advantage of their being thus separated, conspired with the *Parthians* to rid themselves of their troublesome guests, and massacre them all in one day in their several quarters, before they could come to the assistance of one another; and this they executed accordingly. *Antiochus*, who had kept a body of troops about his person, marched to assist the quarters nearest him; but was overpowered by numbers, and killed, with all those who attended him. The rest of the army underwent the same fate, and the slaughter was so general, that, out of such a prodigious number of persons, scarce one had the good fortune to return into *Syria*, and carry thither the sad news of this dreadful overthrow<sup>†</sup>. This is the account which *Justin*, *Josephus*, *Eusebius*, and *Orosius* give of this prince's death. *Eusebius* adds, that *Phrabates* killed him with his own hand; but *Appian* tells us, that *Antiochus*, having lost a battle, killed himself in a fit of despair; and *Ælian*, that the unfortunate prince, after the loss of a battle, threw himself headlong from the top of a high place, that he might not fall alive into the enemy's hands<sup>‡</sup>. Some modern writers are of opinion, that this

<sup>\*</sup> JUSTIN. l. xxxviii. c. 2. & 10. & l. xlii. c. 1. LIV. l. lix. ATHENÆUS, l. x. c. 12. & l. xii. c. 19. APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 132. JOSEPH. l. xiii. c. 16. VAL. MAX. l. ix. c. 1. OROS. l. v. c. 10.      <sup>†</sup> JUSTIN. l. xxxviii. c. 10. DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt. Valesii, p. 374. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 16. OROS. l. v. c. 10. APPIAN. ibid. ATHEN. l. x. p. 439.

<sup>‡</sup> APPIAN. JUSTIN. JOSEPH. ibid. ÆLIAN. de animal. l. x. c. 34.



was the *Antiochus*, of whom mention is made in the epistle of the *Jews at Jerusalem* to their countrymen in *Egypt*, as we read in the beginning of the second book of the *Maccabees*. Upon the authority of that history they tell us, that *Antiochus*, having a mind to plunder the temple of *Nanea*, a goddess worshipped by the *Parthians* (R), declared that he would marry her, and, entering the temple, demanded the treasures of the goddess to be delivered up to him by way of dowry. This sacrilegious proceeding provoked the priests, who, to revenge the affront offered to their deity, killed *Antiochus* with stones thrown from the roof of the temple, cut his body in pieces, and threw them out of the temple which he had profaned. This is what we read of one of the *Antiochus's* of *Syria* in the history of the *Maccabees*<sup>a</sup>. And indeed neither the time, nor the circumstances of his death, allow us to apply what is said there to any other; but whether the authority of that writer ought to be preferred in this particular to that of the profane historians, is what we leave to the decision of our readers. We have already observed, that there is a great disagreement among historians with relation to the death of this prince; which is a strong proof, that herein they were destitute of authentic records. *Justin* and *Josephus*, who tell us that he was killed in battle, add, that *Phrahates* would have the pleasure of seeing the dead body of his conquered enemy, which he afterwards caused to be put in a silver coffin, and sent into *Syria*, to be there interred among his ancestors<sup>b</sup>. *Athenæus*, upon the credit of *Posidonius* of *Apamea*, an antient historian, writes, that *Phrahates*, in beholding the dead body of his enemy, reproached him with his rashness and debaucheries in the following words: *Your wine, O Antiochus, and your too great confidence, have brought you to this untimely end; you thought you could have swallowed the kingdom of Arsaces in your great cups*<sup>c</sup>. Among the many captives that fell into the hands of the *Parthians*, were some young princesses of the blood of the *Seleucidæ*. One of these being carried to *Phrahates*, that prince was

<sup>a</sup> MACCAB. l. ii. c. 1.<sup>b</sup> JUSTIN. JOSEPH. APPIAN. *ibid*.<sup>c</sup> ATHEN. l. i. c. 12.

(R) Most of the interpreters of the scripture are of opinion, that the goddess, which the *Medes* and *Persians* called in their language *Nanea*, was the same with the *Diana* of the *Greeks* and *Latins*. Of this *Luther* and *Melancthon* were so fully convinced, that, in the version of the bible which they published, they put *Diana* instead of *Nanea*.



so taken with her charms, that he married her. This princess was not the daughter of *Antiochus*, as a modern writer tells us, but of *Demetrius Nicator*, and had attended her uncle *Antiochus* in this expedition, as we read in *Justin*<sup>d</sup>. The death of *Antiochus* was universally lamented all over the Syrian empire, he being a prince endowed with some excellent qualities. He was a great lover of justice, always ready to forgive, and greatly inclined to mercy. *Diodorus Siculus*<sup>e</sup> and *Josephus* himself<sup>f</sup> tell us, it was wholly owing to the generosity and good-nature of *Antiochus*, that the Jewish nation was not intirely cut off and utterly destroyed; for after he had reduced the city of *Jerusalem* to the last extremity, he granted the inhabitants a peace upon very reasonable terms, contrary to the opinion of all his officers, and inclination of the whole army; for they all pressed him to lay hold of that opportunity, and extirpate the whole nation. They urged against them, that they had been driven out of *Egypt* as an impious people, hated by the gods, and abhorred by all mankind; that they looked upon the rest of human race as enemies, and therefore would have no communication with them, nor eat, drink, or freely converse with any except those of their own sect; that they did not adore the same gods, but had laws, customs, and a religion quite different from that of all other nations; on which considerations they well deserved to be treated with the utmost contempt, to be hated and abhorred by all nations, and utterly extirpated as declared enemies to all mankind. But, notwithstanding these ill-natured insinuations, *Antiochus*, being touched with a generous compassion for the unhappy city, granted the inhabitants more favourable terms than they could ever have expected; nay, he would not even insist upon rebuilding the fortress at *Jerusalem*, finding *Hyrchanus* unwilling to comply with this article, though he might at that time have imposed upon him and the whole nation what conditions he pleased. During the siege of *Jerusalem* he gave another remarkable instance, not only of good-nature, but even of piety. For *John Hyrchanus*, having sent a herald to him, as the feast of the tabernacles approached, begging a truce during the festival, he not only complied with his request, but moreover sent victims and other things necessary for the sacrifices that were to be offered at that solemnity<sup>g</sup>. *Plutarch* relates of this prince, that, having one day lost his way in the pursuit

<sup>d</sup> JUSTIN. l. xxxviii. c. 10.  
apud Phot. cod. 244. p. 1150.

<sup>e</sup> DIODOR. SICUL. l. xxxiv.  
<sup>f</sup> JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 16.

<sup>g</sup> DIODOR. SICUL. & JOSEPH. ibid.



of a wild beast, he was obliged to pass a night without any of his attendants, who had taken another rout, in a small cottage, where he met with a poor, but hearty entertainment. At supper he shewed himself very free and easy, and, as he was desirous to know the real sentiments of his subjects with respect to his conduct, he dexterously touched upon that topic; when the master of the house, not suspecting who he was, told him, that the king, as was commonly believed, meant well, but his immoderate love for the chase made him lay the weight of affairs on others, and repose too great a confidence in his ministers, whose actions did not always answer the goodness of his intentions. This the prince took in good part, and next morning when the lords of his court arrived at the cottage, he thanked his landlord in their presence for his kindness, but more especially for having told him the truth, which none of these, said he, has honesty enough to do, though I have taken them into my service for that purpose. A prince, says *Plutarch* in this place, must not expect to hear a word of truth at court, or to know what his subjects think of him, while he is surrounded by courtiers, whose chief business it is to deceive, and persuade their sovereign that his subjects are well pleased with his conduct, that he, in like manner, may be satisfied with theirs<sup>b</sup>. But to resume the thread of our history.

*Phrahates*, upon his being defeated in three successive battles by *Antiochus*, had at last set his brother *Demetrius* at liberty, and sent him with a body of troops into *Syria*, with a design to raise disturbances there, and by that means oblige *Antiochus* to abandon *Parthia*, and hasten home to the defence of his own kingdom. But upon the news of the massacre, he detached a party of horse after him, with orders to bring him back. *Demetrius* had been apprehensive of some order of this nature, and therefore had marched with such expedition, that he was got over the *Euphrates* into *Syria*, before the party sent after him could reach the frontiers of that country. In this manner he recovered his kingdom, and made great rejoicings on that occasion, while all *Syria* was in tears for the loss of the army in the east, there being scarce a family in the whole country, which had not a share in that common calamity<sup>c</sup>. The *Parthian* king, being flushed with the late success and victory over *Antiochus*, resolved to carry the war into *Syria*, and revenge the invasion the *Syrians* had made into his dominions. But, while he was mak-

<sup>b</sup> *Plut.* in *Apophthegm.* p. 184.  
c. 1.

<sup>c</sup> *JUSTIN.* l. xxxix.



ing the necessary preparations for this expedition, the *Scythians*, whom he had disobliged, forced him to keep at home, and employ the forces he had raised against *Syria*, in the defence of his own dominions, as we shall relate in the history of the *Parthians*. Upon the death of *Antiochus*, *Hyrchanus* revolted from the *Macedonians*, and made himself absolute and wholly independent, neither he, nor any of his descendants, paying thenceforth to the kings of *Syria* any tribute or homage.

IN the mean time, a civil war breaking out in *Egypt* between *Ptolemy Physcon* and *Cleopatra* his divorced queen, the latter being greatly distressed by the loss of a battle, sent ambassadors to *Demetrius*, who had married her eldest daughter by *Ptolemy Philometor*, to implore his assistance, and promise him the crown of *Egypt* for his reward. *Demetrius* without hesitation accepted the proposal, marched into *Egypt* with all his forces, and there laid siege to *Pelusium*. As *Demetrius* had made himself very odious to all his subjects, by his tyrannical government and vicious manners, the inhabitants of *Antioch*, *Apamea*, and other cities, taking advantage of his absence, raised a rebellion against him. This forced *Demetrius* to abandon the siege, and return by long marches to his own dominions ; so that *Cleopatra*, being destitute of all assistance, was forced to leave *Egypt*. Upon her flight *Physcon*, having without much trouble settled his affairs at home, resolved to revenge the late invasion of *Demetrius*, his declared enemy. The *Syrians* were quite tired out with the tyranny of a prince, whom a nine years captivity had rendered still more wild and insupportable. *Physcon* therefore, taking advantage of this general aversion, set up an impostor against him, called *Alexander Zebina*. He was the son of a pawn-broker of *Alexandria* ; but pretending to be the son of *Alexander Balas*, under that title laid claim to the crown of *Syria*, *Physcon* furnishing him with an army to take possession of it (S). On his arrival in *Syria* multitudes flocked

(S) *Josephus* tells us (106), that the *Syrians*, not being any longer able to bear the tyrannical oppressions of *Demetrius*, desired *Ptolemy Physcon* to give them another king of the race of the *Seleucidæ* ; and that *Physcon*, laying hold of this opportunity to be revenged on *Demetrius*, sent *Zebina* into *Syria* at the head of a formidable army. This *Zebina* was, according to *Justin*, the son of one *Protarchus*, a pawn-broker of *Alexandria* ; but to conceal the meanness of his extraction, he gave out that *Antiochus Sidetes* had adopted

(106) *Joseph. l. xiii. c. 17.*



flocked to him, without examining the justice of his pretensions, or caring whom they had for king, provided they got rid of *Demetrius*, whose tyranny they could no longer bear \*. That prince, though deserted by most of his subjects, still supported himself with a small army. At length the two rivals came to a battle in the neighbourhood of *Damascus* in *Cæle-Syria*, in which *Demetrius* was entirely defeated, and most of his army cut in pieces. The fugitive king made the best of his way with a small number of faithful servants to *Ptolemais*, where his wife *Cleopatra* then was. But she still retaining her former resentment against him for his marrying *Rhodagune*, ordered the gates to be shut against him. Whereupon the unhappy prince having now no resource in his misfortunes, but the city of *Tyre*, where was a temple which his brother *Antiochus* had made a place of refuge, he imbarqued at *Ptolemais*, and sailed thither, thinking that under the protection of a place sanctified by religion, he might safely wait for a turn of fortune. But he was scarce landed, when the traitor, to whom he had committed the government of that city, caused him to be put to death, in the beginning of the fourth year of his reign after his return from *Parthia* <sup>1</sup>(T).  
Upon

\* JUSTIN. *ibid.*      <sup>1</sup> JUSTIN. *ibid.*

him, and that in virtue of this adoption he had an unquestionable right to the crown. This fable was with great care and industry spread by *Ptolemy*, and credited by the populace, who only wanted a pretence to authorize their revolt. While all things seemed to favour the new king, the body of *Antiochus* inclosed in a silver coffin was brought to *Antioch* by order of *Phrabates*; and the grief *Zebina* expressed, with the artful tears he shed at the sight of the dead body, confirmed the people in their belief of his pretended adoption. This is the account which *Justin* gives us of this impostor. But *Porphyrius* says, that he was sent into *Syria* by *Physcon* as the son of *Alexander Balas*, and that he was from him called *Alexander*, though the *Syrians* gave him the surname of *Zebina*, because he was generally believed to be one of *Ptolemy's* slaves, that word in the *Syriac* tongue signifying *bought* or *redeemed* (107).

(T) There is a great disagreement among authors as to the manner of his death. *Porphyrius* says, that he was killed at *Tyre*, while he was going on board a ship with a design to seek for shelter somewhere else; *Josephus*, that he was taken prisoner by his rival, and that the hardships he suffered in his captivity put an end to his life; *Livy* and *Appian*, that he was killed by the express command

(107) In *Græc. Euseb. Scalig. p. 227.*

of



Upon his death *Cleopatra* retained a small part of the kingdom, and *Zebina* reigned over all the rest; and for the better securing himself in the possession of the crown, he entered into a strict alliance with *John Hyrcanus* prince of the *Jews*, who, as an able statesman, taking advantage of these divisions, greatly increased the power of the nation, which he governed <sup>m</sup> (U).

*Seleucus*

<sup>m</sup> JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 17.

of his wife *Cleopatra*. That he was killed at *Tyre* is certain, and that the *Tyrians* were accessory to his death, is very probable; for from this very year they began a new epoch, as appears from *Eusebius* (108); whence some have concluded, that for killing *Demetrius* they obtained either of *Cleopatra* or *Zebina* their freedom, and liberty to live according to their own laws. In the several antient inscriptions mentioned by *Grotius* (109), the city of *Tyre* is honoured with the epithets of *religious*, *sacred*, and *independent*. Since therefore the epoch of their liberty and independency began in the very year that *Demetrius Nicator* was killed in or near their city, some writers have, not without good grounds, conjectured, that their liberty was owing to the hand they had in the death of *Demetrius* (110).

(U) We cannot help observing in this place, that in the troubles of *Syria* the *Jewish* high-priests, though men of unquestionable piety, and strict justice, never failed to side with such princes as offered the most advantageous terms for them and their nation, without ever examining whether those who offered them had any title to the crown or no. It was not hereditary right they minded, but the good of their country; the latter had great weight in their councils, the former none at all; in their opinion, if we may be allowed to judge of their sentiments from their conduct, that prince alone had right to govern, who governed well. For in what other manner can we account for the conduct of *Jonathan*, *Simon*, and *John Hyrcanus*? *Jonathan* supported to the utmost of his power *Alexander Balas* a notorious impostor and usurper, against *Demetrius Soter*, who was undoubtedly vested with all the right which birth can give to a crown. But *Balas* was like to govern better, and therefore in the opinion of the virtuous high-priest had a better title to govern. If *Jonathan* believed the claim of *Demetrius* better grounded, he was guilty of the greatest injustice and dishonesty in assisting his rival to drive him from the throne, and in putting many thousands to the sword for no other reason, but because they refused to abandon that prince, and join his competitor. On

(108) *Euseb. in Chron.* (109) *Grotius, p. 1105.* (110) *Inde Usher ad Ann. Mundi 3878.*



*Seleucus*, the eldest son of *Demetrius Nicator* by *Cleopatra*, being now in the twentieth year of his age, took upon him the title of king, and by the assistance of some of his friends, caused himself to be acknowledged in the provinces, which lay next to that part of *Syria*, that was held by his mother. This raised no small jealousy in the breast of that ambitious woman, who was for reigning alone ; and besides feared lest *Seleucus* should in time revenge his father's death, which was generally ascribed to her. To free herself therefore from this double uneasiness, having invited her son to a conference, she killed him with her own hand by plunging a dart into his breast, after he had reigned, or rather bore the title of king, one year <sup>n</sup>.

NOTWITHSTANDING this barbarous and horrid murder, which raised an universal indignation all over *Syria*, three of *Zebina's* captains, viz. *Antipater*, *Clonius*, and *Æropus*, revolted from him to *Cleopatra* ; and having seized on *Laodicea*, resolved to annoy from thence, and by degrees reduce, the neighbouring country. But *Zebina*, who was of a mild temper, and unwilling to use severity or violence, till all o-

<sup>n</sup> LIV. Epist. l. lx. OROSIUS, l. v. c. 2. APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 132. JUSTIN. ibid. PORPHYR. ibid. p. 227.

the other hand, if *Balas* had, in the opinion of *Jonathan*, a more just title to the crown, as he must have had in whatever it was grounded, we must own there is some right which takes place of hereditary right. Nay, the whole conduct of *Jonathan*, of his brother *Simon*, and of *John Hyrcanus*, son to the latter, plainly shews, that these three great luminaries of the Jewish church, and nation, acknowledged no such right, but were altogether strangers to a certain doctrine, which generally obtains abroad, and has not been without its patrons even among us. For *Jonathan* not only espoused with great warmth the cause of *Balas* against *Demetrius Soter*, but with the same zeal supported *Antiochus Theus*, the son of *Balas*, in opposition to *Demetrius Nicator*, the son of *Demetrius Soter*. *Simon*, who succeeded his brother in the office of high-priest, was no less sanguine in the cause of *Demetrius Nicator* against *Antiochus Theus*, than his brother had been in that of *Antiochus Theus* against *Demetrius Nicator*. Lastly, *John Hyrcanus*, when raised, upon his father's death, to the high-priesthood, did not scruple to enter into an offensive and defensive league with *Alexander Zebina*, another usurper and impostor, against *Antiochus Grypus* the son of *Demetrius Nicator*, and consequently by birth the lawful heir to the crown. Is it not manifest from hence beyond dispute, that the heads of the Jewish nation either acted with the utmost injustice, or were quite unacquainted with what we call hereditary right ?

ther



ther means had proved unsuccessful, invited them to return to their duty, promising not only to pardon them, but to restore them to their former rank. Upon his parole they put themselves into his hands, and he not only generously forgave them, but even reposed the same confidence in them he had done before, without once reproaching them with their desertion. All authors agree, that this prince was endowed with many excellent and truly princely qualities. He received all who approached him, in a most affable and engaging manner, was slow to punish, and always ready to pardon, even his most inveterate enemies. In short, the good-nature he shewed on all occasions, and the great desire he had to please all, gained him the affections of the *Syrians* to such a degree, that even those who abhorred the imposture, by which he had got possession of the crown, could not help wishing he might long enjoy it °.

IN the mean time *Cleopatra*, thinking it necessary for her interest to have one, at least, with the name of king, to give countenance to the authority by which she governed, recalled her other son, by name *Antiochus*, from *Athens*, whither she had sent him for the benefit of his education. He no sooner arrived, then she declared him king of *Syria*, but allowed him no more than the bare title; all the authority she kept for herself, the prince, as he was then quite unexperienced, and under twenty years of age, suffering her for some time to rule without controul. To distinguish this from other *Syrian* princes of the same name, he is generally called *Grypus*, a surname taken from his aquiline nose. *Josephus*, and *Porphyrius* stile him *Philometor*, but on his medals he bears the name of *Epiphanes* P.

As *Zebina* had been put in possession of the greater part of *Syria* by troops sent him out of *Egypt*, *Physcon* insisted upon his doing him homage for his new dominions, and paying an annual tribute to the crown of *Egypt*, as an acknowledgment of his dependence; which *Zebina* refusing to comply with, *Physcon*, coming to an agreement with *Cleopatra* his niece, gave his daughter *Tryphæna* in marriage to her son *Grypus*, and sent a considerable army into *Syria* to drive from the throne the person he had a few years before placed on it. One battle determined the dispute: *Zebina's* army was defeated, and he forced to save himself by flight in *Antioch*. There, as he was in great want of money, he allowed his soldiers to seize

° DIONOR. SICUL. in excerpt. Valesii. p. 377.  
Antiq. l. xiii. c. 20. in Græc. Euseb. Scalig. p. 277.

P JOSEPH.



on the rich furniture of the temple of *Jupiter*, having no other means to pay them their arrears; the statue of victory, which was of massy gold, he took for himself, saying that *Jupiter* had promised him victory. Hereupon the citizens, taking up arms in defence of their temples, fell upon him unexpectedly, and drove him with great slaughter of his men out of the city. In the mean time the united forces of *Grypus* and *Phycon* coming up, his army dispersed, not being in a condition to venture a second engagement. *Zebina* himself embarked on a small vessel, which he found ready to set sail for *Greece*; but being taken in his passage by a pirate, he was delivered up to *Grypus*, and by him put to death in the fourth year of his reign<sup>9</sup>. *Josephus* says, that he was killed in battle<sup>r</sup>; and *Porphyrius*, that upon the loss of his army he put an end to his life by poison, in the fourth year of the hundred and sixty-fourth olympiad<sup>s</sup>.

*Grypus*, being thus delivered from a troublesome rival, began to take on him the authority, as well as the name, of king. *Gleopatra* could not brook this diminution of her power and grandeur; and therefore resolved to cut off *Antiochus*, as she had before done *Seleucus*, and call to the crown another son she had by *Antiochus Sidetes*; under whom, he being an infant, she hoped to rule, without controul, for many years, and thereby fix herself so on the throne, that her son should be entirely dependent on her. With this view the wicked woman, having prepared a poisonous potion, offered it to *Grypus* one day as he returned hot and weary from some exercise. But that prince, having been forewarned of her design, pretending respect to his mother, desired her to drink first; which she refusing to do, he called in some of the chief lords of his court, and in their presence told her, that she had been charged with a design of poisoning him, and that the only means she had to clear herself from all suspicion of so black a crime, was to drink herself what she had offered to him. The unhappy woman, having no other evasion or resource, was forced to yield. The poison had its full operation on her, and in a few minutes put an end to the life of a most wicked and ambitious woman, who had been, by her unheard-of crimes, for many years the scourge of *Syria*. She had been the wife of three kings of *Syria*, viz. of *Demetrius Nicator*, *Alexander Ba-*

<sup>9</sup> DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt. Valesii. p. 378. JUSTIN. l. xxxix. c. 2. <sup>r</sup> JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiii c. 17. In Græc EUSEB. Scalig. p. 227.



las, and *Antiochus Sidetes*, and the mother of four, viz. of *Antiochus* by *Alexander Balas*, of *Seleucus* and *Antiochus Grypus* by *Demetrius Nicator*, and of *Antiochus*, surnamed the *Cyzicenean*, by *Antiochus Sidetes*. She had been accessary to the death of two of her husbands; and as to her children, she had murdered one with her own hand, and would have in like manner dispatched another, had he not made her wicked design fall upon her own head.

UPON her death *Antiochus Grypus* enjoyed the kingdom of *Syria* eight years without the least disturbance; at the end of which a new competitor appeared, and contended with him for the sovereignty of *Syria*. This was *Antiochus Cyzicenus* his half brother. For he was the son of *Cleopatra* by *Antiochus Sidetes*, and born while *Demetrius* her former husband was prisoner among the *Parthians*. When *Demetrius* returned, and recovered his dominions, after the death of *Sidetes*, *Cleopatra*, fearing lest her son *Antiochus* should fall a sacrifice to his jealousy, sent him to *Cyzicus*, a city lying on the *Propontis* in *Mysia Minor*, where he was brought up under the care and tuition of *Craterus*, a faithful eunuch, and from thence called *Cyzicenus*, or the *Cyzicenean*. *Grypus*, to whom he gave umbrage, ordered him to be poisoned; but *Antiochus*, being informed of his design, took up arms in his own defence, and at the same time laid claim to the crown of *Syria*<sup>u</sup>. Hereupon *Grypus*, who was then preparing to invade *Judæa*, dropped that enterprize, and raised what troops he could to suppress in the first place his new rival. *Cleopatra*, the daughter of *Physcon*, the late king of *Egypt*, had married her brother *Lathurus*; but that prince, though passionately fond of her, being obliged by his mother to divorce her and marry his younger sister *Selene*, the divorced queen, being at her own disposal, married *Cyzicenus*, and having raised an army in the island of *Cyprus*, or, as some will have it, gained over the army, which *Grypus* had there, brought it instead of a dowry to her new husband. By this means the forces of the two competitors being very near equal, they came to a battle, in which *Cyzicenus*, having the misfortune to be routed, was forced to quit the field, and shut himself up in *Antioch*, which had declared for him. The *Antiochians* seemed disposed to stand by him to the last, and therefore leaving his wife there, as in a place of safety, he privately escaped from thence with a design to raise new

<sup>u</sup> JUSTIN. *ibid.* APPIAN. in *Syriac.* p. 132. <sup>v</sup> JUSTIN. l. xxviii. c. 2. APPIAN. in *Syriac.* p. 132. PORPHYR. *ibid.* p. 227. JOSEPH. l. xiii. c. 17.



forces in other parts, and return with them against *Grypus*. But before he could levy the necessary troops, *Grypus* made himself master of *Antioch*, where he found *Cleopatra* wife to *Cyzicenus*. *Tryphæna*, her sister and wife to *Grypus*, no sooner heard that she was taken, but she earnestly pressed her husband to deliver the captive up to her, that she might have the satisfaction of putting her to death; to such a degree was she enraged against her, though her own sister both by father and mother, for having married her husband's enemy, and furnished him with an army to invade *Syria*. As *Cleopatra* had taken sanctuary in one of the temples of *Antioch*, *Grypus* could not by any means be prevailed upon to comply with his wife's request; nay, he did all that lay in his power to inspire her with more religious and humane sentiments. He urged against her revengeful temper the sanctity of the asylum, where her sister had taken refuge; and told her, that the death of her sister would be of no advantage to them, or prejudice to *Cyzicenus*; that in all the wars, whether domestic or foreign, which he or his ancestors had ever been engaged in, no sort of cruelty had been practised after victory upon women, especially on so near relations; that *Cleopatra* was her sister, and likewise nearly related to himself; and therefore he desired her to speak no more to him on that subject, since he could by no means consent to her being used with any severity, or even touched, while she was in a place of refuge. But *Tryphæna*, instead of yielding to his reasons, became more enraged, imagining that he was not prompted to take the part of that unhappy princess by motives of compassion, but of love; and therefore adding jealousy to revenge, one day in a violent fit of this double passion, she sent a party of soldiers into the temple with orders to kill the unhappy *Cleopatra* in the sacred place. At the sight of the assassins she fled to the altar, and there the soldiers, not being able to tear her from the statue of the God, which she embraced, cut off her arms, and then with a thousand wounds put an end to her life, while she was imploring the god, whose temple they profaned, and uttering with her last breath curses upon the authors of so barbarous a murder<sup>w</sup>. And truly her death did not remain long unrevenged; for *Cyzicenus*, having drawn together another army, came to a second battle with his brother, put his army to the rout, and in the pursuit took the cruel *Tryphæna*, whom he immediately sacrificed to the manes of his murdered wife, by a death which her cruelty well deserved. By

<sup>w</sup> JUST. l. xxxix. c. 3.



this overthrow *Grypus* being driven out of *Syria* retired to *Aspendus*, a city of *Pamphylia*, whence he had the surname of *Aspendius* \*. But the next year he returned with a great army, recovered *Syria*, and to put an end to the intestine broils, which weakened both parties, consented to a division of the empire, in virtue of which *Cyzicenus* reigned at *Damascus* over *Cæle-Syria* and *Phœnice*, and *Grypus* at *Antioch* over all the other provinces †. In this peaceful interval both brothers abandoned themselves to a most idle, indolent, and debauched manner of life, wallowing in all sorts of pleasures, and spending the greatest part of their time with lewd women. *Cyzicenus*'s chief delight was to converse with stage-players, rope-dancers, pantomimes, and above all with jugglers, applying himself with great care and assiduity to the practice of their tricks, and intirely neglecting the government of his kingdom and welfare of his subjects ‡.

WHILE the two brothers were thus exhausting their strength in war, or abandoning themselves to the sloth and luxury of peace, *John Hyrcanus*, prince of the *Jews*, increased his power and wealth to such a degree, that he became one of the most powerful princes of his age, being master of all *Judæa*, *Galilee*, and *Samaria*, and besides of many frontier places in the neighbouring countries. *Cyzicenus* indeed, at the request of the inhabitants of *Samaria*, which city *Hyrcanus* had besieged, attempted to put a stop to his conquests, but was intirely defeated by *Aristobulus* and *Antigonus*, the two sons of *Hyrcanus*. *Samaria* after this overthrow, and the delivering up of *Scythopolis*, which *Epicrates* the *Syrian* general basely betrayed to *Hyrcanus* for a sum of money, being destitute of all hopes of relief, was obliged to surrender after having sustained a years siege §. Thus was the *Syrian* empire curtailed by degrees, and soon brought within very narrow bounds by the intestine troubles and divisions which reigned among the *Seleucidæ*, and occasioned at last the loss of the empire, as we shall see anon.

THE peace between the two brothers, *Antiochus Grypus* and *Articchus Cyzicenus*, was not of long continuance; neither of them being satisfied with their share of the empire, they began a new war; of which several cities taking advantage, shook off the *Syrian* yoke, and made themselves free and independent; these were *Tyre*, *Sidon*, *Ptolemais*,

\* JUSTIN. *ibid* PORPHYR. in GRÆC. EUSEB. Scalig. p. 62.

† PORPHYR. *ibid*.

‡ DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt. Valesii.

§ l. XXXV. p. 385.

¶ JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 17.



and *Gaza* ; in others tyrants started up, usurping a sovereign power, while the two kings were wasting their strength against each other ; thus *Theodorus* caused himself to be acknowledged the sovereign of *Gadara* and *Amathus* ; *Zoilus* possessed himself of *Dora* and *Straton's* tower ; and others of other places <sup>b</sup>

DURING these distractions *Grypus* was assassinated by *Heraclion* one of his own subjects in the forty-fifth year of his age, after having reigned, according to *Josephus*, twenty nine, according to *Porphyrus*, twenty six years<sup>c</sup>. He left behind him five sons, viz. *Seleucus*, *Antiochus* and *Philip*, twins, *Demetrius Eucharces*, and *Antiochus Dionysius*. *Seleucus* the eldest succeeded his father, and the rest all reigned, or attempted to reign, in their turns. On the death of *Grypus*, *Antiochus Cyzicenus* seized *Antioch*, and used his utmost efforts to make himself master of the whole empire. But *Seleucus*, having drawn together a considerable army, marched against his uncle, and gained a complete victory over him. *Josephus* tells us, that *Cyzicenus* was taken in the pursuit, and put to death by *Seleucus* <sup>d</sup> ; *Trogus* writes, that he was killed in the engagement <sup>e</sup>, and *Porphyrus*, that he killed himself to avoid falling into the enemy's hands <sup>f</sup>, after he had reigned eighteen years. Upon his death *Seleucus* made himself master of *Antioch* and the whole Syrian empire ; but did not hold it long. *Antiochus*, surnamed *Eusebes* from his piety, the son of *Cyzicenus*, having made his escape out of *Antioch*, by the assistance of a courtesan, when that city was taken by *Seleucus*, fled to *Aradus*, where he caused himself to be crowned king of Syria. From thence he marched at the head of a great army, made up of the soldiers who had served under his father, engaged *Seleucus*, and, having cut great part of his troops in pieces, obliged that prince to shut himself up in *Mopsuestia*, a city of *Cilicia*, and abandon all the rest to the mercy of the conqueror <sup>g</sup>. The *Mopsuestians* at first espoused the cause of the fugitive prince with great zeal ; but soon after being provoked by the exorbitant taxes, with which he loaded them, they turned their affection into hatred, rose up in arms, and investing the palace, in which he resided, set fire to it, the king and all his attendants perishing in the

<sup>b</sup> JOSEPH. l. xiii. c. 20. JUSTIN. l. xxxix. APPIAN, in Syriac.

<sup>c</sup> JOSEPH. l. xiii. c. 21. PORPHYR. ibid. <sup>d</sup> JOSEPH. l. xiii. c. 21. <sup>e</sup> TROGUS. l. xl. in Prolog. <sup>f</sup> PORPHYR. in Græc.

EUSEB. Scalig. p. 227. <sup>g</sup> JOSEPH. TROC. ibid. & APPIAN.

P. 133.



flames <sup>h</sup>. *Porphyrius* says, he saved himself from the violence of the flames by voluntary death <sup>i</sup>, after a short reign of seven months. *Antiochus* and *Philip*, the twin sons of *Grypus*, to revenge the death of their brother *Seleucus*, led all the troops they could raise against *Mopsuestia*; and having taken the city by assault, razed it to the ground, after having put all the inhabitants to the sword. But on their return being charged by *Eusebes* on the banks of the *Orontes*, and their forces defeated, *Antiochus* was drowned in attempting to swim over that river on horseback. But *Philip* having made a judicious retreat, and kept his forces together, was thereby enabled to dispute the empire with *Eusebes*. As both maintained on foot great armies, the country was harassed in a miserable manner, and the inhabitants reduced almost to beggary <sup>k</sup>.

*Eusebes*, to establish himself the better on the throne, had married *Selene* the widow of *Grypus*, that politic princess having, on the death of her husband, taken possession of some provinces of the *Syrian* empire, and provided herself with good troops. *Eusebes* therefore, to join her interest with his own, married her; which giving offence to *Lathurus* king of *Egypt*, whose wife she had been, till his mother, obliging him to divorce her, gave her in marriage to *Grypus*; that prince sent to *Cnidus* for *Demetrius Eucharætes*, the fourth son of *Grypus*, who had been brought up in that city, and made him king of *Damascus*. As *Eusebes* and *Philip* were engaged in war against each other, neither of them was at liberty to oppose the new king. For though *Eusebes* had well retrieved his affairs, and considerably increased his power by his marriage, yet *Philip* made his party good against him, and at length having drawn him to a battle, gained a complete victory over him, and obliged him to quit *Syria*, and take refuge among the *Parthians*. By this means the whole *Syrian* empire was divided between *Philip* and *Demetrius* <sup>l</sup>. These two brothers might have long continued in peaceable possession of the kingdom, none of the neighbouring princes daring to attack them so long as they were united. But the ambition of *Demetrius* soon put an end to that good intelligence; he fell on that part of *Syria* which *Philip* possessed, and having driven him out of *Antioch*, and taken that city, pursued him as far as *Beræa*, now *Aleppo*, which he closely

<sup>h</sup> JOSEPH. TROG. & EUSEB. *ibid.*

<sup>i</sup> PORPHYR. *ibid.*

<sup>k</sup> PORPHYR. & JOSEPH. *ibid.*

<sup>l</sup> JOSEPH. l. xiii. c. 21. PORPHYR. *ibid.*

besieged,



besieged, in hopes of getting his brother into his power. But *Straton*, who was lord of the place, and greatly attached to the interest of *Philip*, called to his assistance *Zizus*, an *Arabian* king, and *Mithridates*, a *Parthian* commander; who falling upon *Demetrius* with their united forces, put his army to flight, and having taken him prisoner, sent him as a present to the king of *Parthia*, where he fell into a lingering distemper, of which he died. After this victory *Philip* sent home without ransom all the *Antiochians*, who had been taken either in the battle, or in the pursuit; which was so pleasing to the inhabitants of that great metropolis, that they welcomed the conqueror on his return with loud acclamations, and conducted him in triumph into the city <sup>m</sup>.

*Philip* had scarce got rid of *Euchæres*, when *Eusebes* appeared anew in *Syria*, supported in all likelihood by the *Parthian* king, in whose dominions he had taken refuge, as we have related above: for he over-ran with great rapidity the *Syrian* provinces bordering on *Parthia*, which he could not have done without the aid of some powerful prince, and in those quarters none but the king of *Parthia* could lend him any assistance. *Philip* hastened to suppress him; but while he was engaged in the north of *Syria* against one rival, another unexpectedly started up in the south. This was *Antiochus Dionysius* his brother, the youngest of the five sons of *Grypus*, who, taking advantage of *Philip's* absence, seized on *Cæle-Syria*, and chose *Damascus* for the capital of his new kingdom <sup>n</sup>. He was scarce seated on the throne, when he engaged very imprudently in a war with *Aretas* king of *Arabia Petraea*, leaving his dominions at the mercy of his brother *Philip*, who in his absence made himself master of *Damascus* by the treachery of *Milesius*, who commanded in the castle. But that prince not rewarding the traitor as he expected, the first time *Philip* went abroad, *Milesius* on his return shut the gates against him, and kept the place for *Dionysius*, and delivered it up to him on his return out of *Arabia*. Hereupon *Philip* retired, and on his retreat *Antiochus* returned into *Arabia* to renew the war there. In this second expedition he took his rout through *Judæa*, which giving umbrage to *Alexander Jannæus*, prince of the *Jews*, he endeavoured to stop his march by drawing lines between *Joppa* and *Antipatris*, that being the only way he could

<sup>m</sup> JOSEPH. *ibid.* & de bello Judaic. l. i. c. 3.

<sup>n</sup> JUSTIN.

v. xl. c. 1. APPIAN. in Syriac. & Mithridatic JOSEPH. *Antiquit.* *ibid.*



march his army. These lines were twenty miles in length, and fortified with a wall and wooden towers at proper distances. But all this was to no effect; for *Antiochus*, having set fire to the towers, and obliged the *Jews* to retire, broke through the lines, and pursued his march without farther molestation into *Arabia*, where he was surprized in a disadvantageous post by *Aretas*, and cut off with the greatest part of his army. Those who escaped the slaughter had no better fate; for having retired after the battle to the village of *Gana*, they all perished there for want of provisions. Upon the death of *Antiochus*, *Ptolemy* the son of *Mennæus*, prince of *Chalcis*, a city in that neighbourhood, attempted to make himself master of *Damascus*. But the inhabitants, bearing an utter aversion to him, chose rather to call in *Aretas*, by whom their king and their army had been lately cut off, than to subject themselves to *Ptolemy*. Accordingly having no other resource, for they hated *Philip* more than *Ptolemy* himself, they sent for *Aretas*, and made him their king. This prince was no sooner settled in the sovereignty, but he undertook an expedition against the *Jews*, and defeated *Alexander Jannæus* in a pitched battle near *Addida*. But soon after this victory a peace concluded between the contending parties, put a stop to all further hostilities<sup>o</sup>.

THE *Syrians* being quite exhausted, and tired out with the continual wars carried on in their country by the ambitious and turbulent princes of the race of *Seleucus*, and seeing no end of the devastations, slaughters, and other calamities which attended their intestine divisions, resolved at last to exclude them all, and submit to a foreign prince, who might deliver them from the miseries of a civil war, and restore tranquillity to their country. They first cast their eyes on *Mithridates the Great*, king of *Pontus*; but it was feared his quarrels with *Rome* might bring a new war upon *Syria*. Some proposed *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*; but this proposal was rejected, by reason the *Egyptians* had always been declared enemies to the *Syrians*. They therefore pitched on *Tigranes* king of *Armenia*, and sent ambassadors to acquaint him with the resolution they had taken. *Tigranes* agreed to it, came into *Syria*, took possession of that kingdom, and reigned there eighteen years in great tranquillity; the first fourteen of which he governed it by *Megdates* his lieutenant, till he was obliged to recal him, with the troops he had under his command, to make head against the *Romans*<sup>p</sup>, as we shall re-

<sup>o</sup> JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 2; & de Bell. Judic. l. i. c. i.

<sup>p</sup> JOSEPH. l. vi. c. i. APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 118, 119.



late in the history of *Armenia*. *Tigranes* no sooner entered *Syria*, but *Eusebes*, abandoning his dominions, fled into *Cilicia*, where he passed the rest of his life in obscurity <sup>1</sup>. What became of *Philip* is not known. *Porphyrius* indeed mentions both these princes as living near thirty years after *Tigranes* had taken possession of *Syria* <sup>2</sup>; but herein that writer was certainly mistaken, as we shall shew in a more proper place. *Selene*, the wife of *Eusebes*, retained *Ptolemais* with part of *Phœnice* and *Cœle-Syria*, and reigned there many years without molestation, which enabled her to give her two sons an education suitable to their birth. These were *Antiochus*, surnamed *Asiaticus*, because brought up in *Asia*, and *Seleucus Cybiosactes* <sup>3</sup>. While *Selene* reigned at *Ptolemais*, some disturbances happening in *Egypt*, on account of the aversion which the people had conceived against *Alexander* their king, that princess put in her claim to the crown, as being sister to *Lathurus*; and sent her two sons to *Rome* to solicit the senate in her behalf. The *Romans* kept them there two years, giving them all the time hopes of success in their negotiation; but with no other view than to oblige *Alexander* by this means to buy at a dearer rate the favour and protection of the senators. And accordingly, when he had spent all the treasures he was master of in bribing the senate, he was at last confirmed in the kingdom, and the young princes ordered to return home <sup>4</sup>. *Antiochus* the eldest resolved to pass through *Sicily*, being desirous to see the curiosities of that celebrated island, and especially the city of *Syracuse*. While he staid there, he met with an insult, which shews how much *Rome* was corrupted in the times we are writing of, and what rapines and depredations were committed in the sight of the world by the magistrates sent by the republic to govern the unhappy provinces. The misfortune of young *Antiochus* is related at length, and set out in its proper light by *Cicero* <sup>5</sup>. *Verres*, says he, who was at that time prætor in *Sicily*, hearing that *Antiochus* was at *Syracuse*, and being at the same time informed that he had along with him a great deal of gold and silver plate, many valuable jewels, and rich moveables, was transported with joy, as if some rich inheritance had unexpectedly fallen to him. Upon the prince's arrival he sent him a present of wine, oil, flour, &c. for the

<sup>1</sup> JUSTIN. l. xl. c. 2. APPIAN. in Mithridatic. p. 243.

<sup>2</sup> PORPHYR. in Græc. EUSEB. Scalig. <sup>3</sup> CIC in Verr. Act. 4.

JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 24. STRAB. l. xvii. p. 796. <sup>4</sup> CIC.

ibid. <sup>5</sup> CIC. ibid.



use of his numerous retinue, and some days after invited him to an entertainment ; on which occasion the prætor displayed all his costly furniture, his palace being magnificently adorned, and the tables set off with vessels of most exquisite workmanship ; for of these *Verres* had great store. The banquet was truly noble, and worthy of so great a guest, the prætor having spared no expences on such an extraordinary occasion. The prince was greatly taken with the elegance and politeness of the *Roman* governor, and highly pleased to see himself honoured by an officer of the republic in so eminent a manner. To shew his acceptance, he invited *Verres* to an entertainment in his turn, exposing to public view an incredible number of gold and silver vessels, cups richly set with jewels, moveables of all sorts of an inestimable value, and amongst other things a wine-vessel cut out of one precious stone, and of such a size, that nothing like it had ever been seen. *Verres*, greatly surprized at such a pompous and magnificent appearance, took each of the vessels into his hand, viewed, praised, and admired them, the king expressing great joy that the prætor of the *Roman* people should be so well pleased with his entertainment. *Verres* returning home, sent next morning two of his domestics to the prince, desiring he would let him have for a day or two some of the finest vessels he had seen at his house, under pretence of shewing them to his workmen. *Antiochus*, without the least difficulty or distrust complied with his request ; and then the prætor sent again begging he would trust him only for a few hours with the large vessel made of a single precious stone, that he might examine it more exactly, and satisfy his curiosity more at leisure. The prince at his request sent that also. *Verres*, whose avarice had no bounds, seeing young *Antiochus* so pliant and complaisant, did not stop here. The two princes had carried with them to *Rome* a branched candlestick of massy gold, no less valuable for the exquisiteness of the workmanship, than for the many rich jewels and precious stones, with which it was adorned. With this they intended to present *Jupiter Capitolinus* ; but his temple, which had been burnt in the civil wars between *Marius* and *Sylla*, being then rebuilding, and not finished when they left *Rome*, they carried the present back with them without allowing any one to see it, that it might the more surprize the city, when it should first appear in the temple of *Jupiter* ; for they designed to send ambassadors with this magnificent present, as soon as they



they heard that the statue of the god was set up in his new temple. *Verres*, by some means or other being informed of all this, earnestly begged the prince to send him it, expressing a great desire to see it, and promising to conceal it even from those of his own family. *Antiochus* was very unwilling to comply with the prætor's request, not out of any jealousy or distrust, but because he did not care it should be seen by any, till it appeared in the capitol. However, not to disoblige *Verres*, he commanded his servants to carry it to his house, well covered and with all possible secrecy. The prætor, when he first beheld it, could not help crying out in the greatest surprize, This is truly a present worthy of a prince, worthy of a king of *Syria*, worthy of the capitol. For in that inimitable performance, says *Tully*, art seemed to vie with the precious materials, and the spectators were not more charmed with the number of the jewels, than with the variety of the workmanship; besides it was of such an extraordinary size, continues the same author, as plainly discovered that it was not intended for the palace of a man, but for a stately temple of some god. The officers of *Antiochus*, having given the prætor full time to consider it, were preparing to carry it back, when he desired them to leave it with him, that he might examine it more at his leisure, which they did accordingly. The prince was not at first alarmed, nor entertained the least suspicion of *Verres*; but having for three successive days sent to demand it, and the prætor always promising to return it the next day, he began to be uneasy, and at last applied to him in person. *Verres* received the prince with great marks of esteem and affection, and was not even ashamed to beg of him the present, which, as he had known from *Antiochus* himself, was designed for the great *Jupiter* and the *Roman* people. *Antiochus*, struck with amazement at this unexpected demand, could not for some time return any answer; but at length, recovering from the surprize he was in, he told *Verres* with great politeness, that he was sorry he could not gratify him, since he was bound by a vow he had made, to consecrate the candlestick to *Jupiter Capitolinus*. *Verres* did not acquiesce to this answer, but with an unparalleled impudence replied, that *Jupiter* would be as well pleased with such another, which might be finished before the temple could be in a condition to receive so valuable an ornament. But the prince begged *Verres* anew to excuse him, alledging the judgment; which the many nations that had been concerned in the workmanship of that gift, and knew for whom it was designed, would pass upon fact



an action; they would look upon us both, said he, as guilty of sacrilege, and consider us in the same light, as if we had plundered the temple of *Jupiter*. Hereupon *Verres* began to abuse and threaten him even with death, since he had him in his power, if he did not immediately make over to him both the golden candlestick and the other precious vessels which he had sent to his house. But his menaces being of no more weight with *Antiochus* than his intreaties, the rapacious prætor commanded him to depart the island before sun-set. Hereupon the prince, withdrawing to the market-place, acquainted, with tears in his eyes, the multitude that flocked to hear him, with the unjust and scandalous treatment he had met with from the prætor; he declared, calling the gods to witness, that *Verres* had robbed him of a golden candlestick of an inestimable value, which was designed for the capitol, as a lasting monument in that august temple of his alliance and amity with the *Roman* people; he protested, that he was not concerned for the loss of many gold and silver vessels, set with precious stones, and of other valuable effects, which the avaricious prætor detained with the most flagrant injustice; but to see himself thus by violence deprived of a present which he had designed for the great *Jupiter* of the capitol, was a misfortune and an affront, which he could not well brook, &c. In the close of his speech calling upon the *Roman* citizens, who were there present, and *Jupiter* himself, to witness the sincerity of his heart and the piety of his intentions, he offered and consecrated anew the present which the prætor had in his custody, to the great *Jupiter* of the *Romans*<sup>w</sup>. Thus was a prince with the most crying injustice abused, a guest plundered, and an ally and friend of the *Roman* people with the highest indignity expelled the province by the chief magistrate sent thither by the republic to administer justice. This scandalous behaviour of *Verres* was publicly known, not only in *Sicily* and all over *Asia*, but even at *Rome*; and nevertheless the injured prince could never receive the least satisfaction for the affront, or reparation for the loss he had suffered, *Verres* having gained by his rich presents many powerful protectors at *Rome*, who were not ashamed to patronize so notorious a robber, and screen him against the just prosecution of their plundered ally. But to return to our subject:

*Selene* finding on the return of her two sons from *Rome*, that her solicitations for the kingdom of *Egypt* had proved unsuccessful, attempted to enlarge her dominions in *Syria*, and

<sup>w</sup> Cic. in Verr. act. 6, n. 61—67.



prevailed upon many cities to revolt from *Tigranes*, and side with her. This brought the king of *Armenia* upon her with all his forces; he entered *Syria* at the head of five hundred thousand men, and having obliged *Selene* to shut herself up in *Ptolemais*, laid siege to that place, reduced it, and having got the princess into his power, caused her to be put to death at *Seleucia* in *Mesopotamia*, whither he had carried her on his return into *Armenia* \*. She was the daughter of *Ptolemy Physcon*, king of *Egypt*, and had been at first married to *Ptolemy Lathurus* her brother, but taken from him by her mother, and given to *Antiochus Grypus*; upon whose death she married *Antiochus Eusebes* the son of *Antiochus Cyzicenus*, and had by him her two sons, *Antiochus Asiaticus* and *Seleucus Cybiosactes*. *Appian* tells us, that she married *Cyzicenus* himself, and after his death *Eusebes* his son, and looks upon all the misfortunes, which afterwards befel *Eusebes*, as a just judgment of heaven upon him for this incest †. But we find no such marriage mentioned by any other historian, whereas all the ancients speak of her marriage with the other three princes. Upon the death of *Selene*, *Tigranes* governed *Syria* without any disturbance, till he was obliged to recal *Megdates* with all the troops he had in that country to assist him against *Lucullus*, who had given him a dreadful overthrow before *Tigranocerta*, as we shall relate in the history of *Armenia*. *Syria* being by the retreat of *Megdates* left naked, *Antiochus Asiaticus*, to whom, as the next heir of the *Seleucian* family, that kingdom belonged, took possession of some provinces of it, and there quietly reigned four years without the least molestation either from *Lucullus* or *Tigranes*. But these four years are comprehended in the eighteen assigned to *Tigranes*; for that prince retained some part of *Syria* while *Antiochus* reigned in the other, till the whole was reduced to a *Roman* province. And hence it is, that some authors have not ranked *Antiochus Asiaticus* among the kings of *Syria*. However, he ruled over part of that kingdom till *Pompey* having conquered *Tigranes* imposed on him the hard condition of returning into *Armenia*, and confining his ambition to the ancient inheritance of his forefathers. As *Syria* was then without a governor, and no body had more right to rule there than *Antiochus Asiaticus*, that prince appeared before *Pompey*, represented to him the misfortunes of his family, urged the justice of his claim, and intreated the *Roman* not to exclude him from a crown, which his ancestors had long wore with

\* JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 24. PLUT. in Lucullo. STRAB. l. xvi. p. 742. † APPIAN. in Syriac.



great glory. But as the *Romans* in the age we are writing of, had the bare appearance and outside of virtue, and did not scruple committing the most flagrant acts of injustice to promote the interest of their republic, *Pompey* gave *Antiochus* this haughty and disobliging answer: Don't imagine you shall be put in possession of a kingdom, which you have abandoned. The *Syrians* despise you, and will not suffer you to reign over them. Why did you not wrest the sceptre out of the hands of *Tigranes*? You have lived eighteen years in dread of the enemy, whom I have conquered. What pretence then have you to deprive us conquerors of the right we have acquired by our victory? The kingdom of *Syria* belonged to *Tigranes*, and now that he is conquered, all his rights devolve upon us. The *Syrian* empire therefore now appertains to *Rome*, and our republic can defend it better than you from the incursions of the *Jews* and *Arabians*<sup>z</sup>. Thus *Pompey* made use of his victories to oppress an unfortunate prince, rob him of his inheritance, and by the most notorious piece of injustice reduce *Syria* to a *Roman* province. *Antiochus*, thus stript of his dominions, spent the rest of his life in obscurity. Some writers tell us, that *Pompey* gave him *Commagena*; but these confound *Antiochus Asiaticus* with *Antiochus Commagenus*, as is manifest from *Strabo*, *Appian*, *Dion Cassius*, *Justin*, &c. As for *Seleucus Cybiosactes*, or as others write it, *Cybiotates*, he outlived his brother; for *Dion Cassius*<sup>a</sup>, *Strabo*<sup>b</sup>, and *Porphyrius*<sup>c</sup> tell us, that the *Alexandrians*, having placed on the throne of *Egypt*, *Berenice*, the daughter of *Ptolemy Auletes*, sent an embassy into *Syria*, inviting *Antiochus Asiaticus*, who by his mother *Selene* was the next male-heir to that crown, to come into *Egypt*, and marrying *Berenice* to reign in conjunction with her. But the ambassadors finding that he was dead, and thereupon returning home, the *Alexandrians* sent another embassy to *Seleucus* his brother with the same proposal; which he readily accepting reigned in *Egypt*, till *Berenice* growing weary of him caused him to be put to death (W). In him ended the whole race

<sup>z</sup> APPIAN. in Syriac. & [Mithridat. DION. CASS. l. xxxv. JUSTIN. l. xl. c. 2. PORPHYR. in Græc. EUSEB. Scalig. <sup>a</sup> DION. CASS. l. xxxix. <sup>b</sup> STRAB. l. xvii. p. 796. <sup>c</sup> PORPHYR. ibid.

(W) *Porphyry*, as quoted by *Eusebius*, tells us, that *Philip* the son of *Grypus* was invited by this second embassy into *Egypt*. But as no mention has been made of him in history since his seizing on *Damascus*, which happened six and twenty years before the time



race of *Seleucus* ; no one of that illustrious family being left to survive the loss of the empire, which they had held, according

we are now writing of, he was in all likelihood dead, when the *Egyptian* ambassadors arrived in *Syria*. Besides, if he had been now alive, he would have been too far advanced in years for the proposed marriage, it being now forty years since he succeeded his father in the kingdom of *Syria*. The person therefore, whom this second embassy called out of *Syria* into *Egypt* after the death of *Asiaticus*, must have been his younger brother ; for he was invited thither as the next heir to the crown, and this the brother of *Asiaticus* alone could be. Frequent mention is made by the writers of those times of this younger brother of *Asiaticus* ; but none of them acquaint us with his name. However, what *Strabo* relates of *Seleucus Cybrosactes* or *Cybiosactes* evidently shews, that he was the person we are speaking of. For that writer tells us (111), that *Seleucus Cybiosactes* was invited into *Egypt* to marry *Berenice*, and that he was of the *Seleucian* family ; both which things put it beyond doubt, that this *Seleucus* was the younger brother of *Asiaticus*, since upon the death of the latter, his younger brother was the only surviving person of the *Seleucian* family ; and therefore in him ended, as we have related, the illustrious race of *Seleucus Nicator*.

That nothing may be wanting which can give us any light into the history of *Syria*, before we dismiss this subject, we shall give our readers a succinct account of the *Syrian* coins, which have been transmitted to us, and represent the princes, who have reigned in *Syria*, according to the order of their succession to the crown. And to begin with those of *Seleucus Nicator*, founder of the *Syro-Macedonian* empire ; two different coins of that prince have reached us, wherof the first represents him with a lion's skin on his head, and the second with the same skin, and the wing of some bird covering his ear. The *Macedonian* kings, especially *Amyntas*, *Philip*, and *Alexander the Great*, are commonly represented with the skin of a lion on their heads, imitating therein *Hercules*, from whom they pretended to derive their pedigree. The captains of *Alexander*, when they usurped the sovereign power in their respective governments, assumed, in their coins, the same ensigns and ornaments which that conqueror had used, as if they had been his lawful heirs and successors. The wing, which we see in the second medal, is a symbol of dispatch, quickness, and expedition, without which no great exploits can be achieved. On the reverse of the first medal *Jupiter* is represented sitting, and holding in his right hand a victory, and in his left a spear reversed, to shew, that after victory clemency is to be used towards the conquered, and not arms or severity. The reverse of the second medal exhibits a butting ox, and no doubt alludes to what *Appian* relates of *Seleucus Nicator*,



according to *Appian*, two hundred and seventy years, according to *Eusebius*, from the hundred and seventeenth *olympiad*, the

viz. that he once seized by the horns, and stopt in his full career, a wild ox, which *Alexander* was about to sacrifice, after he had broken the ropes by which he was held by many persons, and made his escape. Both medals bear this inscription, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ, that is, of king *Seleucus*, as does also a third of the same prince representing the head of *Jupiter* crowned with laurel, and on the reverse a chariot drawn by four elephants, and drove by *Pallas* darting with her right hand a javelin, and holding a shield in her left. *Jupiter* is frequently expressed on the *Macedonian* and *Syrian* coins, as being the pretended father of *Alexander*, from whom the kings of *Syria* derived all their power. *Pallas* was the tutelary goddess of *Macedon*; and as to the elephants, *Seleucus* far excelled all the princes of his age in the number he constantly kept of those warlike animals; for he brought four hundred and eighty with him against *Antigonus*, and had received five hundred from *Sandrocottus* king of *India* before he engaged in that war.

*Antiochus Soter*, the son and successor of *Seleucus Nicator*, is represented with a diadem on his head and a wing above his ear; on the reverse is *Apollo* holding in his right hand an arrow, and bow in his left with this inscription, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ; that is, of king *Antiochus*. *Seleucus Nicator* pretended to be the son of *Apollo*, as we have related in the history of that prince's reign, and hence it is that we meet with the figure of *Apollo* in most of the *Syrian* coins.

The medals of *Antiochus Theus* represent that prince with the diadem on his head, and on the reverse *Apollo* with what the medallists call his attributes, viz. a bow and an arrow, as in the former coin. Perhaps the medals bearing the figure of *Apollo* were struck by the inhabitants of *Antioch*, who paid a particular worship to that god in the neighbouring city or village of *Daphne*.

*Seleucus Callinicus*, brother to *Antiochus Theus*, is represented in the same manner, viz. with the diadem or royal fillet, on the reverse is *Apollo* holding in his right hand an arrow, and leaning with his left arm upon his tripod with a laurel crown upon it. We have two other medals of this prince with *Apollo* on the reverse of one, and a horse on that of the other: *Apollo* holds an arrow in his right hand, and with his left leans upon his bow; the kings of *Syria* took great delight in horses, and their cavalry, generally speaking, behaved with great gallantry. Besides, a horse is a symbol of war, and denotes a warlike people. Over the horse is a star, which was, as we are told by the antiquaries, the arms of the city of *Aradus*, where this medal perhaps was struck. The medals of *Seleucus Ceraunus* are in every respect like those of *Seleucus Callinicus*.



the third after the death of *Alexander*, to the third year of hundred and eightieth that is, two hundred and fifty one theyears <sup>d</sup>.

<sup>d</sup> EUSEB. in Chron.

The medals of *Antiochus*, surnamed *the great*, exhibit the head of that prince with the usual ensigns of royalty, and on the reverse the figure of a galley, by which symbol the *Syrians* represented the city of *Tyre*. *Antiochus* made himself master of that strong and important place, at the same time that *Ptolemais* was delivered up to him, with forty ships that were in the harbour, by *Theodotus* commander in chief of the forces of *Ptolemy Philopator* king of *Egypt*. The letters which are to be seen over the galley are arithmetical characters, and answer our numbers 117; whence we learn that this medal was struck in the 117th year of the *Seleucian* æra, which was according to some, the 28th, according to others, the 30th year of *Antiochus's* reign. *Vaillant* seems to look upon those medals of *Antiochus the Great* as spurious, which bear this inscription, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ, that is, of king *Antiochus the Great*, since the *Syrian* kings appear to have been averse from assuming on their coins such pompous titles.

*Seleucus Philopator*, the son and successor of *Antiochus*, is represented with the same symbols as his father. The letters CAP denote the 136th year of the æra of the *Seleucidæ*, which was the 11th of his reign.

*Antiochus Epiphanes*, so famous in the history of the *Maccabees*, is represented with the usual ensigns of royalty; on the reverse of some of his medals we see *Apollo* taking with his right hand an arrow out of his quiver, and holding a bow in his left; in others the image of *Jupiter*, armed with a thunderbolt and a spear; on all, his medals is the following inscription, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ, that is, of king *Antiochus, the appearing god*, or, of king *Antiochus; who appears to be a god*. This impious and haughty title was first given him, according to *Josephus* (112), by the *Samaritans*, who wrote a letter to him with this direction.

The medals of *Antiochus Eupator*, the son of *Epiphanes*, have on the reverse a *Jupiter* sitting, and holding a winged victory in his right, and a spear in his left, with this inscription, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΕΥΠΑΤΩΡΟΣ, that is, of king *Antiochus Eupator*. The youthful look of this prince proves that he was very young when he ascended the throne, as we have shewn in the history of his reign.

We have no fewer than eight medals of *Demetrius Soter*, the son of *Seleucus Philopator*, all bearing the head of that prince, but different symbols on the reverses. On the first is a *Jupiter*, sitting with a victory in his right hand, and a spear in his left, with this

(112) *Joseph. l. xii.*



inscription ; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΕΤΡΙΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΣΩΤΕΡΟΣ, that is, of king Demetrius Theus Philopator Soter : We have spoke of the surname of *Soter* in the history of his reign ; but the other appellations are not mentioned by any historian. On the second is represented a victory stretching out her right hand, and holding in her left the branch of a palm-tree. The figure of victory on the coins of this prince allude, in all likelihood, to the advantages he gained over *Eupator* and his governor *Lysias*. On the third is expressed a *Mercury*, with the branch of a palm-tree in his right hand, and his caduce in the left. These three coins bear the same inscription, and without them we should never have known that *Demetrius* assumed the appellations of *Theus* and *Philopator* ; the first he probably took in imitation of his uncle *Antiochus* ; and the other of his father *Seleucus*. *Mercury* is a symbol of peace, and, in all likelihood, alludes here to the tranquility which reigned some time all over *Syria*, after *Demetrius* had conquered and put to death *Eupator* and his governor *Lysias*. The reverse of the fourth medal exhibits a galley, the symbol of the city of *Tyre*, with this inscription, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΕΤΡΙΟΥ Λ. ΔΝΡ. ΤΥΡΙΩΝ, that is, of king Demetrius in the year (of the Seleucian æra) 154. By the Tyrians. On the fifth we see an *Apollo* sitting in the apparel of a woman, and holding in his right hand an arrow, and a cornucopia in his left, with this inscription, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΕΤΡΙΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ, and the letters ΗΝΡ, that is, of king *Demetrius Soter*, in the year of the *Seleucidæ* 158. The sixth medal bears on the reverse a galley, with the characters ΘΝΡ and ΣΙΔΩΝΙΩΝ, that is, in the year 153. By the Sidonians. As *Demetrius* sent his son to *Rome* this year, *Vailiant* conjectures that the *Sidonians* conveyed him thither with their gallies, and on that occasion struck this medal. Perhaps a galley was the symbol of *Sidon* as well as of *Tyre*, the first galley, if *Clemens Alexandrinus* is to be credited, having been built in that city. On the reverse of the seventh medal is a cornucopia with the name of *Demetrius Soter*, and the characters ΑΞΡ, denoting the 161st year of the *Seleucidæ*, that is, the year in which *Demetrius* defeated *Alexander Balas* ; for that usurper first appeared, according to the history of the *Maccabees*, in the 160th year of the kingdom of the *Greeks*, and was defeated by *Demetrius*, as we read in the profane historians, the year following. The eighth and last medal of this prince has on the reverse an *Apollo* with an arrow in his right, and a cornucopia in his left, with the name of *Demetrius Soter*, and the letters ΒΞΡ, that is, in the 162d year of the *Seleucian* æra. We read in the history of the *Maccabees*, that *Demetrius* began his reign in the 151st year of the kingdom of the *Greeks*, and from this medal it appears that he was still alive in the 162d of the same æra ; hence we have preferred the authority of *Polybius* (113), who was contemporary with this prince, and writes that he reigned twelve years, to the testimony of *Torniellus*, *Bucholcerus*,

(113) *Polyb: l. iii. in fine.*

*Funcius,*



*Funccius*, *Vigneri*, and *Gordon*, of whom the three first will have him to have reigned only ten years, and the two latter but nine. *Eusebius* (114), *Sulpitius Severus* (115), and *Josephus* (116), agree with *Polybius*.

The medals of *Alexander Balas* have on one side the head of that prince with the diadem, and on the other either *Jupiter*, *Apollo*, *Pallas*, or *Neptune*. *Jupiter* is represented sitting with a victory in his hand; *Apollo* with an arrow in one hand, and a bow in the other; *Pallas* with an helmet on her head, a victory in her right hand, and her left leaning on her shield; *Neptune* holding in his right a dolphin, and his trident in the left. Most of the medals of this prince bear this inscription, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ, ΒΕΡ, that is, of king *Alexander Theopator Evergetes* in the year 162. He assumed the surname of *Theopator*, as pretending to be the son of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, surnamed *Theos* or *God*. One of the medals of this prince represents his head, together with that of his queen *Cleopatra*, the daughter of *Ptolemy Philometor*. On the queen's head is a bushel after the manner of *Isis* and *Serapis*, two *Egyptian* deities. This bushel, with the cornucopia hard by it, is a symbol of the happiness which the people promised themselves from the marriage of the king of *Syria* with the daughter of the king of *Egypt*. The dates which these medals bear, are 162, 163, 164, 165, 166. The following year, that is in 167, *Demetrius Nicator*, according to the history of the *Maccabees*, began his reign; so that our chronology agrees exactly with that of the medals, and of the history of the *Maccabees*, it being manifest from both that *Balas* was killed in the sixth year of his reign. *Eusebius* was therefore certainly mistaken, when he allowed him in his chronology ten years and seven months.

Some of the medals of *Demetrius Nicator*, the son of *Demetrius Soter*, bear on the reverse an eagle, some an anchor, the arms of the *Seleucian* family, others a galley, and some the figure of a woman, commonly believed to be *Astarte*, the goddess of the *Sidonians*; the medals with that figure having been struck by the *Sidonians*, as some conjecture from the legend in *Phœnician* characters. The inscription on the medals of this prince is, of king *Demetrius*, and on one, of king *Demetrius Theus Philadelphus Nicator*. The surname of *Theus* he took in imitation of his father; that of *Philadelphus* was given him for the great affection he had, or rather pretended to have, for his brother *Antiochus*; the appellation of *Nicator*, was bestowed upon him by his subjects for having conquered *Alexander Balas*, who was not of the *Seleucian* family. The medals of this prince are dated 167, 168.

*Antiochus Theus*, the son of *Balas* by *Cleopatra*, is not ranked by some writers among the kings of *Syria*; but on the antient coins

(114) *Euseb. in Chron.* (115) *Sulpitius Sever. Hist. sacr. l. ii.*

(116) *Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 5.*



he is represented like the others with the diadem, and honoured with the titles of king *Antiochus*, *Theus*, *Epiphanes*, *Nicephorus* ; the surnames of *Theos* and *Epiphanes* he took in imitation of *Antiochus*, the fifth of that name, whose grandson he pretended to be ; that of *Nicephorus* or *the victorious* was given him after his victory over *Demetrius*. Some writers exclude him from the number of the Syrian kings, because during the short time he lived, *Demetrius*, his rival, kept possession of the greatest part of the empire. The medals represent him very young, and he indeed was not above five years old when he ascended the throne, and was put to death by *Tryphon's* orders after he had reigned two years. *Funccius* and *Vignierius* will have him to have reigned three years complete, *Gordon*, *Mercator*, and *Temporarius* four, and *Josephus* writes, that he was put to death in the sixth year of his reign.

*Tryphon* having on the death of his pupil usurped the crown, caused some medals to be struck, wherein he stiled himself king *Tryphon*, and *Tryphon the powerful king* ; some of these medals have reached our times, and bear on the reverse an helmet, the symbol of war, to which is fastened a large horn, among the ancients a mark of power ; near the helmet is a star, the arms of the city of *Aradus*, which shews that the medal was struck there ; for the cities, where such medals were coined, are generally expressed either by the initial letters of their names, or by some other mark. Thus a cornucopia stands for *Antioch*, a galley for *Tyre*, the branch of an olive-tree for *Laodicea*, a mitre for *Tripolis*, &c.

The medals of *Antiochus Sidetes*, the brother of *Demetrius Nicator*, express the head of that prince with the usual diadem, and on the reverse an eagle with a branch of a palm-tree and the following legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΔΟΡ. ΙΕΡ. ΑΣΥ. that is, *of king Antiochus, in 174 at Tyre a sacred asylum*. We have mentioned in our history the famous asylum that was at *Tyre*. *Eusebius* tells us, that the privilege of an asylum was granted to the *Tyrians* the 187th year of the *Seleucian* æra : but this medal, which was struck in the 174th year of that æra, plainly shews that he was therein greatly mistaken. *Sidetes* bears on all his medals the name of *Euergetes* ; that of *Sidetes*, or *the hunter*, by which he is generally distinguished in history from the other *Antiochuses*, not seeming to him worthy of being transmitted to posterity. *Patinus* in his account of the medals of the Syrian kings is greatly at a loss about those of *Antiochus Euergetes* ; to which of the many *Antiochuses*, says he, *these medals belong*, I leave others to guess ; for my part, I find no mention made by the ancients of any such king as *Antiochus Euergetes*. *Patinus* it seems, had never read *Eusebius* ; for *Porphyry*, as quoted by that writer, tells us in express terms, that *Antiochus* the brother of *Demetrius Nicator* was known by the name of *Antiochus Euergetes* (118). The medals of this prince bear different dates, viz. 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 181, 182. *Buchaeus* and *Famiorarius* had

(118) *Eus. b. in Chron.*



not seen these medals, when they wrote that *Sidetes* reigned only seven years.

*Demetrius Nicator*, being set at liberty by the *Parthian* king, returned into *Syria*, and reascended the throne upon the death of his brother *Sidetes*, who was cut off with his army by the *Parthians*. All the medals that were struck after the return of *Nicator* represent him with a long beard after the *Parthian* manner, and are dated the 184th, 185th, 186th years of the *Seleucian* æra.

*Alexander Zebina* is represented on the medals with the diadem, as the other kings of *Syria*, tho' by few of the antients placed in that number. Most of the coins of this prince were struck at *Damascus*, and bear the following dates, 184, 185, 186; some of them have on the reverse an eagle, some a *Bacchus* with his attributes, some a *Jupiter*, and some a *Pallas* armed with a shield and spear. They all bear the same inscription, viz. of king *Alexander*, without any of those pompous titles which the other princes assumed.

*Seleucus*, the eldest son of *Demetrius Nicator* by *Cleopatra*, was scarce seated on the throne, when he was killed by his own mother; hence we have not reckoned him among the *Syrian* kings; neither do we find any mention made of him on ancient coins. His brother *Antiochus*, surnamed *Grypus*, the second son of *Demetrius Nicator*, and *Cleopatra*, succeeded him, as we have related. On the medals of this prince, struck in the beginning of his reign, that is, in the 187th, and 190th years of the *Seleucidæ*, we find the heads of *Antiochus* and *Cleopatra* joined together with this inscription, ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑΣ ΘΕΑΣ, ΚΑΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ, that is, of queen *Cleopatra Thea*, and of king *Antiochus*. That ambitious woman assumed the title of goddess or *Thea*, and even placed her own name before that of the king her son. The medals that were coined after the 190th year of the æra we are speaking of, are stamped with the head of *Antiochus* alone, and this inscription, of *Antiochus Epiphanes*; the name, or rather nick-name of *Grypus* which is common among authors, is not to be met with on the medals of this prince. The medals of the other princes, viz. of *Antiochus Cyzicenus*, *Antiochus Eusebes*, *Demetrius Eucæres*, *Antiochus Dromysius*, and *Antiochus Asiaticus*, contain nothing remarkable, which we have not already taken notice of; and therefore, not to trouble the reader with tedious repetitions, we shall here put an end to this note and history, referring those, who desire to have a more particular account of the *Syrian* coins, to *Foy-Vaillant's* elaborate history of the kings of *Syria*, whence we have borrowed what we have said relating to this subject.



## S E C T. X

*The History of Egypt from the foundation of that monarchy, by Ptolemy Soter, to its being made a Roman province.*

**B**EFORE we proceed to the history of *Egypt*, under the *Macedonians*, it will be necessary to exhibit a series of their kings with the years of their respective reigns, according to various systems, there being a great disagreement among authors in their chronological accounts of these princes.

*Ptolemy's Canon of the Macedonian kings who reigned in Egypt.*

|                             | Years. |                              | Years. |
|-----------------------------|--------|------------------------------|--------|
| <i>Ptolemy Lagus</i>        | 20     | <i>Ptolemy Philometor</i>    | 35     |
| <i>Ptolemy Philadelphus</i> | 38     | <i>Ptolemy Euergetes II.</i> | 29     |
| <i>Ptolemy Euergetes</i>    | 25     | <i>Ptolemy Soter</i>         | 36     |
| <i>Ptolemy Philopater</i>   | 17     | <i>Ptolemy Dionysius</i>     | 29     |
| <i>Ptolemy Epiphanes</i>    | 24     | <i>Cleopatra</i>             | 22     |

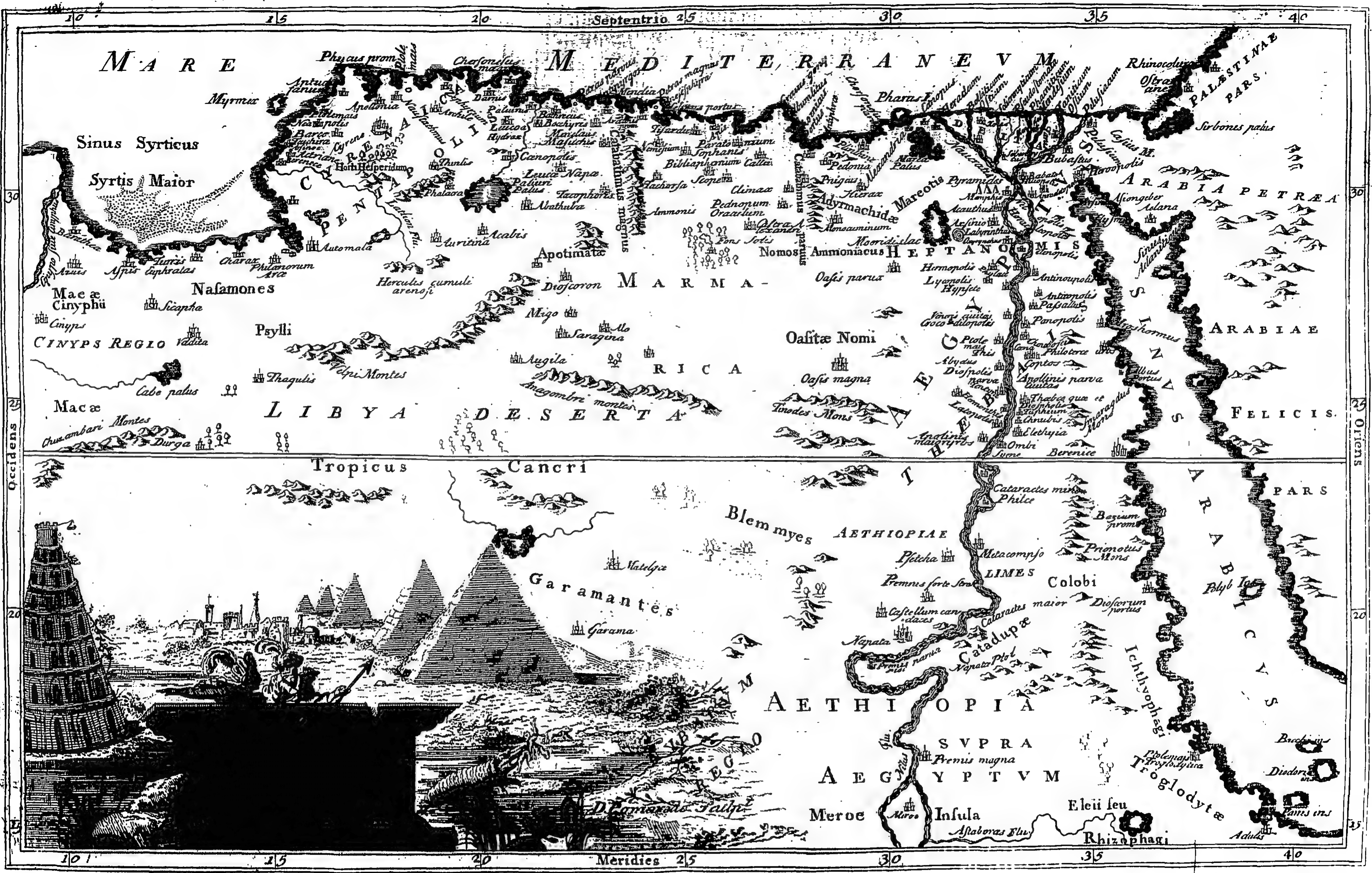
*A TABLE of the Macedonian kings who reigned in Egypt, with the years of their reigns according to Eusebius.*

|                                |      |                                  |          |
|--------------------------------|------|----------------------------------|----------|
| <i>Ptolemy Lagus</i>           | 40   | <i>Ptolemy Alexander</i>         | 10       |
| <i>Ptolemy Philadelphus</i>    | 38   | <i>Ptolemy Lathurus restored</i> | 8        |
| <i>Ptolemy Euergetes</i>       | 26   | <i>Cleopatra alone</i>           | 6 months |
| <i>Ptolemy Philopator</i>      | 17   | <i>Ptolemy Alexander II.</i>     | 15       |
| <i>Ptolemy Epiphanes</i>       | 24   | <i>Ptolemy Auletes</i>           | 30       |
| <i>Ptolemy Philometor</i>      | 35   | <i>Ptolemy Dionysius and</i>     | } 4      |
| <i>Ptolemy Euergetes or</i>    | } 29 | <i>Cleopatra</i>                 |          |
| <i>Physcon</i>                 |      | <i>Cleopatra alone</i>           | 22       |
| <i>Ptolemy Lathurus before</i> | } 17 |                                  |          |
| <i>his banishment</i>          |      |                                  |          |
| <i>wanting some months.</i>    |      |                                  |          |

There is no small disagreement among the ecclesiastic writers with respect to the years of these princes reigns, as appears from the following table.

*A TABLE*







A TABLE of the Ptolemies of Egypt, with the years of their reigns, according to Clemens of Alexandria<sup>a</sup>, Epiphanius<sup>b</sup>, and Nicephorus.

|                      | Acc. to Clem. | Acc.toEpiph. | Acc. to Niceph.    |
|----------------------|---------------|--------------|--------------------|
| Ptolemy Lagus        | 40            | 40           | 40                 |
| Ptolemy Philadelphus | 27            | 38           | 38.                |
| Ptolemy Euergetes    | 25            | 24           | 25                 |
| Ptolemy Philopator   | 17            | 21           | 17                 |
| Ptolemy Epiphanes    | 24            | 22           | 26                 |
| Philometar           | 35            | 34           | 35                 |
| Ptolemy Physcon      | 29            | 29           | 17 and six months. |
| Ptolemy Lathurus     | 36            | 35           | 18                 |
| Ptolemy Dionysius    | 29            | 31           | 30                 |
| Cleopatra.           | 22            | 32           | 22                 |

We shall now proceed to the history of these princes reigns, where we shall have occasion to examine which of the various tables we have exhibited deserves the preference.

Ptolemy, the first of the *Macedonian* race who reigned in Ptolemy Egypt after *Alexander the Great*, was, according to *Arrian*<sup>c</sup>, Soter his a native of *Eordæa*, a small place in the province of *Myg- extraordinary* *donia* in *Macedon*, and called *Lagides*, or the son of *Lagus*, but commonly believed to be the son of king *Philip*; that prince, as *Curtius*<sup>d</sup> and *Pausanias*<sup>e</sup> inform us, having given *Arfinoe*, the daughter of *Meleager*, and mother of *Ptolemy*, in marriage, while she was big with child by him, to *Lagus*, a *Macedonian* of a mean descent. *Lagus*, unwilling to father another man's child, as soon as his wife was brought to bed, exposed the new-born infant, according to the barbarous custom of those times, to be devoured by wild beasts, or to perish with famine. But an eagle, says *Suidas*<sup>f</sup>, touched with that compassion, which found no room in the breast of *Lagus*, performed with wonderful care and assiduity all the duties of a fond parent, sheltering the helpless infant with his wings against the inclemency of the weather, and nourishing it with the blood of his prey instead of milk. *Lagus* being greatly affected with this miraculous adventure, which, no doubt, was invented and divulged for that end, and looking upon it as an infallible prognostic of some ex-

<sup>a</sup> Clemens Alexandrin. Stromat. l. i. Menfur. & ponder. l. iv.

<sup>c</sup> ARRIAN. l. i

<sup>e</sup> PAUSAN. in Atticis.

<sup>b</sup> EPIPHAN. de

<sup>d</sup> QUINT. CURT.

<sup>f</sup> SUIDAS in voce Lagus. traordinary



traordinary rise and good fortune, acknowledged the child for his son, and as such brought him up with great care: *Theophylus Antiochenus*, disagreeing with the above-mentioned authors, tells us, that *Ptolemy* was of the royal family of *Macedon*, not by the father, but by his mother *Arsinoë*, who was nearly related to *Philip* the father of *Alexander* <sup>g</sup>. *Lagus*, according to this writer, must have been a man of rank, since he matched into the royal family, and not an obscure or ignoble *Macedonian*, as *Curtius* and *Pausanias* call him <sup>h</sup>. *Theocritus*, in speaking of *Ptolemy's* family, says <sup>i</sup>, that *Alexander the Great* and he were of the same race, being both descended from *Hercules* and *Hyllus*; but does not tell us, whether by the father's side, or the mother's. On the other hand, *Justin*, without taking any notice of his pedigree, writes, that he served first under *Philip*, and afterwards under *Alexander*, in the capacity of a common soldier, and was raised by the latter for his gallant behaviour to a chief command in the army <sup>k</sup>. It appears also from what we read in *Plutarch* <sup>l</sup>, that *Ptolemy* was commonly believed to be of a mean descent. For that writer, in speaking of his great moderation and the mildness of his temper, tells us, that one day, after he had heard for a long time an empty and trifling grammarian bragging of his great skill in antiquity; he at length interrupted him with this question, well suited to the erudition of a shallow pedant: *Since you are so well versed in the learning of the ancients, pray tell me, grammarian, off-hand, who was the father of Peleus.* The grammarian answered without hesitation; *Pray, tell me first, O king, if you can, who was the father of Lagus.* This reproachful reflection on the meanness of *Ptolemy's* extraction raised no small indignation in the courtiers; but *Ptolemy*, applauding the humour, and pleased with the freedom of the grammarian, told them, that if it was beneath the dignity of a king to bear a joke, it did not by any means become him to joke upon others; that he had been the aggressor, and therefore had no more right to resent the answer of the grammarian, with whom he had put himself thereby on a level; then the grammarian had to be offended at his question. As for *Ptolemy* himself, he seems to have preferred the name of *Lagides*, or the son of *Lagus*, to all other appellations, since he transmitted it with his own

<sup>g</sup> THEOPHYL. Antioch. l.ii.

<sup>h</sup> CURT. & PAUSAN. ibid.

<sup>i</sup> THEOCRITUS Idyll. 17.

<sup>k</sup> JUSTIN. l. xiii.

<sup>l</sup> PLUT.

de ira cohibenda.



to all his descendants, who from him are called *Ptolemæi Lagides*, or the *Ptolemies* descended from *Lagus*. Nay *Epiphanus* tells us <sup>m</sup>, that in honour of his father he instituted a military order, calling it from his name *Lageion*. This, if true, proves the institution of military orders to be of a more antient date than is commonly believed. But whatever was *Ptolemy's* descent, all the antients, who write of those times, give him a most extraordinary character. He was *Greatly* one of *Alexander's* chief favourites, that conqueror reposing *favoured* in him the greatest trust, and relying intirely on his wisdom, *by Alex-* conduct, and courage, in the execution of his most impor- *ander, and* tant projects; for he attended him in all his expeditions, and *loved by* in most of them distinguished himself in a very eminent *the army.* manner. He was no less dear to the soldiers than to the king, being at the same time the prince's favourite, and the darling of the army. At the siege of *Harmatelia* among the *Brachmans* he had the misfortune to be wounded with a poisoned arrow, and must have died of his wound, had not providence intervened in a very extraordinary manner, after all human remedies had proved unsuccessful. For while *Alexander* was one night bemoaning with himself the loss which he had reason to apprehend of so great a commander, he fell asleep, and had scarce shut his eyes, when a vast dragon, if *Diodorus* is to be credited <sup>n</sup>, appeared to him in a dream, carrying a plant in his mouth, acquainted him with the nature and virtue of that vegetable, shewed him the place where it grew, and instructed him in what manner he should apply it to *Ptolemy's* wound. The vision no sooner disappeared, but *Alexander* awaking, went to the place which the dragon had pointed out to him, found the plant, and having applied it to the wound, as he had been directed, cured it in a short time, and restored *Ptolemy* in perfect health to the army, who looked upon his death as the greatest misfortune that could befall them. *Strabo*, who speaks of this adventure as happening in the country of the *Orites*, says, that *Alexander* learnt the remedy of the natives, and that either he or his flatterers gave out that it had been revealed to him by the gods <sup>o</sup>.

AFTER the death of *Alexander* he was appointed governor *Appointed* of *Egypt*, *Libya*, and that part of *Arabia* which borders *governor* upon *Egypt*; and these provinces he held to his death, and *of Egypt.* transmitted them with many new acquisitions as an heredi-

<sup>m</sup> EPIPHANIUS de mensur. & ponder. CUL. l. xvii. p. 617.

<sup>o</sup> STRABO, l. 14.

<sup>n</sup> DIONOR SI-



Whence  
called So-  
ter.

tary kingdom to his descendants. But as we have already given a particular account of his wars with *Perdiccas*, *Antigonus*, and *Demetrius* <sup>P</sup>, we shall not trespass on the reader's patience with tedious repetitions, but only take notice in this place of some particulars relating to the reign of this prince, which we have not mentioned elsewhere. He is commonly distinguished from the other *Ptolemies* his successors by the surname of *Soter* or *Saviour*, which was first given him by the *Rhodians* on the following occasion. *Antigonus* having formed a design of seizing on the island of *Cyprus*, which was then held by *Ptolemy*, demanded of the *Rhodians* a squadron of their best ships for the carrying on of that enterprize; but as those islanders drew great advantages from their trade with *Egypt*, they could by no means be prevailed upon to enter into any measures prejudicial to the interest of *Ptolemy*. This gave no small offence to *Antigonus*, who, to be revenged on the *Rhodians*, sent his son *Demetrius*, with a mighty fleet, and a powerful army, to reduce their island. But *Demetrius*, after having spent a whole year in the siege of *Rhodes*, the metropolis of the island, without being able to master it, was obliged to conclude a peace with the *Rhodians* upon honourable terms, and leave them in full possession of their liberties. As they had been enabled by the timely succours sent them by *Ptolemy* to sustain so long a siege, and by his friendly offices happily delivered from it, as soon as the enemy withdrew, to testify their gratitude to their deliverer, they consecrated a grove to him, surrounded it with a stately portico, which from him they called the *Ptolemæum*; and, after having consulted the oracle of *Jupiter Hammon*, to give the action an air of solemnity, decreed, according to the impious flattery of those times, that divine honours should be paid him in that place, and the name of *Soter* or *Saviour* given him, for having delivered them from the calamities of so dangerous a war <sup>Q</sup>.

Peoples  
Alexan-  
dria.


*Ptolemy*, upon his first being appointed governor of *Egypt*, chose the city of *Alexandria* for the usual place of his residence, as did likewise the other kings, who succeeded him; by which means that city became one of the most wealthy and populous of the world. *Ptolemy* granted great privileges to all who settled there, whether *Greeks*, *Jews*, or *Egyptians*, which drew such crowds of new inhabitants out of *Judæa*, that their quarter was one of the largest in the place. For the use of these, as they came by degrees to forget their

<sup>P</sup> See Vol. VIII. p. 265, 269, 878, 293, 294. <sup>Q</sup> DIODOR. SICUL. l. xx. PLUT. in *Demet.* PAUSAN. in *Atticis.*



own language, was made that *Greek* version of the sacred books, which has since been called the *Septuagint*, as we shall see in a more proper place. All the antients speak of *Alexandria* as the next in beauty, wealth, extent, &c. to *Rome*, some calling it *the second metropolis of the world*, others *the city of cities, the queen of the east, a second Rome, &c.*

Tho' *Ptolemy* had, from the time he was first vested with the government of *Egypt*, exercised the regal authority, yet he did not assume the title of king till he saw himself firmly settled in his new kingdom, which happened after the retreat of *Antigenus* and *Demetrius*, who had attempted, without success, to invade *Egypt*, that is, nineteen years after the death of *Alexander*. From this time *Ptolemy* in his chronological canon begins to reckon the years of his reign, having hitherto computed by those of *Philip* and *Alexander Ægus*, though the latter had been killed five years before. But this fortunate turn in favour of *Ptolemy*, and his being thereby firmly established on the throne, gave the chronologer a new epoch to reckon by, which took its beginning from the seventh day of our *November*. From this time *Soter* reigned twenty years, agreeable to *Ptolemy's* canon; and these with the nineteen ascribed by that writer to *Philip* and *Alexander Ægus*, make up the thirty nine, which authors commonly allow *Ptolemy Soter* to have reigned alone. For in the thirtieth year of his reign, being fourscore and upwards, he placed *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, one of his sons by *Berenice*, on the throne, declaring him his partner in the empire and successor to the crown after his death. He had several sons by his other wives, and among these *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, or *the Thunderer*; who being the son of *Eurydice*, the daughter of *Antipater*, and the eldest of the male issue, looked upon the crown as his birth-right after his father's demise. But *Berenice*, who came into *Egypt* merely as a companion to *Eurydice*, when she first married *Ptolemy*, so charmed that prince with her beauty, that he likewise married her, and in all affairs of importance was intirely governed by her advice. The crafty princess, taking advantage of the ascendant she had gained over her husband, prevailed upon him to settle the crown upon her issue, and exclude *Ceraunus*, to whom, according to the order of succession, it belonged. To prevent therefore the wars which might ensue after his death between the two brothers, he resolved to place the crown on

*Assumes the title of king.*  
Year of the Flood, 2695.  
Before Christ, 304.  


*Makes his son Philadelphus his partner in the empire.*

† Vide DIODOR. SICUL. l. xvii. STRABO. l. xvii. MARCELLIN. l. xxii. HEGESIPP. l. iv. c. 27.



the head of *Philadelphus* in his life-time, and reign in partnership with him. Hereupon *Ceraunus*, quitting the court, retired to *Lyfimachus*, whose son *Agathocles* had married *Lysandra* the sister of *Ceraunus* both by father and mother. After the death of *Agathocles* he fled to the court of *Seleucus*, who received him in the most obliging manner, for which he was afterwards repaid with the blackest ingratitude<sup>c</sup>.

IN this year, which was the first of the hundred and twenty-fourth *olympiad*, the fortieth of *Ptolemy Soter's* reign, and the first of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, was finished the famous watch-tower in the island of *Pharos* over-against *Alexandria*, which had been begun by *Ptolemy Soter* some years before. It is commonly called the tower of *Pharos*, and was counted by the antients among the wonders of the world. It was a large square structure of white marble, on the top of which fires were kept constantly burning for the direction of sailors. It cost eight hundred talents, which, if they were *Attic* talents, amounts to one hundred sixty five thousand pounds sterling and upwards; if *Alexandrian*, to twice that sum. The architect, employed by *Ptolemy* in this wonderful structure, was *Sostratus* of *Cnidus*, who by the following crafty device attempted to usurp the whole glory of it to himself. He was ordered to engrave on it the following inscription; *King Ptolemy to the gods the saviours for the benefit of sailors*; but instead of *Ptolemy's* name he cut out his own in the solid marble, and then filling up the hollow of the letters with mortar, wrote on it the above-mentioned inscription. In process of time the mortar with *Ptolemy's* name being wore off, the following inscription appeared; *Sostratus the Cnidian, the son of Dexiphanes, to the gods the saviours for the benefit of sailors*. This, as it was engraved on the solid marble, lasted as long as the tower itself<sup>d</sup> (A).  
This

<sup>c</sup> PAUSAN. in Atticis. JUSTIN. l. xvi. c. 2. DIOGEN. LAERT. in Demet. PHALER. THEOCRIT. Idyll. 17. APPIAN. in Syriac. 128.      <sup>d</sup> PLIN. l. xxxvi. c. 12. STRAB. l. xvii. p. 791. MEMNON. excerpt. c. 9. & 13. APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 128.

(A) *Nicholas Lloyd* tells us out of a Manuscript copy of the Greek scholiast of *Lucian*, whose very words he quotes, that this tower was a square structure of a furlong, or six hundred foot on each side, and so high that it was seen at the distance of an hundred miles (1). *Eben Adris*, an *Arabic* writer, in his book, which th<sup>e</sup>

(1) *Vide Nic. Lloyd in Vexic. Geographic. ad vocem Pharos.*



This wonderful work has been demolished some ages since; and now in its place stands a castle, as our modern travellers inform us <sup>u</sup>, called *Farillon*, where a garison is kept to defend the harbour. *Pharos* was originally an island about seven furlongs distant from the continent, to which it was afterwards joined by a causey, like that of *Tyre*, and commonly called the *Heptastadium*, or the seven furlong causey, it being seven furlongs in length. This was the work of *Dexiphanes*, the father of *Sostratus*, who compleated it at the same time that his son put the last hand to the tower. As they were both celebrated architects, *Ptolemy* employed them in these and many other works, which he undertook for the adorning and strengthening of *Alexandria*, the metropolis of his kingdom <sup>w</sup>. *Ammianus Marcellinus* ascribes the *Heptastadium* to queen *Cleopatra* <sup>x</sup>; but as he contradicts therein *Cæsar* in his commentaries, and all the antients who speak of that great work, his authority is of no weight with us.

<sup>u</sup> THEVENOT. part I. l. 2. c. 1.      <sup>w</sup> STRAB. l. xvii. p. 792.  
 PLIN. l. v. c. 31. & l. xiii. c. 11.      CÆSAR. comment. de bell.  
 civil. l. iii. POMFON. MEL. l. ii. c. 7.      <sup>x</sup> AMMIAN. MARCELL.  
 l. xxii. c. 16.

*Latin* translator styles *Geographia Nubiensis*, says, that this tower was three hundred cubits, or four hundred and fifty foot high. But both these accounts are altogether incredible, and generally looked upon as mere hyperboles. The first indeed is contradicted by *Josephus* (2), who, in speaking of the tower of *Phaselus* at *Jerusalem*, describes it as a square building of forty cubits, or sixty foot on each side, and ninety cubits, or an hundred and thirty five foot high; and adds, that it was like the tower of *Pharos* near *Alexandria*; but as to its circumference much larger. *Josephus* had often seen both these towers, say some writers, and could not be mistaken herein. Some writers lay great stress on the testimony of *Josephus* in this place; but in our opinion he depresses that wonderful work as much as the others raise it; for if the tower of *Pharos* was much less than that of *Phaselus* at *Jerusalem*, how came the former, and not the latter, to be so much celebrated by all the ancients, and even ranked among the seven wonders of the world? We are therefore apt to believe, that some mistake has crept into the copy of *Josephus*; perhaps instead of *μεῖων* we should read *μεῖζων*. However that be, the two former accounts are in our opinion very improbable, since allowing it four hundred and fifty foot in height, and six hundred in breadth on each side, it would have been a far more wonderful work than the great pyramid, which we can hardly believe.

(2) *Joseph. de Bell. Judaic.* l. vi. p. 914.



*The image* THE same year that the tower of *Pharos* and the heptasta-  
*of Serapis* dium were finished, the image of *Serapis* was brought out of  
*conveyed to* *Pontus* to *Alexandria*, after *Ptolemy* had for three years to-  
*Alexan-* gether solicited in vain *Scydrothemis* king of *Pontus* to send  
*dria.* him it. Of this deity we have the following account from  
*Year of* *Tacitus*<sup>1</sup>, *Plutarch*<sup>2</sup>, and *Clement of Alexandria*<sup>3</sup>. While  
*the Flood,* *Ptolemy*, the first of that name, was employed in fortifying  
*2716.* *Alexandria* with walls, and adorning it with temples and other  
*Before* stately buildings, there appeared to him in his sleep a young  
*Christ,* man of extraordinary beauty, and of a stature more than hu-  
*283.* man, admonishing him to dispatch into *Pontus* some of his  
 most trusty friends, to bring from thence his statue, and as-  
 suring him, that the city and kingdom, which entertained it,  
 should prove happy-glorious, and powerful: The young man  
 having thus spoke, disappeared, mounting up into heaven in  
 a huge blaze of fire. *Ptolemy*, struck with the augury and  
 miraculous apparition, discovered his vision to the *Egyptian*  
 priests, whose profession it was to be skilled in things of this  
 nature. But as they appeared to be quite ignorant of *Pontus*  
 and all foreign countries, he had recourse to one *Timotheus* an  
*Athenian*, of the race of the *Eumolpides*, who at that time had  
 the administration of sacred things in *Alexandria*. From him  
 he learnt, that in *Pontus* stood a city called *Sinope*, and not  
 far from it a temple greatly resorted to by the natives, and  
 consecrated to the *Infernal Jupiter*, near whose statue stood  
 that of a woman commonly believed to be *Proserpine*. But  
*Ptolemy* in the mean time applying his mind to other things,  
 intirely neglected the heavenly admonition, till the same vi-  
 sion, appearing to him anew in a more terrible manner,  
 threatened him and his kingdom with certain destruction, if  
 he neglected to put in execution the orders that had been  
 given him. Hereupon *Ptolemy* immediately dispatched em-  
 bassadors with rich presents to *Scydrothemis*, who then reigned  
 in *Sinope*, to try whether they could prevail upon him to part  
 with the image. They were ordered to take *Delphos* in their  
 way, and there to consult the oracle of the *Pythian Apollo*;  
 which they did accordingly, and received an answer from the  
 god, void of ambiguity, viz. *that they should proceed, and car-  
 ry home with them the image of his father, but leave behind  
 that of his sister.* Upon their arrival at *Sinope* they acquainted  
*Scydrothemis* with their errand, and at the same time present-  
 ed to him rich gifts in their master's name. The king ac-  
 cepted the presents, and was inclined to comply with their

<sup>1</sup> TACIT. histor. l. iv. c. 83, 84.      <sup>2</sup> PLUTARCH. de Iside  
 & Osiride.      <sup>3</sup> CLEM. ALEXANDRIN. in Protreptic.



request; but deterred from following his inclination by the menaces of the people opposing the removal of the statue. In this negotiation three years were spent, *Ptolemy* sparing no intreaties nor charges, but sending continually new ambassadors, loaded with fresh presents both for the king and his favourites. However, *Scydrothemis* continued still irresolute and wavering, till he was warned by a dreadful spectre, which appeared to him in the dead of the night, no longer to retard what the deity had determined. Hereupon having assembled the people, he acquainted them with the injunctions of the god, with his own vision, and with that of *Ptolemy*, and assured them, that, unless they readily complied with the orders of heaven, many dreadful calamities would soon fall upon them. His speech made no impression on the minds of the populace; they envied *Egypt* such a blessing, and surrounding the temple in a tumultuous manner, threatened to put any one to death who should offer to remove their god. Hereupon the god, as some authors write, of his own motion and without help, conveyed himself into the ambassador's ship, which lay close to the shore; and the vessel, traversing an immense tract of sea, arrived the third day after safe at *Alexandria*. Other writers tell us, that the inhabitants of *Sinope* being reduced to great straits by a famine, which made a dreadful havock in the city, consented at last to part with their god for a supply of corn, which *Ptolemy* sent them. The statue of *Serapis*, being thus brought to *Alexandria*, was set up in one of the suburbs of that city, called *Rhacotis*, where a temple was afterwards erected in his honour, suitable to the greatness of that stately metropolis, and called from the god worshipped there, *Serapeum* (B). This structure, according to *Ammianus*

(B) *Julius Firmicus* (3), *Ruffinus* (4), and other ecclesiastic writers are of opinion, that the patriarch *Joseph* was worshipped in *Egypt* under this name. But they can give no other reason for this strange conceit, than that *Serapis* was generally represented with a bushel on his head, which, they think, denotes the bushel, with which *Joseph* measured out his corn to the *Egyptians* in the time of the famine; whereas it may as well represent the bushel, with which *Ptolemy* measured out to the inhabitants of *Sinope* the corn which he sent them for their god. This opinion, ridiculous and ill-grounded as it is, has been embraced by *Vossius*, *Ouzellus*, *Spencer*, and many other modern writers of no mean character (5). These

(3) *Julius Firmic. in lib. de error. prophanar. religion.* (4) *Ruffin. histor. l. ii. c. 23.* (5) *Vide Voss de theol. gent. l. i. c. 91. & Spencer de legib. Ritual. Hebr. dissert. v. c. 3.*



*nus Marcellinus*, surpassed in beauty and magnificence all other edifices in the world, except the capitol at Rome <sup>b</sup>.

WITHIN

<sup>b</sup> AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. l. xxii. c. 16.

will have *Serapis* to be an ancient *Egyptian* god, the same with *Apis*, and derive his name from *Apis* and the *Greek* word Σορὸς, signifying a *coffin*; so that, according to them, *Serapis* is the same as *Apis* ἐν Σορῷ, or *Apis* in his coffin. Their meaning is, that the sacred bull, worshipped by the *Egyptians*, when alive, was called *Apis*, when dead, *Serapis*, or *Apis* in *Soro*, for from these words *Apis* and *Soro*, they derive the name of *Serapis*, which, according to them, was at first *Soroapis*, and, by corruption, came to be *Serapis*. For this etymology they quote *Nymphiodorus*, *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, *Eusebius*, and *Ruffinus*, but seem not to be aware of a very obvious objection against this derivation; which is, that the ancient *Egyptians* were unacquainted with the *Greek* tongue, that language having been introduced into *Egypt* by the *Ptolemies*; and therefore, had *Serapis* been an ancient *Egyptian* deity, his name could not have had a *Greek* etymology. But not to dwell on an argument which sufficiently confutes itself, being intirely founded on a forced, unnatural, and false etymology; it is certain, if the ancients are to be credited, that *Serapis* was not originally an *Egyptian* deity, nor worshipped by the inhabitants of that country in ancient times; as he must have been, had the patriarch *Joseph* been worshipped under that name. For *Polybius* tells us (6), that *Serapis* was first worshipped as a god on the coast of the *Propontis*, on the *Thracian* side, over-against *Hierus*, and that there *Jason* sacrificed to him when he went on the *Argonautic* expedition. From thence, in all likelihood, the worship of that deity was introduced among the inhabitants of *Sinope*, and from *Sinope* brought into *Egypt*, in the manner we have related. For till the reign of *Ptolemy* the first no mention is made by any writer of *Serapis* as an *Egyptian* god. *Herodotus*, who is so diffuse and particular in his account of the *Egyptian* gods, takes no notice of this; which is a plain proof, that in his time no such deity was known in *Egypt*. Several authors have wrote after him of the gods, religious ceremonies, and different manners of worship in use among the *Egyptians*, who were of all people the most superstitious, and yet none of them ever once mention the name of *Serapis*, till they come to the time of the *Ptolemies*. *Macrobius* tells us (7), that when the statue of *Serapis* was first set up at *Alexandria*, *Nicocreon*, who then reigned in *Cyprus*, sent to enquire what god he was, which he would not have done, had he been a deity anciently worshipped by the *Egyptians*; for *Nicocreon* was, as the above mentioned author informs us, a prince of great learning, and well versed in the *Egyptian* mythology. *Origen*, who

(6) *Polyb.* l. iv. p. 507.      (7) *Macrobi.* *Saturnal.* l. i. c. 20.



WITHIN the verge of this temple was a library, which in after-ages became very famous for the number and value of the books it contained. *Ptolemy Soter*, being a learned prince, as appears from his history of the life of *Alexander*, which was greatly esteemed by the ancients; but has not reached our times, to encourage and improve the liberal arts in his dominions, founded an *Academy* at *Alexandria*, or a society of learned men, who devoted themselves to the study of philosophy, and all other sciences. For the use of these he made a collection of choice books, which by degrees grew under his successors to a prodigious bulk, and was reckoned the finest library in the world. His son *Ptolemy Philadelphus* left in it at his death an hundred thousand volumes; and the succeeding princes of that race enlarged it still more, till at length the books lodged in it amounted to the number of seven hundred thousand volumes <sup>c</sup>. The method they followed in collecting them was this: They seized all the books that were by the *Greeks* or other foreigners brought into *Egypt*, and sent them to the academy or museum, where they were transcribed by persons employed for that purpose; the transcripts were then delivered to the proprietors, and the originals laid up in the library. *Ptolemy Energetes*, for instance, borrowed of the *Athenians* the works of *Sophocles*, *Euripides*, and *Æschylus*, and only returned them the copies, which he caused to be transcribed in as beautiful a manner as possible; the originals he retained for his library, presenting the *Athenians* with fifteen talents for the exchange <sup>d</sup>, that is, with three thousand pounds sterling and upwards. As the museum was at first in that quarter of the city, which was called *Bruchion*, near the royal palace, the library was placed there likewise; but when it was filled with books to the number of four hundred thousand volumes, another library within the *Serapeum* was erected by way of supplement to it, and on that account called

*The celebrated library and academy of Alexandria.*

<sup>c</sup> STRAB. l. xvii. p. 791. EUSEB. in chron. AMMIAN MARCELLIN. ibid. TERTULL. in apologetic. c. 18. PLUT. in Epicurum. <sup>d</sup> AMMIAN MARCELLIN. ibid. GELLIUS, l. 6. c. 17. ISIDOR. Origen. l. vi. c. 3. GALEN. in comment. 2. in tertium libr. Hippocrat. de Morb. vulgar.

was himself an *Egyptian*, speaks of *Serapis* as a god brought into *Egypt* not long before his time (8). From all we have said, it is manifest, that *Serapis* was not originally an *Egyptian* deity, and consequently could not be the patriarch *Joseph*.

(8) Origen. contra Celsum, l. v.



the daughter of the former. The books lodged in this were in process of time increased to the number of three hundred thousand volumes; and these two put together, made up the number of seven hundred thousand volumes, of which the royal libraries of the *Ptolemies* were said to consist<sup>e</sup>. In the war which *Julius Cæsar* waged with the inhabitants of *Alexandria*, the library in *Bruchion* was unfortunately burnt, and the four hundred thousand volumes, with which it was stocked, reduced to ashes. But the library in *Serapeum* still remained; and there it was, without all doubt, that *Cleopatra* deposited the two hundred thousand volumes of the *Pergamean* library which *Marc Antony* presented her with. These, and others added to them from time to time, rendered the new library of *Alexandria* more numerous and considerable than the former<sup>f</sup>; and tho' it was plundered and ransacked more than once, during the troubles and revolutions which happened in the *Roman* empire, yet it was again and again repaired, and filled with the same number of books, and continued for many ages to be of great fame and use in those parts, till it was at length burnt by the *Saracens*, on their making themselves masters of *Alexandria* in the 642d year of the Christian æra. The manner in which this was effected is too remarkable to be passed over in silence. We have the following account of it from *Abul-Pharagius*, in his history of the tenth dynasty (C): *John*, surnamed *the grammarian*, a famous *Peripatetic*

<sup>e</sup> STRAB. *ibid.* EPIPHAN. *de ponder. & mensur.* TERTULL. *ibid* c. 18. <sup>f</sup> PLUT. in *Jul Cæsar.* AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. l. xxii. c. 16. DION. CASSIUS. l. xlii. p. 202. LIV. *apud Senecam de tranquill.* OROS. l. vi. c. 15.

(C) The author here quoted was a native of *Malatia*, a city in *Armenia*, near the springs of the *Euphrates*, and flourished in the thirteenth century. He wrote an abridgment of the history of the world, from *Adam* to his own times, which he divided into ten parts or dynasties; *viz.* 1st, The history of the ancient patriarchs from *Adam* to *Moses*; 2. Of *Joshua* and the other judges of *Israel*; 3. Of their kings; 4. Of the *Chaldean* kings; 5. Of the magi or *Persians*; 6. Of the *Greek* kings; 7. Of the *Romans*; 8. Of the *Greek* emperors of *Constantinople*; 9. Of the *Arabian* commanders; and here he is more diffuse than in all the rest put together; 10. Of the *Moguls*. He is more to be depended upon in his history of the *Saracens* and *Tartars*, than in his accounts of other nations. The learned *Edward Pocock* translated this work into *Latin*, and published his translation in 1663; he had obliged the public in 1650 with an abridgment of the history of the tenth dynasty, under the following



*tic* philosopher, being at *Alexandria*, when that city was taken by the *Saracens*, and in great favour with *Amiri-Ebnol-As* their general, he begged of him the royal library. *Amiri* replied, that it was not in his power to grant such a request; but that he would write to the *khalif*, or emperor, on that head, since, without knowing his pleasure, he dared not dispose of one single book. He accordingly wrote to *Omar*, who was then *khalif*, acquainting him with the request of his friend; and the emperor's answer was, that those books, if they contained the same doctrine with the *Coran*, could be of no use, because the *Coran* comprehended all necessary truths; but if they contained what was contrary to that book, they ought not to be suffered; and therefore he ordered, that, whatever their contents were, they should be all destroyed. Pursuant to this order, they were distributed among the public baths, where, for the space of six months, they served to supply the fires of those public places, whereof there was an incredible number at *Alexandria*. We may from hence form a just idea of the prodigious multitude of books lodged in that celebrated library. Thus this inestimable treasure of knowledge, which had been founded by a *Macedonian* prince, a great encourager of learning, was utterly destroyed by an enthusiastic tyrant, who, by his religion, founded in ignorance, and made up of inconsistent fables, was inspired with a brutish and irreconcilable hatred to all truth, learning, and politeness. The museum, in the quarter called *Bruchion*, stood, after the library adjoining to it was consumed, and lasted till that whole part of the city was destroyed by the emperor *Aurelian* in his war with the *Alexandrians*; for *Ammianus Marcellinus* tells us, that, till the reign of *Aurelian*, it continued to be the habitation of excellent men, meaning the members of that society, which had been founded by *Ptolemy Soter*, for the improvement of all useful sciences<sup>g</sup>. *Strabo*, in his description of this museum, says<sup>h</sup>, that it was a large structure, adjoining to the palace, and fronting the harbour; that it was surrounded with a portico, where the philosophers walked and

<sup>g</sup> AMMIAN. MARCELL. l. xxii. c. 16. p. 343.      <sup>h</sup> STRAB. l. xvii. p. 793.

following title, *Specimen historiæ Arabum; sive Gregorii Abul-Faragii Malatienfis de origine & moribus Arabum succineta narratio*. The epitomizer's learned observations are worthy perusing. We cannot imagine what induced *Abraham Ecchellensis* to give our author the name of *Gregorius Bar Hebræus Syrus* (9).

(9) Vide Pocock, Simon, Bayle's Dict. Critiq.



conversed together ; that the members of the society were under the government of a president, whose station was so honourable, that, under the *Ptolemies*, he was always nominated by those princes, and in the *Roman* times by the emperors ; and finally, that within the museum was a very large hall, where they all met at their meals ; for they were supplied very plentifully with all sorts of provisions, the museum having been endowed, when first founded, with large revenues. Hence *Timon* the *Phliasian*, who was contemporary with *Ptolemy Soter* the founder of it, used to call it the *talaron*, or *the coop*, denoting thereby, that the philosophers were fed in the museum, and fattened like birds in a coop<sup>1</sup>. The museum, as the reader must have observed from the account which the ancients give of it, was an institution of the same nature with the colleges of the present times ; and as to these, the kingdoms where they flourish, and above all our own, are indebted for the great men they have given to the world, so *Alexandria* owed to its museum the many eminent writers it produced. Among these we may reckon *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Origen*, *Anatolius*, and *Athanasius*, who had their education in that city.

THE celebrated *Demetrius Phalereus* was the first president of this seat of learning, and as the library was a part of it, he had, in all likelihood, the books likewise under his care. We do not hereby mean what *Aristeas* seems to insinuate, viz. that *Demetrius* was librarian to *Ptolemy Soter* ; for this was too mean an employment for a man of his rank. He had been prince of *Athens*, and governed that state with absolute authority for the space of ten years, was a great law-giver, an eminent philosopher, and the most able politician of the age he lived in. The emperor *Antoninus* ranks him with the greatest princes of those times, and even puts him upon the level with *Philip* of *Macedon*, and his son *Alexander the Great*<sup>k</sup>. To say therefore that he was library-keeper to *Ptolemy*, would be degrading, beyond measure, a person of his merit and reputation. Besides, we find another in this employment under *Soter*, and likewise under his son *Philadelphus*, viz. *Zenodotus* of *Ephesus*, who, being by profession a grammarian, was very proper to take care of a library, such persons being generally chosen in those times for this employment ; however, it was not below *Demetrius* to assist *Ptolemy* in what he had so much at heart, that is, in founding a

<sup>1</sup> ATHEN. l. i. p. 22.  
350.

<sup>k</sup> ANTONIN. l. ix. c. 24. de se-



museum, and making a collection of choice books for the use of the learned men who were to live in it; nay, *Plutarch* tells us, that *Demetrius* was the first who proposed to the king the founding both of the museum and library; and that the king readily embraced the proposal, as being suggested by a man, who was equally eminent for his learning and other extraordinary qualifications<sup>1</sup>. The same author adds, that *Demetrius* at first advised the king to collect only such books as treated of civil polity and government, telling him that he would find in them better advice and counsels than any of his friends dared to give him. And indeed this is almost the only means of conveying truth to princes, and shewing them, under borrowed names, their duties, as well as their faults. When the king had once approved of this excellent advice, and taken proper measures for the procuring of all such books as answered his first design, it is very natural to suppose that he was thereby led to collect all other sorts of books, and fill with them the library we have mentioned. *Demetrius* was charged with the care of collecting these books, which was no-ways an employment unworthy of so great a man, since the king himself placed therein all his pleasure and diversion; a diversion suitable to the taste of a prince, who was himself a man of eminent learning, and an encourager of it in others (D).

<sup>1</sup> PLUT. apophthegm. regum.

(D) *Livy*, in speaking of this library, styles it a noble monument of the wealth of the *Egyptian* kings, and of their commendable attention in propagating knowledge among their subjects; but *Seneca*, with all the sourness of a *Cynic*, finds fault with *Livy* for commending it, and even blames the kings who were concerned in that great work. Let *Livy*, says he, and other writers bestow their eulogiums on that great collection of books, and on the princes who promoted it; for my part, I look upon it as a lasting monument of the pride and vanity of those monarchs, who amassed such a prodigious number of volumes, not for their use, but merely for pomp and ostentation. Let every one purchase such books only as he intends to peruse; for others serve to feed our vanity, without improving our knowledge (10). But, with *Seneca's* leave, are not public libraries of great use? and who but princes can bear the charges that attend them? Public libraries, says *Clemens of Alexandria*, are common treasures, and those who found them, whether princes or private men, deserve the greatest commendations, since they deliver, as far as in them lies, their country from one of the greatest evils, ignorance (11).

(10) *Seneca de tranquill. anim.* c. 9.  
in *Stromat.* 6.

(11) *Clem. Alexand.*

TOWARDS



**Ptolemy Soter dies.** TOWARDS the close of this year died *Ptolemy Soter*, in the eighty fourth year of his age, and forty first of his reign, counting the two years he held the empire in partnership with his son. Those writers who will have him to have reigned only thirty nine years, follow therein *Justin*, who tells us, that he resigned his crown to his son, and, divesting himself of all power and authority, attended on the new king as one of his guards, saying that he thought it a more glorious thing to be the father of a king, than to have a kingdom <sup>m</sup>. These authors, as they do not reckon the two years he lived after his resignation, allow him to have reigned only thirty nine years. *Lucian* <sup>n</sup> and *Macrobius* <sup>o</sup> tell us, that, in the thirty eighth year of his reign, he admitted his son to sit on the throne with him, and that the father and son reigned jointly two years. According to these he reigned in all but forty years. The learned *Usher*, whom we have followed, observes out of *Dionysius* the astronomer, that *Ptolemy Philadelphus* was admitted to reign with his father thirty nine years after the death of *Alexander*; and that the son, in the second year of their common reign, as *Dionysius* styles it, by the death of his father, became the sole master of the *Egyptian* empire: Whence it is plain, that *Ptolemy*, according to *Dionysius*, who formed a new æra, beginning with the reign of *Philadelphus*, died in the forty first year after the death of *Alexander*, and consequently of his own reign <sup>p</sup>. He was the best prince of his race, and left behind him an example of prudence, justice, and clemency, which none of his successors cared to follow. He retained on the throne the same simplicity of manners, and aversion to all pomp and ostentation, which he had shewn while in a private station. His subjects had at all hours a free access to him, and were sure to find, in recurring to him, a speedy redress of all their grievances. He did not think it below the majesty of a king to converse familiarly with the meanest of his subjects, calling them his true friends, since they often told him truths, which his courtiers endeavoured to disguise, without any regard to his or their own reputation. He frequently made public entertainments, on which occasion he thought it no disparagement, as *Plutarch* informs us <sup>q</sup>, to borrow his friends plate, having no more of his own than what was necessary for his common use. When one of his favourites represented to him, that a sovereign ought to be better provided, his

<sup>m</sup> JUSTIN. l. xvi. c. 3.      <sup>n</sup> LUCIAN. in Macrob.      <sup>o</sup> PORPHYR. in Græc. EUSEB. SCALIG.      <sup>p</sup> Vide CLAUD. PTOLEM. in magna syntax.      <sup>q</sup> PLUT. apophtheg. p. 181.



answer was, That the true grandeur of a king consisted in enriching others, and not himself. In the general division of *Alexander's* empire, *Egypt*, *Libya*, and that part of *Arabia* which borders upon *Egypt*, were allotted to *Ptolemy*, as we have said elsewhere; but that prince held, at the time of his death, the following countries, which we find enumerated by *Theocritus*<sup>r</sup>, viz. *Egypt*, *Phœnice*, *Arabia*, *Syria*, *Libya*, *Æthiopia*, *Pamphylia*, *Cilicia*, *Lycia*, *Caria*, and some of the *Cyclades*. By *Syria* is to be understood here *Cœle-Syria*; for all the rest of that country was then in the possession of *Seleucus Nicator*.

*Ptolemy* had four wives, viz. 1. *Artonis*, the daughter of *Artabazus*, who brought him no children. 2. *Thais*, who had been formerly one of *Alexander's* concubines, by whom *Ptolemy* had *Leontiscus*, or, as *Justin* calls him, *Lenticus*, *Lagus*, and *Irene*. *Irene* married, as *Athenæus* informs us<sup>t</sup>, *Solon* king of *Cyprus*. 3. *Eurydice*, the daughter of *Antipater*, who bore him two sons, viz. *Ptolemy*, surnamed *Ceraunus*, and another, whose name has not been transmitted to us, and as many daughters, viz. *Ptolemais* and *Lyсандra*. *Ceraunus*, being excluded by his father from the succession, fled to the court of *Seleucus Nicator*, who received him in a very friendly manner, and entertained him and his numerous retinue at a vast charge; but the wicked wretch, having no sense of gratitude for the many favours conferred on him by *Seleucus*, conspired against his benefactor, and treacherously murdered him, as we have related in the history of *Syria*<sup>u</sup>. On the death of *Seleucus* he seized the kingdom of *Macedon*, which that prince had won a few months before from *Lyfimachus*, who had been killed in the battle of *Gerupodion* in *Phrygia*; but as *Ceraunus* did not expect to enjoy the dominions of *Lyfimachus* in peace, so long as his children and *Arsinoë* his queen were alive, he resolved to put them to death, and thereby free himself from the apprehensions they gave him. That princess was half-sister to *Ceraunus*, being the daughter of *Ptolemy Soter* by *Berenice*; but nevertheless, as she was well acquainted with the cruel, ambitious, and treacherous temper of her brother, she had, on the death of *Seleucus*, conveyed both herself and her children out of his reach. Hereupon *Ceraunus*, feigning a passion for his sister, offered to marry her, such incestuous marriages being allowed in *Egypt*, and to adopt the two sons she had by *Lyfimachus*. *Arsinoë* rejected at first the proposal, fearing

<sup>r</sup> THEOCRIT. Idyll. 17.    <sup>t</sup> ATHEN l. xiii. c. 13.    <sup>u</sup> Vol. viii. p. 456.



*Marries  
his sister  
Arsinoe.*

it might prove fatal both to herself and children; but *Ceraunus*, to remove all suspicion, repaired to a temple, which the *Macedonians* held in the greatest veneration, and there, in the presence of one of her intimate friends, called the tutelary gods of the country to witness the sincerity of his intentions, and at the same time embracing their statues, protested with the most dreadful oaths and imprecations, that he had nothing in view but the welfare of his sister and her children. These protestations, made before the altars, and ratified with the awful seal of religion, prevailed upon *Arsinoe* to consent to the marriage, which was accordingly celebrated with the greatest magnificence, and all possible marks of an unaffected joy and tenderness. *Ceraunus* placed the diadem on his sister's head, and declared her queen in the presence of the whole army. *Arsinoe*, overjoyed to see herself so gloriously restored to the high station, from which she had fallen by the death of *Lyfimachus* her first husband, invited *Ceraunus* to reside with her in her own city of *Cassandria*, repairing thither herself the first, to make the necessary preparations for his reception. *Ceraunus* made the most pompous and solemn entry that had ever been seen in those parts, the public and private houses being very magnificently adorned, and the streets thronged with incredible multitudes of people in their best apparel, who had flocked from all parts to congratulate their new king on his accession to the crown. The two sons of *Arsinoe*, viz. *Lyfimachus* and *Philip*, the one sixteen years of age, and the other thirteen, marched out of the city with crowns on their heads to meet their father-in-law, who received and embraced them with all the seeming tenderness that could be shewn by the fondest of fathers. They conducted him into the city, among the loud acclamations of the multitude, and, together with their mother *Arsinoe*, put him in possession of the citadel; and then the perjured traitor, having nothing to fear, caused the two young princes to be murdered in the very bosom of their mother, to whom they had fled for refuge; and, stripping her of all she possessed, caused her to be dragged out of the city, and then banished her into *Samothrace*, allowing her only two women to attend her<sup>u</sup>; but providence did not suffer such enormous crimes to go long unpunished; for the very next year he was taken prisoner by the *Gauls*, who had invaded *Macedon*, and, on his being known, tore in pieces, a death which his wickedness and treachery well deserved<sup>w</sup>;

*Murders  
her chil-  
dren by  
Lyfima-  
chus.*

*His death.*

<sup>u</sup> JUSTIN. l. xxiv. c. 2 — 4. MEMNON. excerpt. apud Phot. c. 15.

<sup>w</sup> JUSTIN. l. xxiv. c. 5.



for it is plain, from what we have related of him, that he was a man of a most wicked and perfidious temper, and his behaviour sufficiently justifies his father *Ptolemy Soter* for having excluded him from the crown, that prince having, without all doubt, been well acquainted with his brutal disposition.

THE brother of *Ceraunus* by *Eurydice* was put to death by *Philadelphus*, for stirring up the inhabitants of *Cyprus* to rebellion<sup>\*</sup>; and his two sisters, *Ptolemais* and *Lyfandra* were married, the former to *Demetrius Poliorcetes*, and the other to *Agathocles* the son of *Lyfimachus*. *Ptolemy Soter's* fourth wife was *Berenice*, by whom he had *Ptolemy* surnamed *Philadelphus*, and *Argæus*, with two daughters *Arsinoe*, whom we have mentioned above, and *Philotera*. *Philadelphus* succeeded his father, and reigned in *Egypt*. *Argæus* was put to death by *Philadelphus*, for having formed a conspiracy against him. Of *Arsinoe* we have spoke already, and shall have occasion to mention her anon. All we know of *Philotera* is, that she gave her name to a city built in *Troglodytis* by one *Satyrus*, whom *Philadelphus* had sent thither to take care of his elephants<sup>†</sup>.

*Ptolemy Philadelphus* became, by the death of his father, *Ptolemy* sole master of *Egypt*, and the many countries we have mentioned above; and then it was that he vented his rage against *Demetrius Phalereus*, which he had carefully concealed during his father's life-time. We have observed above, that *Ptolemy Soter* was prevailed upon by his wife *Berenice* to disinherit the sons of *Eurydice*, who were the first-born, and place the crown on the head of *Philadelphus* her son. When *Ptolemy* proposed this to *Demetrius*, and asked his advice about the choice of a successor, that unbiaſſed counsellor is said to have, in the first place, dissuaded him from parting with the crown in his life-time, telling him, that if he once gave it a way, he would never be able to recover it, but be obliged to live like other subjects, in an intire dependence on the capricious humours of his children, which he said, would prove insupportable to a man of his years, who had been so long accustomed to command. This seasonable advice made him change his mind, and resolve to take one of his sons for his partner, instead of divesting himself of the whole power; and in this choice he advised again with *Demetrius*, who earnestly pressed him to prefer the children of *Eurydice* to those of *Berenice*, being moved thereunto both by his love to jus-

<sup>\*</sup> PAUS. in Attic.<sup>†</sup> STRABO, l. xvi. p. 132.



tice, the children of *Eurydice* being the first-born, and by the affection which he bore to them for the sake of *Cassander* his deceased friend, whose sister *Eurydice* was <sup>a</sup>; but *Soter*, tho' in all other things he willingly followed the advice of *Demetrius*, was prevailed upon, by the great ascendant *Berenice* had gained over him, not to hearken to his counsels in this important affair; but contrary to his opinion, to appoint *Philadelphus* his partner in the kingdom, and successor to the crown after his death. The advice given by *Demetrius* greatly provoked *Berenice* and her son; but neither of them expressed any displeasure against him till *Soter* was dead; and then the king commanded him to be seized, and carried, under a strong guard, to a remote fortress, to be kept there under close confinement, till he should determine what further punishment to inflict upon him; but in the mean-time, the accidental bite of an asp put an end to the life of this great man, whose extraordinary learning and other qualifications deserved a far better fate <sup>a</sup>.

Death of  
Demetrius  
Phalereus

Ptolemy  
Philadelphus mar-  
ries his  
sister Ar-  
sinoe.

AFTER the death of *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, *Arsinoe*, whom he had confined to *Samothrace*, left the place of her banishment, and retired into *Egypt* to *Ptolemy Philadelphus* her brother, who falling in love with her, married her, after he had divorced another *Arsinoe*, the daughter of *Lyfimachus*, whom he had married on his accession to the crown <sup>b</sup>. The reason why *Ptolemy* parted with his first wife, was her being convicted of entering into a conspiracy against him; for *Arsinoe* the wife, finding that he was in love with his sister, and, on that account, neglected her, entered into a plot with *Chrysippus* her physician, and several others, to cut him off; but the treason being discovered, all the others, who had any hand in it, were put to death, and *Arsinoe* confined to a province of the *Upper Egypt* bordering upon *Æthiopia*, there to end her days, after she had brought to *Philadelphus* two sons and a daughter, of whom the eldest succeeded his father, and was known by the name of *Euergetes*. *Arsinoe* being thus removed, *Ptolemy* married the other *Arsinoe* his sister, who, tho' now past child-bearing, had such charms to engage his affections, that he never married any other. In the epistle which *Eleazer* the high-priest of the *Jews* wrote according to *Aristeas*, to *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, she is honoured with the title of queen, and, at the same time, called the king's sister.

<sup>a</sup> DIOG. LAERT. in Demet. CIC. de Finib. l. v. ÆLIAN Hist. Var. l. iii. c. 7. <sup>a</sup> JUSTIN. l. xvii. CIC. in orat. pro C. Rabir.

<sup>b</sup> THEOCRIT. Scholiast. PAUS. in Atticis.



THE *Romans* having obliged *Pyrrhus* king of *Epirus*, after a six years war, to abandon *Italy*, and return with disgrace into his own country, their name began to be of great fame among foreign nations ; whereupon *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, desiring to enter into an alliance with them, sent an embassy to *Rome* for that purpose. This was the first time that any *Egyptians* had appeared at *Rome* ; whence the senate was overjoyed to see foreigners come so far to court the friendship of their republic, whose dominions were yet confined within a narrow compass. As they had then scarce any thing to recommend them but their virtue, and an obliging behaviour to their allies, they did not suffer themselves to be outdone in politeness and civility ; but immediately dispatched into *Egypt* four ambassadors, chosen with the utmost circumspection by the senate, whose chief point in view was to maintain the reputation they had gained in a foreign court. *Q. Fabius Gurges* was at the head of the embassy, and so far from being of an avaricious temper, that in his youth, he had been greatly blamed for his prodigality. His three companions were *Q. Ogulinus*, and two brothers of the *Fabian* family, being descended from that *Fabius* who was surnamed *Pictor*, or the *Painter*, because he had painted the temple of the goddess of health. *Ogulinus* indeed was a plebeian, but had enjoyed great employments. At *Ptolemy's* court they met with a reception suitable to their rank, and worthy of so great a prince. He gave them a splendid entertainment, and took that opportunity to present each of them with a crown of gold, which they accepted, being unwilling to disoblige him by declining the honour which he intended to confer upon them ; but the very next morning they crowned with them the statues of the king, which were erected in the public places of the city. This contempt of riches gained the *Romans* great reputation in *Egypt* ; however, the king would not suffer the ambassadors to depart without new presents, both for their republic and themselves ; but they shewed the same disinterestedness at *Rome*, depositing all their presents in the public treasury, before they appeared in the senate to give an account of their embassy, declaring thereby, that they desired no other advantage from the service of the public than the honour and satisfaction of discharging it well. *Ptolemy*, remembering twenty years after the alliance he had made with the *Romans*, returned the following answer to the *Carthaginian* ambassadors, when they desired him to lend their republic

*Sends ambassadors to Rome.*

\* LIV. l. xiv. VAL. MAX. l. iv. c. 3. DIO. in excerpt Ursini. EUTROP. l. ii. JUSTIN. l. xviii. c. 2. ZONAR. l. vii. c. 6.



two thousand talents, which they promised to return after the war was ended which they were then engaged in with the *Romans*; *I will assist you against enemies, or indifferent persons; but cannot, without breach of fidelity, lend one friend any aid against another* d. Hence it appears, that he had made alliances with *Carthage* and *Rome*.

*Enters in-  
to an alli-  
ance with  
the Lace-  
dæmoni-  
ans and  
Athenians  
against  
Antigonus  
Gonatus.*

AFTER the death of *Pyrrhus*, *Antigonus Gonatus* king of *Macedon* having made himself very formidable to the states of *Greece*, the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* entered into a confederacy against him, and prevailed upon *Ptolemy* to accede to it. Whereupon *Antigonus* laid siege to *Athens*; for the relief of which city *Ptolemy* immediately sent a fleet under the command of *Patroclus*, who, not being able to persuade *Areus* king of *Lacedæmon* to attack the enemy with their united forces, was obliged, for want of provisions, to sail back with his fleet to *Egypt* without even attempting to relieve the city. By this misunderstanding between the two commanders, the city of *Athens* fell into the hands of *Antigonus*, as we have related in the history of *Greece*. *Patroclus* having, on his return into *Egypt*, touched at *Caunus*, a maritime city of *Caria*, found there the poet *Sotades*, famous for the unbounded licence both of his muse and manners. He had wrote a virulent satire against *Ptolemy*, full of cutting reflections on his marriage with *Arfinoe* his own sister, and fled from *Alexandria* to avoid the indignation of the provoked prince; but *Patroclus* having thus met him in his flight, thought he could not better recommend himself to his master's favour, than by making an example of a wretch who had abused him in such an insolent manner; accordingly he caused him to be wrapped up in a sheet of lead, and thrown into the sea, a punishment which he well deserved\* (E).

THE

d EUTROP. l. ii. OROS. l. iv. c. 9. e ATHEN. l. xiv. p. 620.

(E.) This infamous poet is commonly known by the nickname of *Sotades Cinædus*, or *Sotades the pederast*, which was given him not only because he was notoriously addicted to that monstrous and abominable vice, but more especially for his having wrote in iambics a poem in commendation of it, which was in great repute among those, who, like himself, were addicted to that unnatural sort of lust. Some writers have, not without good grounds, in that verse of *Juvenal* (12), *Inter Socraticos notissima fossa cinædos*, instead of *Socraticos*, read *Sotadicos*, being of opinion, that this alteration in the text was made by such as were given to that vice, which, they thought, might deserve some excuse, if they could persuade the world, that *Socrates*, a philosopher of great credit, was addicted to it.


(12) *Juvenal Satir. 2. ver. 10.*

THE



THE long peace and tranquillity which *Ptolemy* had enjoyed, was unexpectedly disturbed by the revolt of *Magas* whom the king had ever looked upon as one of his best and most trusty friends. He was half-brother to him, being the son of *Berenice* by one *Philip* a *Macedonian* officer, who had been her husband before she married *Ptolemy Soter*. As *Berenice* had a great ascendant over the king her husband, she prevailed upon him to give the government of *Libya* and *Cyrene* to her son *Magas*, who, having strengthened himself in those provinces by long possession, and likewise by his marriage with *Apamea* the daughter of *Antiochus Soter* king of *Syria*, not only endeavoured to render himself independent in his government, but even to dispossess his brother of the kingdom of *Egypt*. With this view he advanced, at the head of a numerous army, towards *Alexandria*, and made himself master of *Paretonion* on his march thither; but, as he was proceeding farther, he was obliged to drop the enterprise and return home, upon certain intelligence, that the *Marmarides*, a people of *Libya*, had revolted from him. *Ptolemy*, who was then with a great body of troops on the frontiers of *Egypt*, had a favourable opportunity of falling upon him in his retreat, and utterly destroying his army; but was, by a like revolt at home, prevented from laying hold of it; for having taken into his service four thousand *Gauls*, he was informed that they had entered into a conspiracy, intending nothing less than to drive him out of *Egypt*, and seize it for themselves. To prevent this, he hastened back into *Egypt*, and, having drawn the conspirators into an island in the *Nile*, he there shut them up so effectually, that they all perished, either with famine, or with one another's swords, to avoid that lingering kind of death<sup>f</sup>. *Magas* had no sooner quelled the troubles which had obliged him to return home, but he renewed his designs upon *Egypt*, and, in order to succeed therein more effectually, he engaged in the same war *Antiochus Soter* his father-in-law. The measures agreed upon between them were, that *Antiochus* should invade the territories of *Ptolemy* on one side, and *Magas* on the other; but while the king of *Syria* was making the necessary preparations for this invasion, *Ptolemy*, who had private intelligence of his designs, sent forces into all the maritime provinces of *Syria*, which committed every-where such ravages and devastations, as obliged that prince to keep at home, for the defence of his own dominions; and *Magas*, without his assistance, did not think it adviseable to make any further attempts<sup>g</sup>.

*The revolt  
of Magas.  
Year of  
the Flood,  
2736.  
Before  
Christ,  
263.*


<sup>f</sup> PAUSAN. in Atticis.<sup>g</sup> Idem, ibid.



*The advantageous measures taken by Ptolemy for the improvement of trade.*

*Ptolemy*, being thus delivered from the apprehension of a war, bent his mind on advancing the riches of his kingdom, by drawing to it all the trade of the east, which the *Tyrians* had to this time carried on by sea to *Elatb*, and from thence, by the way of *Rhinocorura*, to *Tyre*. These were both sea-port towns. *Elatb*, on the east-side of the *Red-sea*, and *Rhinocorura* at the bottom of the *Mediterranean*, between *Egypt* and *Palestine*; so that through them all the wares of *Persia*, *India*, *Africa*, and *Arabia* centered at *Tyre*, and were from thence carried into all the western countries. By this means the *Tyrians* were grown exceeding rich, having engrossed, while subject to the *Persian* kings, this whole trade. To draw it into *Egypt*, *Ptolemy* built a city on the west-side of the *Red-sea*, from whence he sent out fleets into all those countries to which the *Tyrians* traded from *Elatb*; but, observing that the *Red-sea*, towards the bottom, was very dangerous, by reason of its rocks and shelves, he transferred the trade to another city, which he built at as great a distance as he could from that part of the sea, placing it almost on the frontiers of *Æthiopia*, and calling it, from his mother, *Berenice*; but the harbour not being convenient, *Myos Hormos*, a city in that neighbourhood, was preferred, and all the commodities of the above-mentioned countries conveyed thither by sea, and from thence on camels to *Coptus* on the *Nile*, where they were again shipped for *Alexandria*, and from that city dispersed all over the west, in exchange for the merchandize which was afterwards exported to the east. By this means the whole trade being fixed at *Alexandria*, that place became the chief mart of all the traffick that was carried on between the east and the west, and continued to be the greatest empory in the world for above seventeen hundred years, till another passage was found out by the cape of *Good-hope*; but as the road from *Coptus* to the *Red-sea* lay cross the deserts, where no water could be had, nor any convenience of towns or houses for the lodging of passengers, *Ptolemy*, to remedy both these evils, caused a canal to be opened along the great road, into which he conveyed the water of the *Nile*, and built on it houses at proper distances; so that all passengers found every night convenient lodgings, and necessary refreshments for themselves and their beasts of burden <sup>b</sup>. As *Ptolemy* intended to ingross the whole trade of the east and west to himself, he fitted out two great fleets to protect his trading subjects. One of these he kept in the *Red-sea*, and the other

<sup>b</sup> STRABO, l. xvii. p. 185. PLIN. l. vi. c. 33.



in the *Mediterranean*. The latter was very numerous, and had several ships of an extraordinary size; two of them in particular were of thirty oars on a side, one of twenty, four of fourteen, two of twelve, fourteen of eleven, thirty of nine, thirty seven of seven, five of six, seventeen of five, and, besides these, an incredible number of vessels with four oars and three oars on a side\*. With these fleets he not only maintained and protected the trade, but also kept in subjection, as long as he lived, most of the maritime provinces of *Asia Minor*, namely, *Cilicia*, *Pamphylia*, *Lycia*, *Caria*, and the *Cyclades*<sup>1</sup>.

*Magas*, king of *Cyrene* and *Libya*, growing old and infirm, expressed a desire of composing all differences with his brother *Ptolemy*, and, in order to succeed therein, proposed a marriage between his only daughter *Berenice* and king *Ptolemy*'s eldest son, promising to make over all his dominions to her by way of dowry. The proposal was accepted by *Ptolemy*, and a peace concluded on these terms<sup>2</sup>; but *Magas* dying before the execution of the treaty, after he had held the government of *Cyrene* and *Libya* for the space of fifty years, his wife *Apamea* did all that lay in her power to break off the match between her daughter and the son of *Ptolemy*, since it had been concluded without her consent; but her attempts proved unsuccessful, and only served to kindle a war between *Ptolemy* and her brother *Antiochus Theus* king of *Syria*, which occasioned a cruel tragedy in the family of the latter, as we have related in the history of *Syria*<sup>1</sup>.

In the heat of this war *Ptolemy* did not give over his search for books wherewithal to enrich his famous library, and likewise for pictures and drawings done by eminent masters, of which he was a great admirer. *Aratus*, the celebrated *Sicyonian*, was one of the agents he employed in *Greece* to collect pictures for him; and that great man gained his favour by this kind of service to such a degree, that the king looked upon him as one of his best friends; and, on the *Sicyonian*'s applying to him for his assistance towards the restoring of his native city to liberty and peace, *Ptolemy* presented

<sup>1</sup> STRABO, *ibid.* THEOCRIT. *Idyll.* 17. APPIAN. in *præfat.* *Athen.* l. v. p. 203. <sup>2</sup> JUSTIN. l. xxvi. c. 3. <sup>1</sup> Vid. Vol. viii. p. 462.

\* It is more than probable that these vessels were of so many banks of oars; for it seems nothing very extraordinary, that two of them had thirty on a side; and besides we read in the history of *Syracuse*, that *Hiero* presented one of the kings of *Egypt*, probably *Philadelphus*, with a vessel which had twenty banks of oars, and was built by the famous *Archimedes*.



him with an hundred and fifty talents for this purpose. The matter is thus related by *Plutarch* in the life of *Aratus*; *Aratus* having expelled *Nicocles* tyrant of *Sicyon*, and recalled the exiles, great disturbances arose about the restoration of their lands, which were likely to occasion new disorders, most of those lands having been transferred to other proprietors, and passed through several hands before the exiles returned. Those who had purchased them would not part with their purchase, unless the money, which they had disbursed, were paid back to them. Hereupon *Aratus*, having no other way to satisfy them, applied to king *Ptolemy*, and that generous prince immediately ordered the sum, which he required, to be transmitted to *Sicyon*; by which means every one being satisfied, peace and tranquillity were restored to the city <sup>m</sup>.

*A peace  
concluded  
between  
Ptolemy  
and An-  
tiochus.*

THE troubles and revolutions which happened in the east, induced *Antiochus* to put an end to the war, which had been for some time carried on between him and *Ptolemy*. The particulars of this war have not been transmitted to us; but the conditions of the peace agreed to by the contending parties, are related by *Polyænus*\*, *Strabo*<sup>n</sup>, *Athenæus*<sup>o</sup>, and *St. Jerom*<sup>p</sup>. One of these was, that *Antiochus* should divorce *Laodice*, marry *Berenice* the daughter of *Ptolemy*, and settle the crown on the male issue of that marriage. As *Antiochus*, though passionately fond of *Laodice*, submitted to these terms, we may conclude from thence, that *Ptolemy* had gained considerable advantages over him. As this marriage was contracted on political views, and founded on very unjust conditions, it was attended with those fatal consequences which we have related in the history of *Syria*<sup>q</sup>, to which we refer our readers.

As *Ptolemy*, was a curious collector; not only of books, but also of statues, drawings and pictures, he observed, while he was in *Syria*, a statue of *Diana* in a temple consecrated to that goddess, which he was greatly taken with; and therefore having begged it of *Antiochus*, carried it with him into *Egypt*; but soon after his return, *Arsinoë* his queen being seized with a dangerous distemper, dreamt, that *Diana* appearing to her, told her, that *Ptolemy* had brought the illness upon her, by removing out of her temple the abovementioned statue. Hereupon it was immediately sent back into *Syria*, and there replaced in the temple from whence it had been taken. It was accompanied with many rich presents,

<sup>m</sup> PLUT. in Arat. \* POLYÆN. Strat. l. viii. c. 50. <sup>n</sup> STRABO, l. vii. p. 152. <sup>o</sup> ATHEN. l. ii. p. 42. <sup>p</sup> HIERONYM. in Dan. c. 11. <sup>q</sup> Vide Vol. viii. p. 465.



and a great many sacrifices were offered to appease the wrath of the provoked goddesses; but all to no purpose, for the queen's distemper was so far from abating, that she died of it in a very short time, leaving *Ptolemy* under the greatest affliction imaginable; for though she was many years older than he, and past child-bearing when he married her, yet he maintained an inexpressible affection and tenderness for her to the last, and, after her death, did all that lay in his power to perpetuate her memory, calling several cities which he built by her name, and raising obelisks to her honour, with other monuments to express the great regard he had for her<sup>r</sup>. Of these the most remarkable was a temple, which he began in *Alexandria*, with a dome, which was to be lined with loadstone, in order to keep an iron statue of the queen hanging in the air. This was the project of *Dinocrates*, a famous architect of those times, and it was no sooner proposed to the king but he commanded it to be put in execution; but before the work was compleated, both the king and the architect died; so that no experiment was made of the virtue and power of loadstones in such a case (F). *Ptolemy* did not long survive his beloved *Arsinoe*, for being originally of a tender constitution, which he had moreover weakened by a luxurious manner of life, the infirmities of old age, and the loss of a consort whom he loved beyond measure, sunk him into a languishing distemper, which put an end to his life, in the sixty third year of his age, and fortieth of his reign<sup>c</sup>. He left be-

*Ptolemy  
Philadelphus dies.*

<sup>r</sup> LIBAN. orat. 11.      <sup>c</sup> PLIN. l. xxxiv. c. 14.      ATHEN. l. xii. c. 10.

(F) *Ausonius* speaks of this temple as finished by the above-mentioned architect, in the following verses:

*Conditor hic forsan fuerit Ptolemaidos aulæ  
Dinocrates, quadro cui in fastigia cono  
Surgit, & ipsa suas consumit pyramis umbras;  
Jussus ob incesti qui quondam fœdus amoris,  
Arsinoen Pharii suspendit in aëre templi (13).*

It has been long since reported, and even believed by many, that the body of the impostor *Mohammed* was, after his death, laid in an iron coffin, and thus hung in the air by virtue of a loadstone in the roof of the room where it was deposited; but this is a mere fable without the least foundation (14).

(13) *Auson. Idyll. 9.*      (14) *Vide Adolph. Verner. in epitom. rer. Turci car.*



hind him two sons and a daughter, whom he had by his first wife *Arfinoe* the daughter of *Lyfimachus*. *Ptolemy*, surnamed *Euergetes*, the eldest of his sons, succeeded him in the kingdom; the other, called *Lyfimachus* from his grandfather by the mother, was put to death by his brother, for engaging in a rebellion against him. The name of the daughter was *Berenice*, whose marriage with *Antiochus Theus* king of *Syria* we have related above.

His character.

*Ptolemy Philadelphus* was without all doubt, a prince endowed with many excellent qualities, and yet we cannot propose him as a perfect model of a good king, his good qualities being counter-balanced by faults that were altogether as considerable. He dishonoured the beginning of his reign by his resentment against a man of uncommon merit, viz. *Demetrius Phalercus*, for having given a piece of advice to his father, which was indeed contrary to the interest of *Philadelphus*, but intirely agreeable to the laws of justice and equity. He put two of his brothers to death, having, as some writers tell us, forged plots in order to give some colour of justice to his blind jealousy, which alone prompted him to embrue his hands in their blood; and hence he was ironically called *Philadelphus*, or a lover of his brothers. He was greatly given to all sorts of effeminate pleasures, and entirely neglected all kind of military discipline, by which neglect he left the army in a very bad condition, and quite unfit for action. On the other hand, as he was himself a prince of great learning, he was a zealous promoter and encourager of it in others, an industrious collector of books, and a generous patron of all those, who were eminent in any branch of literature. The fame of his generosity drew seven celebrated poets to his court<sup>1</sup>; who, from their number, were called the *Pleiades*, which are seven stars in the neck of the bull. These were *Aratus*, *Theocritus*, *Callimachus*, *Lycophron*, *Apollonius*, *Nicanor* and *Philicus*. *Theocritus* wrote an idyllium, and *Callimachus* an hymn in praise of *Philadelphus*, which have reached our times. In his court flourished likewise *Aristarchus*, a learned grammarian, *Manetho* the famous *Egyptian* historian, *Conon* and *Hipparchus*, two celebrated mathematicians, *Zenodotus* of *Ephesus*, the first who corrected *Homer's* works, as *Suidas* informs us, and *Aristophanes*, who, if *Vitruvius* is to be credited, read over all the books of the *Alexandrian* library, in the order they stood<sup>2</sup>. *Zoilus* the

<sup>1</sup> Vide Vossium. de histor. Græc. l. i. c. 12.  
<sup>2</sup> præfat. ad lib. vii.

<sup>2</sup> VITRUV. in



critic came also to his court, and lived some time at *Alexandria*. . He had wrote against *Homer*, whose works were highly esteemed and admired by all except himself, and had likewise criticised, in a very biting stile, the works of other eminent writers ; whence his name grew so infamous, that it was afterwards given by way of reproach to all detraacting and ill-natured critics ; but though he was very eminent in his way, and far excelled in criticism all who had flourished before him, this could not reconcile *Ptolemy* to him, who is said indeed to have admired his wit, but at the same time, to have been so offended at the bitterness of his stile, that he would not bestow any thing upon him, though he shewed a truly royal generosity towards all other writers of any wit or learning. Being therefore abhorred by all men, and not relieved by *Ptolemy*, he died in a miserable manner. Some say he was stoned by the enraged multitude ; others that he was burnt alive in his house ; and some that he was crucified by *Ptolemy* for a crime which well deserved that punishment<sup>u</sup>. We have already taken notice of his extraordinary taste for books, and of his indefatigable industry in augmenting and embellishing, at an immense charge, the library founded by his father ; a work which has rendered the names of both these princes more famous than the greatest conquests could have done. To *Ptolemy Philadelphus* we are indebted for the *Greek* translation of the scripture, commonly called the septuagint, of which we shall give a particular account in the history of the *Jews*, as in a more proper place. This prince is likewise said to have maintained, at a vast expence, and sent into different parts of the world, skilful persons, in search of all sorts of wild beasts, and by that means to have made a great many new discoveries relating to the nature of animals<sup>w</sup>.

THO' *Philadelphus* had a peculiar taste for the sciences, yet he did not suffer them to engross his whole attention, but applied himself with indefatigable industry to business, studying all possible methods to render his subjects happy, and raise his dominions to a flourishing condition. This enticed great multitudes of the neighbouring and most distant nations to leave their native countries, and settle in *Egypt* ; insomuch that this prince is said to have had in his dominions no fewer than thirty three thousand three hundred and thirty nine well peopled cities<sup>x</sup>. As he was well apprised that the real power

<sup>u</sup> VITUV. *ibid.* & VOSSIVS. *de historic. Græc.* l. i. c. 15.

<sup>w</sup> DIODOR. SICUL. l. xvii.

<sup>x</sup> THEOCRIT. *Idyll.* 17.



of a prince consists in the number and wealth of his subjects, the greatest expences were not capable of discouraging him from pursuing such measures as were most apt to draw inhabitants into his dominions. With this view he built an incredible number of cities, and repaired others, granting many valuable privileges to all, without distinction, who came to settle in them. Among the latter were the two famous cities of *Palestine*, *Ace*, which he rebuilt on the west-side of that country, and *Rabbah of the children of Ammon*, so often mentioned in scripture, on the east-side of the same province. *Ace* he called from one of his names *Ptolemais*, and *Rabbah* from the other *Philadelphia*. The former of these, which is still standing, in process of time recovered its antient name, and is often spoke of in the history of the holy wars<sup>y</sup>. Besides cities, he left so many other public monuments of his magnificence, that all works of an extraordinary taste and grandeur were proverbially called *Philadelphian* works<sup>z</sup>. *Athenæus* calls him the best of kings, and the most wealthy prince of his age<sup>a</sup>; and truly he died possessed of immense riches, notwithstanding the great expence he must have been at; for he kept two great fleets, one in the *Mediterranean*, and the other in the *Red-sea*, and maintained in constant pay an army of two hundred thousand foot, and 40,000 horse, and had three hundred elephants, two thousand armed chariots, and his armory at *Alexandria* stocked with three hundred thousand complete suits of armour, and all other necessary implements and engines of war; but, for all this, he left in his treasury seven hundred and fifty thousand *Egyptian* talents in ready money, which reduced to our coin, amounts to a prodigious and almost incredible sum, each *Egyptian* talent containing seven thousand five hundred drachmas more than an *Attic* talent<sup>b</sup>. *Athenæus* therefore called him, not without reason, the richest of all the princes of his age; and *Appian* gives him this character, viz. that as he was the most magnificent and generous of all kings in laying out his money, so was he of all the most skilful and industrious in raising of it<sup>c</sup>.

Ptolemy  
Euerge-  
tes.  
Year of  
the Flood,  
2755.  
Before  
Christ,  
244.

HE was succeeded by his eldest son *Ptolemy*, who, in the beginning of his reign, engaged in a war with *Antiochus Theus* king of *Syria*, of which we have given a distinct account

<sup>y</sup> Vide RELAND. *Palestin. illustrat.* SANDYS, THEVENOT, &c.  
<sup>z</sup> PHILO in vita Mosis. <sup>a</sup> ATHEN. l. v. c. 5. <sup>b</sup> Vide  
BEARNARD. de mensur. & ponder. antiquorum, p. 186. & tabulam  
huic operi præfixam. <sup>c</sup> APPIAN. in præfat.



in the history of that country<sup>d</sup>. On his return from that war, he brought with him out of Syria two thousand five hundred pictures and statues, among which were many of the *Egyptian* idols, which had been carried by *Cambyfes*, when he conquered *Egypt*, into *Persia*. These *Ptolemy* restored to their antient temples ; in acknowledgment for which favour the *Egyptians* gave him the glorious surname of *Euergetes*, or the *Beneficent*<sup>e</sup>. In this expedition he made himself master of all the countries that lie between mount *Taurus* and the confines of *India*, as we read in *Justin* <sup>f</sup>, *Ap- Ptolemy gains great advantages over the king of Syria.* *pian* <sup>g</sup>, *Polybius* <sup>h</sup>, *Jerom*, &c. <sup>i</sup>, with whom the monument of *Euergetes* called *monumentum adulitanum*, and published at *Rome* by the celebrated *Leo Allatius* in 1631 intirely agrees. The words quoted by that writer from the said monument are as follow : *Ptolemy Euergetes having received from his father the sovereignty of Egypt, Libya, Syria, Phœnice, Cyprus, Lycia, Caria, and the Cyclades, assembled a mighty army of horse and foot, with a great fleet, and elephants, out of Trogloditica and Æthiopia, some of which had been taken by his father, and the rest by himself, and brought from thence, and trained up for war. With this great force he sailed into Asia, and having conquered all the provinces which lie on this side the Euphrates, Cilicia, Pamphylia, Ionia, the Hellespont and Thrace, he crossed that river with all the forces of the conquered countries, and the kings of those nations, and reduced Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Susia, Persia, Media, and all the country as far as Bactria.*

WHEN *Ptolemy Euergetes* first set out on his expedition into Syria, his queen *Berenice*, who tenderly loved him, being apprehensive of the dangers to which he might be exposed in the war, made a vow to consecrate her hair, which was her chief ornament, in case he should return safe. The prince returned not only safe, but crowned with glory and success ; whereupon *Berenice*, to discharge her vow, immediately cut off her hair, and dedicated it to the gods, in the temple which *Ptolemy Philadelphus* had built in honour of his beloved *Arsinoe*, under the name of the *Zephyrian Venus*, on the promontory of *Zephyrium* in *Cyprus* ; but this consecrated hair being lost soon after, or perhaps contemptuously flung away by the priests, *Ptolemy* was much offended at this accident, and threatened to punish the priests for their neglect. Hereupon *Conon* of *Samos*, a flattering courtier,

<sup>d</sup> Vid. Vol. VIII. p46. 2. <sup>e</sup> Hieron. in Dan. c 11. & monument. Adulitan. <sup>f</sup> Justin. l. xxvii. c. 1. <sup>g</sup> Appian. in Syriac. p. 130. <sup>h</sup> Polyn. l. v. p. 402. <sup>i</sup> Hieron. ibid.



and great mathematician, to appease the king's wrath, and gain his favour, gave out, that the queen's locks had been conveyed up to heaven, and pointed out seven stars near the tail of the lion, which, till that time, had not belonged to any constellation, declaring, that they were the queen's hair. Several other astronomers, either to make their court, as well as *Conon*, to the king, or out of fear of drawing upon themselves his displeasure, affirmed the same thing; and hence *comæ Berenices*, or the hair of Berenice, became one of the constellations, and is so to this day <sup>k</sup>. *Callimachus*, who lived in those times, and had been a great favourite of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, wrote a hymn on the hair of *Berenice*, which was afterwards translated by *Catullus*, whose version is still extant among his other most elegant performances.

*Euergetes* offers sa-  
crifices to  
the God of  
Israel. *Ptolemy*, on his return from this expedition, having passed through *Jerusalem*, offered there many sacrifices to the God of *Israel*, in acknowledgment for the victories he had gained over the king of *Syria* <sup>l</sup>, shewing thereby, that he preferred the true god to all the idols of *Egypt*. Perhaps the prophecies of *Daniel* had been shewn to him, whence it was obvious for him to conclude, that his fortunate conquests were owing to that God, whose prophet had so fully and distinctly foretold them. Of these prophecies we have spoke in the history of *Syria*, to which we refer the reader <sup>m</sup>.

*Applies*  
himself to  
the im-  
proving of  
his libra-  
ry. *Euergetes* having at last concluded a peace with *Seleucus* king of *Syria*, who had succeeded *Antiochus Theus* in that kingdom, devoted most part of his time to the cultivating of the sciences, and the improving of his father's library at *Alexandria*. With this view he sent persons of learning into distant countries, to purchase, at any rate, what books they should think proper for his design; but as a skillful librarian was necessary for the making a good choice, and likewise for the preserving of them after they were lodged in the library, upon the death of *Zenodotus*, who had exercised that function from the time of *Ptolemy Soter*, he invited from *Athens* *Eratosthenes* (G) the *Cyrenian*, who was a man of universal learning,  
to

<sup>k</sup> *HYGINI. poetic. astronom. & NONUS in histor. synag.*  
<sup>l</sup> *JOSEPH. in Apion. l. ii.*      <sup>m</sup> Vol. VIII. p. 466, O.

(G) *Eratosthenes* had been educated by *Callimachus* his countryman, and is often quoted by *Pliny*, *Strabo* and others, as a man of extraordinary learning; and therefore those are greatly mistaken, who finding him called *Beta*, that is, the second, think he had that name to denote, that he was not in the first, but in the second



to take this charge upon him, which he did accordingly, and acquitted himself in it with great applause."

*Onias* the high-priest of the *Jews*, being of a very covetous temper, had neglected to send to *Ptolemy* the usual tribute of twenty talents, which his predecessors had annually paid to the kings of *Egypt*, as a token of their subjection to the crown. As the arrears amounted to a great sum, the king sent *Athenion*, one of his courtiers to *Jerusalem* to demand the payment of the money, and to acquaint the *Jews*, if they did not comply immediately with the demand, that he was determined to send a body of troops into *Judæa*, who should drive them out of the country, and divide it among themselves. When *Athenion* arrived at *Jerusalem* with this message, the whole city was thrown into the utmost consternation, not knowing how to appease the king's wrath, and divert the impending storm. At that time *Joseph*, the nephew of *Onias* by his sister, was in great repute among the *Jews* for his prudence, justice, and the sanctity of his life. To him therefore his mother had recourse, and as he was in the country when *Athenion* came to *Jerusalem*, she took care to dispatch a messenger to him, with an account of what happened. Hereupon he hastened to *Jerusalem*, where he severely upbraided his uncle with his ill management of the public money, and told him, that since he had brought the nation into such difficulties, the only expedient he could find

*The reputation of Joseph nephew of Onias, with Ptolemy.*

▪ *Strabo* in voce *Απτολλωνίδου*.

second class of the learned; for by that appellation nothing else was meant, but that he was the second librarian of the royal library at *Alexandria*. As to his knowledge in all the branches of literature, he was inferior to none of the age he lived in, as appears from the great encomiums bestowed by the ancients on the many books he wrote; but none of his works have reached us, except his catalogue of the kings of *Thebes* in *Egypt*, with the years of their respective reigns, from *Menes*, who first peopled *Egypt* after the deluge, to the time of the *Trojan* war. It contains a series of thirty eight kings reigning in a direct line of succession one after another, and is still extant in *Syncellus*. We have made use of it in settling the *Egyptian* chronology, it being one of the most noble, venerable, and authentic monuments of antiquity now extant, extracted out of the most antient records of that country. This extract was in all likelihood made to supply the defect of *Arianetho*, whose catalogue of the *Theban* kings begins where this ends (15).

(15) *Vide Voss. de hist. Græc. Syncell. p. 91—147. Johan. Marsham. in canon. chron.*

out



out to avert the calamities that threatened them, was, that he should go in person to the *Egyptian* court, and endeavour, by applying to the king himself, to make up matters. But *Onias*, who was a man of no parts, and besides stricken in years, declared to his nephew, that he would chuse rather to divest himself of the high-priesthood, and live a private life, than undertake such a journey, and appear at court. *Joseph* therefore, who was a young man of extraordinary parts, and great address, offered to go in his stead; which *Onias* consenting to with great pleasure, *Joseph* having assembled the people, acquainted them, that he had been appointed by the high-priest ambassador to the court of *Egypt*, and assured them, that, if they thought fit to confirm him in this charge, he should soon, by some means or other, deliver them from their present fears. The people, with loud shouts of joy, approved the appointment of the high-priest, returned *Joseph* thanks for what he intended to do in their behalf, and desired him to proceed without delay to the court of *Egypt*. Hereupon *Joseph* went immediately to invite *Athenion* to his house, where he not only entertained him with great kindness and splendor, all the time he staid at *Jerusalem*, but on his departure, made him very considerable presents, which the *Syrian* was so pleased with, that he left *Jerusalem*, fully determined to do all that lay in his power in behalf of the *Jews*, and to represent matters to the king in the best light the case would bear. Accordingly, on his return to *Alexandria*, he made so favourable a report to the king of his transactions at *Jerusalem*, and of the kind and obliging deportment of *Joseph*, that *Ptolemy* shewed a great desire to see him. In the mean time *Joseph*, having borrowed twenty thousand drachmas of the *Samaritans*, which amount to about seven hundred pounds of our money, and thereby furnished himself with an equipage to appear at the *Egyptian* court, set out for *Alexandria*, and having met on his way thither several of the chief nobility of *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine*, who were travelling to the same place, he joined them in the remaining part of his journey. Their business at that court was, to offer terms for farming the revenues of those provinces; and as their equipages were very magnificent, they laughed at *Joseph* for the meanness of his, making it the subject of their diversion most part of the way. *Joseph* took all in good part, but in the mean time hearkening to the conversation they had with each other about their business at court, he got such an insight into it, as put him in a condition to laugh at them in his turn. On their arrival at *Alexandria*,  
they



they found, that the king had taken a progress to *Memphis*, and *Joseph* was the only person among them who set out for that city to wait on him. As he was hastening thither, he had the good fortune to meet him returning from *Memphis*, with the queen and *Athenion* in the same chariot. The king, who had heard great commendations of him from *Athenion*, was overjoyed to see him; and, taking him into his chariot, complained to him in a friendly manner of his uncle *Onias*, who had, for several years, neglected to pay him the usual tribute. But *Joseph* excused his uncle on account of his great age and slender parts in so handsome a manner, that he not only satisfied the king, but raised in him such an opinion of his abilities, that he took him into his favour, allowed him an apartment in the royal palace, and entertained him at his own table. When the day came, whereon the king used annually to farm out the revenues of the several provinces of his empire, and they were set up, in order to be let to the best bidder, the *Syrians* and *Phœnicians*, who had been *Joseph's* fellow-travellers, offered no more than eight thousand talents for the provinces of *Cœle-Syria*, *Phœnice*, *Judæa*, and *Samaria*. Hereupon *Joseph*, who had discovered from their conversation on the road, that they were worth more than double the sum they offered, reproached them for depreciating the king's revenues in that manner, and proffered sixteen thousand talents, besides the forfeitures, which he proposed to return into the king's treasury, tho' they had ever before belonged to the farmers. *Ptolemy* was well pleased to see his revenues so considerably increased; but questioning the ability of the bidder to make good his engagement, asked him what security he could give him for the performance of his agreement. To this question *Joseph* answered, that he would give him the security of such persons as he could not refuse or except against; and when he was ordered to name them, he named the king and the queen, adding, that they would be bound to each other for the faithful performance of what he undertook. The king was so taken with the pleasantry of this answer, that he trusted him on his own word, without any other security. Hereupon *Joseph*, having borrowed at *Alexandria* five hundred talents to pay the king his uncle's arrears, was admitted to the trust of receiver-general of all the revenues in the above-mentioned provinces; and having received a guard of two thousand men, to support him in the execution of his office, he left *Alexandria*, in order to act in his new station. On his arrival at *Askelon*, the inhabitants of that city not only refused to pay him the king's duties, but



abused him with rude and opprobrious language. Whereupon having ordered his guards to apprehend the ringleaders of that tumult, he caused twenty of them to be immediately executed, and sent their forfeited estates, which amounted to a thousand talents, to the king. The same rigour he practised at *Scythopolis*, where he had met with the like opposition; which so terrified the rest of the cities, that they all opened their gates to him, and readily paid the king's dues: His prudent conduct, and the punctuality of his payments, gained him such favour at court, that he was continued in his office by *Ptolemy Euergetes*, *Ptolemy Philopator*, and *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, for the space of two and twenty years, that is, till *Antiochus the Great* making himself master of these provinces, annexed them to the crown of *Syria*, which happened in the first year of the reign of *Ptolemy Epiphanes*°. Most authors write, that he continued in this office to his death; but herein they plainly contradict *Josephus*, who tells us, that he died very old; nay, that he was of a great age when he sent his son *Hyrchanus* into *Egypt*, which happened some years before his death<sup>p</sup>; and on the other hand says, that he was a young man when he first entered upon this employment<sup>q</sup>. Now, if he was young at that time, he could not be old twenty-two years after; for allowing him to have been thirty when he was raised to that employment, two and twenty more would make him but fifty-two; at which age he could not be called an old man, and much less before it. After *Antiochus* had held the provinces of *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine* several years; he is said to have restored them again to *Epiphanes*, on his marrying his daughter *Cleopatra*. Perhaps *Joseph* was then restored to his office, and died in it, being at that time, as *Josephus* tells us, very old. This, if true, would clear up all the difficulties which some writers have started against the account *Josephus* gives us of this matter.

Ptolemy's  
conquests.

*Ptolemy*, having concluded a peace with *Seleucus* king of *Syria*, applied himself to the enlarging of his dominions southward, and was therein attended with great success; for he made himself master of all the coasts of the *Red-sea*, both on the *Arabian* and *Æthiopian* sides, down to the streights, through which that sea discharges itself into the southern ocean. The cities and provinces which he subdued in this glorious expedition were, according to *Leo Allatius* in his *monumentum Adulitanum*, *Agama*,

° JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 12. c. 3. & Græc. Euseb. Scalig. p. 50.

<sup>p</sup> Idem ibid. c. 4.      <sup>q</sup> Idem ibid.



*Sigfiene, Tiamus, Gambela, Maga, Zingabe, Angavis, Tiamma, Athagotis, Calea, Semena, Lazinezaa, Bega, Thancaitis, &c.* Most of these provinces bordered upon *Æthiopia*, and, as they were under no apprehension of an invasion, *Ptolemy*, without much loss or trouble, reduced them, and, having garisoned the fortified towns, returned to *Alexandria* with an immense booty, which he generously divided among the soldiers who had attended him in that expedition<sup>r</sup>. Upon his return, the *Cleomenic* war being kindled in *Greece*, the *Achæans* sent ambassadors to him, imploring his assistance against the *Ætolians* and *Lacedæmonians*, which he readily promised them; but they having, in the mean time, engaged *Antigonus* king of *Macedon* to support them, *Ptolemy* was so much offended at these proceedings, *Assists* that he sent powerful succours to *Cleomenes* king of *Sparta*, *Cleome-* hoping by that means to humble both the *Achæans* and their ne- king of new ally *Antigonus*; but he had the mortification to see *Cleomenes*, after he had gained very considerable advantages over *Sparta, a-* the enemy's united forces, intirely defeated in the famous *gainst An-* battle of *Selasia*, and obliged to take refuge in his dominions. *Antigonus* *Dolon and* *Phylarchus* writes, that, about ten days before this battle, there arrived in *Greece* ambassadors from *Ptolemy* to *Cleomenes*, acquainting him, that their master had no mind to send him any further supplies of money, and advising him, *in* his name, to come to a speedy agreement with *Antigonus* and the *Achæans*; and that thereupon *Cleomenes*, tho' encamped in a very advantageous post, challenged *Antigonus* to an engagement in the open field<sup>s</sup>. Be that as it will, *Ptolemy* received him with all possible demonstrations of kindness and esteem, allowed him a yearly pension of four and twenty talents, and assured him, that in due time he would use his utmost efforts to replace him on the throne. But *Ptolemy*, before he could *His death* fulfil his promise, died in the twenty-seventh year of his reign, *and cha-* and was succeeded by his son *Ptolemy Philopator*<sup>t</sup>. *Ptolemy* *racter.*

*Euergetes* was a no less generous encourager of learning than his father and grandfather had been; for he applied himself with the same care and attention to the enlarging of his library, and purchasing of books at an immense charge, invited with ample rewards to his court all those who were of any note for their learning, and took great pleasure in improving his own knowledge by their conversation; for he was himself, as *Athenæus* informs us<sup>u</sup>, well versed in all the

<sup>r</sup> LEO ALLAT. in monument. Adulitan. <sup>s</sup> Vide POLYB. l. 2. versus finem. <sup>t</sup> PLUT. in Cleom. POLYB. l. ii. p. 155.

<sup>u</sup> ATHEN. l. ii. c. 33.



branches of learning, having been brought up by the famous *Aristarchus*, and he even wrote in his youth historical commentaries, which were in great repute. He was the last of his race, in whom any virtue, humanity, or moderation appeared; those who succeeded him being destitute of all true virtue, and plunged in all manner of vice, as we shall see in the sequel of this history. We are told by *Tacitus*, that, in this king's reign a phoenix was seen at *Heliopolis* in *Egypt*, drawing after her great flocks of other birds, which were taken with her beauty <sup>w</sup>.

Ptolemy  
Philopator.

Year of  
the Flood,  
2782.  
Before  
Christ,  
217.



Puts his  
brother  
Magas  
to death.

*Ptolemy Philopator*, the son of *Ptolemy Euergetes* and *Berenice*, succeeded his father in the kingdom of *Egypt*, and proved a most debauched and wicked prince. *Justin* tells us, that he was ironically called *Philopator*, that is, *Lover of his father*, because he murdered him, in order the sooner to ascend the throne <sup>x</sup>. But upon what authority *Justin* affirms this, we know not; *Polybius*, who flourished soon after the reign of this prince, tells us, that *Ptolemy Euergetes* fell sick and died, without mentioning any violence used either by his son or others <sup>y</sup>. It is certain, that this *Ptolemy*, on several coins which have reached us, bears the title of *Philopator*; and who can believe, that, if it had been given him by antiphrasis, or a contrary meaning, as *Justin* will have it, he would have suffered it to be impressed on his coins, and transmitted to posterity? He was also surnamed *Tryphon*, from the effeminate life he led, and *Gallus*, because he used to walk about the streets on the *Bacchanal* solemnities, or feasts of *Bacchus*, with a crown of ivy on his head, after the manner of the *Galli*, or priests of the goddess *Cybele* <sup>z</sup>. In the very beginning of his reign, he caused his brother *Magas* to be murdered, being prompted thereto by *Sosibius* his prime minister, who represented *Magas* as a man of great interest in the army, who might one day raise troubles in the kingdom, and even, with the assistance of the foreign troops, who served in *Egypt*, and were intirely at his devotion, place the crown on his own head <sup>a</sup>. The death of *Magas* was soon followed by that of *Cleomenes* king of *Sparta*. That prince, being driven out of *Greece* by *Antigonus*, as we have related above, had fled to *Ptolemy Euergetes*, and had been kindly received by him. But *Philopator* treated him in a very different manner, especially after he had got rid of his brother *Magas*, who gave him no small umbrage. As *Cleomenes* was generally ef-

<sup>w</sup> TACIT. Annal. l. vi.

<sup>x</sup> JUSTIN. l. xxix. c. i.

<sup>y</sup> POLYB. l. ii. versus finem.

<sup>z</sup> PLUT. in Cleom. POLYB. l. v.

<sup>a</sup> TROG. in prolog. PLIN. l. vii.

<sup>y</sup> POLYB. l. v. p. 380—382.

terminated



teemed a man of great wisdom and sagacity, *Sofibius*, who was *Ptolemy*'s prime minister, employed him in the beginning of that prince's reign, and admitted him into his most secret counsels, even imparting to him his design of cutting off *Magas*, and asking his advice about it. *Cleomenes* did all that lay in his power to dissuade the king from such an attempt, telling him, that he had not in his court a more zealous person for his service, nor one who was more capable of assisting him with good advice in the well-governing of his kingdom. This quieted *Ptolemy* for some time, but his fears and jealousies being revived by the artful *Sofibius*, *Magas*, notwithstanding the advice of *Cleomenes*, was cut off; and the king, after his death, thinking himself secure, devoted all his time to pleasures and diversions, not suffering them to be interrupted by cares or application of any kind. His example was followed by the courtiers, who abandoned themselves to all manner of vice and licentiousness; so that, all business being neglected, the kingdom fell, as it were into a kind of anarchy. In the mean time *Cleomenes*, who led a very melancholy life at so vicious a court, received advice, that *Antigonus* king of *Macedon* was dead, that the *Achæans* were engaged in a war with the *Ætolians*, and that the *Lacedæmonians* had joined the latter against the *Achæans* and *Macedonians*. As he was not able to bear any longer the dissolute manners of the *Egyptians*, and all things seemed to recal him to his native country, he represented to the king the state of his affairs, and put him in mind of his former promises; for *Ptolemy* had promised, while he apprehended the power of his brother *Magas*, to send him back into *Greece* with a powerful fleet, and restore him to his kingdom. Finding that *Ptolemy* would not grant him his request, he desired him at least to give him and his followers leave to depart, since he could not hope for a more favourable conjuncture, than that which now offered, for the recovery of his kingdom. But *Ptolemy* was too much taken up with his pleasures to come to any resolution touching the request of *Cleomenes*. *Sofibius*, who governed the kingdom with an absolute sway, while the king was immersed in pleasures and debauches, having assembled his friends to deliberate on the request of *Cleomenes*, it was concluded in that council, that the king of *Sparta* should not only be denied the succours he demanded, but even leave to depart the kingdom. As *Antigonus* was dead, and *Cleomenes* had no rival in *Greece* who could withstand him, they were afraid, lest he should invade *Egypt*, after having recovered his own dominions; for he was thoroughly acquainted with the state of their affairs, and had the king and his ministers in the utmost contempt.

*His base  
treatment  
of Cleo-  
menes  
king of  
Sparta.*

On



On these considerations it was not thought proper to grant *Cleomenes* the assistance he desired, or even to permit him to leave *Egypt*. For, as he was a bold and enterprising prince, and had been refused the succours he demanded, they did not doubt, but he would one day or other, if allowed to return to his kingdom, revenge the affront which had been put upon him. *Sosibius* was even of opinion, that he should not be allowed his liberty in *Alexandria*; and accordingly by the king's orders he was seized, and kept under confinement, as we have related in the history of *Sparta*, till, in concert with his friends who used to visit him, he came to a resolution, which despair alone could suggest; this was to escape out of prison with all his domestics and friends, and to stir up the people of *Alexandria* to shake off the yoke they groaned under. But not succeeding in this attempt, he and his followers closed it by a tragical and bloody catastrophe, killing one another to avoid a more cruel and ignominious death <sup>b</sup>. For a more full account of the unhappy end of this great prince, we refer the reader to our history of *Sparta*. The king caused his body to be flead, and hung up upon a cross, sentencing at the same time to death his mother *Cratisticea*, his children, and all the women who attended them <sup>c</sup>.

*Antiochus* king of *Syria*, who was afterwards from his conquests surnamed *the great*, taking advantage of *Euergetes*'s death, and the succession of so voluptuous and profligate a prince, undertook the recovering of *Cœle-Syria*, *Palestine*, and *Judæa*, which had formerly belonged to *Seleucus Nicator* and some of his successors. But, as we have already given a distinct account of this war <sup>d</sup>, we shall only observe here, that *Ptolemy*, notwithstanding the advantages gained over *Antiochus*, being desirous of putting an end to a war which interrupted his voluptuous pleasures, concluded a peace with *Antiochus*, when he might with great ease have driven him quite out of *Syria*. The discontent which followed hereon, throughout the whole kingdom of *Egypt*, broke soon out into an open rebellion; and thus *Ptolemy*, by avoiding a war abroad, kindled one in his own dominions <sup>e</sup>. And indeed, that there was such a war, *Polybius* tells us in express terms <sup>f</sup>; but neither he, nor any other author, gives us an account of the event of it. All we know is, that *Ptolemy* continued to enjoy the same power and authority which he had before the civil war broke out; whence it is plain, that he mastered this

<sup>b</sup> PLUT. in Cleom. & POLYB. l. v.      <sup>c</sup> PLUT. ibid.      <sup>d</sup> Vide Vol. VIII. p. 484.      <sup>e</sup> JUSTIN. l. xxx. c. i.      <sup>f</sup> Hieronym. in Dan. c. ii.      <sup>f</sup> POLYB. l. v. p. 414.



difficulty, and got the better of the rebels. In whose favour the *Jews* declared, is no-where recorded ; but *Eusebius* tells us <sup>8</sup>, that about this time forty thousand of them were cut off and destroyed, very likely during these intestine broils ; for at this time they were very numerous in *Egypt*.

*Ptolemy*, being highly provoked against the *Jews* for their obstructing his entrance into the temple, as we have related in the history of *Syria*, began on his return to *Alexandria* to vent his rage upon such of the *Jewish* nation as lived in that metropolis. In the first place he published a decree, which he caused to be engraved on a pillar erected for that purpose at the gate of his palace, excluding all those who did not sacrifice to the gods he worshipped. By this means the *Jews* were debarred from suing to him for justice, or obtaining his protection, in what case soever they might stand in need of it. We have observed elsewhere, that the *Jews*, by the favour of *Alexander the Great* and *Ptolemy Soter*, enjoyed at *Alexandria* the same privileges as the *Macedonians*, and were enrolled among those of the first rank ; for the inhabitants of that great metropolis were divided into three ranks or classes ; in the first were the *Macedonians*, the original founders of the city ; in the second the mercenaries, who had served under *Alexander* ; and in the third the native *Egyptians*. Now *Ptolemy*, to be revenged on the *Jews*, ordered by another decree, that they should be degraded from the first rank, in which they had been from the founding of the city, and inrolled among the common people of *Egypt*, who were of the third rank ; by this decree they were stript at once of all the rights and privileges, which had prompted them to leave their native country, and settle in *Egypt*. But this was not the greatest grievance ; for in the same decree it was enacted, that all the *Jews* at an appointed time should appear before the proper officers, in order to be inrolled among the common people ; that at the time of their inrolment they should have the mark of an ivy leaf, the badge of *Bacchus*, impressed with a hot iron on their faces ; that all, who were thus marked, should be made slaves ; and finally, that if any one should stand out against this decree, he should be immediately put to death. But that he might not seem an enemy to the whole nation, he declared, that those who sacrificed to his gods should enjoy their former privileges, and remain in the same class. Notwithstanding this tempting offer, three hundred only, out of many thousands, of the *Jewish* race who lived in *Alexandria*, were prevailed upon to abandon

*Persecutes  
the Jews.*

<sup>8</sup> EUSEB. in Chron.



their religion in compliance with the king's will. The others chose rather to be stigmatized in the manner the king had ordered, or to redeem themselves from that ignominious mark by parting with all they had to the king's officers. Those who continued in the religion of their forefathers excluded their fallen brethren from all manner of communication with them, expressing thereby the abhorrence they had of their apostacy. This their enemies construed as done in opposition to the king's order, which so enraged *Ptolemy*, that he resolved to extirpate the whole nation, beginning with the *Jews* who lived in *Alexandria* and other parts of *Egypt*, and then proceeding with the same severity against the inhabitants of *Judæa* and *Jerusalem*. Pursuant to this resolution, he commanded all the *Jews*, who lived in any part of *Egypt*, to be brought in chains to *Alexandria*, and there to be shut up in the hippodrome, which was a very spacious place without the city, where the people used to assemble to see horse-races and other public shows. When news was brought him that all the *Jews*, who lived in *Egypt*, were, agreeable to his order, confined within the hippodrome, he sent for *Hermon*, master of the elephants, and ordered him to have five hundred of them ready against the next day to be let loose upon the prisoners in the hippodrome. But, when the elephants were prepared for the execution and the people assembled in great crowds to see it, they were all disappointed for that day by the king's absence. For, having been late up the night before with some of his drunken and debauched companions, he did not awake the next day, till the time for the show was over, and the spectators returned to their respective homes. He therefore ordered one of his servants to call him the day following betimes, that the people might not meet with a second disappointment. But when the person appointed awaked him, he was not yet returned to his senses, having a little before withdrawn exceeding drunk; and therefore not remembering the order he had given, flew into a violent passion, threatening the person, who spoke to him of it; which caused the show to be put off to the third day. In the mean time the *Jews*, who continued shut up in the hippodrome, ceased not to offer up prayers to the Almighty for their deliverance, which he accordingly granted them. For on the third day, when the king was present and the elephants brought forth and let loose upon the prisoners, those fierce animals, instead of falling upon the *Jews*, turned their rage upon the spectators and soldiers, who assisted at the execution, and destroyed great numbers of them; which, with other appearances seen in the air, so terrified the king, that he commanded the

*The Jews miraculously delivered.*

*Jews*



*Jews* to be immediately set at liberty, acknowledged the power of the God they worshipped, and, to appease his anger, restored his people to the full enjoyment of their former privileges, bestowing upon them besides many favours, and loading them with presents at their departure; for the king not only allowed them to return to their respective homes, but would himself bear the charges of their journey. The *Jews* seeing themselves thus restored to the king's favour, demanded and obtained leave of him to put all those of their own nation to death who had abandoned their religion; which permission they soon made use of without sparing a single man <sup>h</sup>. This miraculous deliverance is related at length in the third book of the *Maccabees*, which *Phlostorgius*, in the beginning of his ecclesiastical history, calls *the book of miracles*. *Josephus* gives us no account of this whole matter in his antiquities; but we find it mentioned in the *Latin* edition, which *Ruffinus* published; of his second book against *Apion*; as for the *Greek* original, it is there wanting. According to *Ruffinus's* version, this miraculous deliverance was effected in the reign of *Ptolemy Physcon*, many years after the time in which we have placed it agreeable to the history of the *Maccabees*; where this persecution, and the deliverance of the *Jews* is related at length, as happening in the reign of *Ptolemy Philopator*, immediately on his return from *Syria*, after the famous victory gained by him at *Raphia* over *Antiochus*, of which we have spoke elsewhere <sup>i</sup>.

ABOUT this time, the ninth year of *Philopator's* reign, *The Romans* sent *M. Atilius* and *M. Acilius* to *Alexandria*, <sup>mans send</sup> to renew their ancient friendship and alliance with *Egypt*; <sup>an embassy</sup> for they were then engaged in a war with *Carthage*. The <sup>to Philopator</sup> ambassadors carried as a present to the king a purple tunic and an ivory chair, and to the queen a purple robe finely embroidered with a scarf of the same colour. This queen <sup>Year of the Flood;</sup> is called by *Justin Eurydice*; by *Livy* in this place *Cleopatra* <sup>k</sup>; <sup>2791.</sup> and by *Polybius* <sup>Before</sup> <sup>Christ;</sup> <sup>208.</sup> <sup>W</sup> *Arfinoe*. Not long after this embassy, *Decius Magius*, an illustrious *Capuan*, greatly attached to the interest of *Rome*, being seized by *Hannibal*, and put on board a vessel in order to be conveyed to *Carthage*, was by a storm driven into the port of *Cyrene*, a city belonging to the king of *Egypt*, and there by *Philopator's* order was taken out of the hands of his enemies, conducted to *Alexandria*, and kindly received

<sup>h</sup> *MACCAB.* l. iii. c. 2, 3, 4, 5.<sup>i</sup> Vide Vol. VIII. p. 439.<sup>k</sup> *LIV.* l. xxvii.<sup>l</sup> *POLYB.* l. v.



by the king, who gave him leave to return either to *Capua* or *Rome* ; but he chose to continue in *Egypt*, where he lived under the protection of his deliverer <sup>m</sup>. *Ptolemy* willingly embraced this opportunity of obliging the *Romans* ; and, by protecting their friend, testified his gratitude for the presents they had sent to him and his queen.

*Arfinoe*  
brings him  
a son.

*Arfinoe*, who was both wife and sister to *Ptolemy*, after having been barren for several years, brought him at last a son, who was surnamed *Epiphanes* or *the illustrious*, and succeeded his father when but five years of age. His birth occasioned great rejoicings all over *Egypt*, and the neighbouring provinces subject to that crown. Most persons of distinction in *Syria* and *Phœnice* went up to *Alexandria* to congratulate the king on that occasion, and among the rest *Hyrchanus* the son of *Joseph*, the king's receiver general, of whose transactions at the court of *Egypt* we shall have occasion to speak in the history of the *Jews*. But, in the mean time, the king, pursuing his old course of life, gave himself up to riots, pleasures, and excesses of every kind. Drinking, gaming, and lasciviousness, were the whole employments of his life. *Sosibius*, an old and crafty minister, who had served under three kings, managed the affairs of state, in which by his long experience he was thoroughly versed, not indeed in the manner he desired, but as the favourites would permit him ; for he was subservient to the king and his worthless favourites in all their vilest designs. While things were thus managed, *Arfinoe* was little regarded by the king, his minister, and the other courtiers ; which she not being able to bear, spared neither her clamours nor complaints on all occasions, which much offending the king, and those who governed him, orders were given to *Sosibius* to rid them of her. The wicked minister complied with their request, employing for that purpose one *Philammon*, who had been used to such cruel and barbarous assassinations <sup>n</sup>. She had shewed on all occasions an extraordinary affection for her husband, accompanied him in his wars with *Antiochus* king of *Syria*, and not only encouraged his soldiers before the famous battle of *Raphia*, but continued by him the whole time of the engagement, exposing herself to the same dangers <sup>o</sup>. Upon her death the king fell in love with one *Agathoclea*, a woman of mean extraction, and was entirely go-

*He murders his  
wife  
Arfinoe.*

<sup>m</sup> LIV l. xxii. c. 10.      <sup>n</sup> POLYB. l. xv. p. 719. VALESII  
excerpt. p. 65. JUSTIN. l. xxx. c. 1.      <sup>o</sup> POLYB. ibid.



verned by her, by her brother *Agathacles*, who was subservient to his unnatural lust, and by their mother *Oenante*. These disposed of all the civil as well as military employments, which of course were filled with their creatures and favourites; insomuch, that the king himself, who was entirely in their hands, had no power at all, being only their tool and property<sup>p</sup>. The murder of *Arsinoe* and several other actions of the same nature provoked the people to such a degree against *Sofibius*, that they obliged the king to dismiss him from his service, and raise to the office of prime minister one *Tlepolemus*, a young man of quality, who had signalized himself in the army, and was at that time the king's treasurer. To him *Sofibius* resigned the king's seal, which was the badge of his office, and by virtue thereof *Tlepolemus* governed all the affairs of the kingdom so long as the king lived. But in that short time he sufficiently shewed, that he was no-ways equal to that charge, he having neither the experience, craft, nor application of his predecessor<sup>q</sup>.

*Obliged to dismiss his prime minister.*

*Ptolemy*, having by his continued debaucheries and intemperance wore out a very strong constitution, died in the flower of his age, as it often happens to those who indulge themselves, like him, without restraint in all manner of pleasures. He was about twenty when he came to the crown, and reigned only seventeen years. He was succeeded by his son *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, a child of five years old<sup>r</sup>. As the only persons present when the king expired were *Agathacles*, his sister, and their creatures, they concealed his death as long as they could, and, in the mean time, carried off all the money, jewels, and other valuable effects in the palace they could lay their hands on. At the same time they formed a project for maintaining the authority they had enjoyed under the deceased king, by usurping the regency during the minority of his successor. They vainly imagined, that they might carry this point, if they could but take off *Tlepolemus*, who had succeeded *Sofibius* in the ministry; and accordingly they concerted measures for putting him out of the way. When they thought proper to acquaint the public with the king's death, they summoned a general council of the *Mace-*

*The death of Ptolemy Philopator.*

<sup>p</sup> POLYB. l. xv. p. 720. VALERIUS excerpt p. 65. JUSTIN. l. xxx. c. 1. & 2. PLUT. in Erotico. & Cleom. ATHEN. l. vi. c. 6. & l. xiii c. 13. HIERONYM. in Daniel. c. 11. <sup>q</sup> VALERIUS excerpt. ex Polyb. l. xvi. <sup>r</sup> JUSTIN. l. xxv. c. 1. & 2. HIERONYM. in Daniel. c. 11.



*donians*, that is, of those *Alexandrians* who were of the *Macedonian* race. When they were met, *Agathocles* and *Agathoclea* appeared in the council; the former, holding the young king in his arms, and shedding abundance of tears, implored the protection of the *Macedonians*, telling them, that the late king, when at the point of death, had committed the young prince to the care of *Agathoclea*, and recommended him to the fidelity of his *Macedonian* subjects; and therefore he recurred, with great confidence, to them against *Tlepolemus*, who, as he was informed by unexceptionable witnesses, intended to seize the crown for himself. He imagined, that this weak artifice would have stirred up the *Macedonians* against *Tlepolemus*, on whose death he might have easily established himself in the regency. But, the malice of this contrivance being too glaring, the people, instead of falling upon *Tlepolemus*, vowed the utter ruin of him, his sister, and all their creatures. For, on this occasion, the memory of all their past crimes and misdemeanours being revived, the people of *Alexandria* rose in a general tumult against them; and having first taken from them the young king, and placed him on the throne in the hippodrome, they brought before him *Agathocles*, *Agathoclea*, and their mother *Oenanthé*, and caused them there, as by the king's order, to be put to death in his presence. Their dead bodies were dragged through all the streets of *Alexandria*, and tore in pieces by the incensed multitude. The other sisters, relations, and creatures of *Agathocles*, met with the same treatment, every one of them being cut off by the people, whom they had oppressed and abused.

*Philammon*, who had been employed to murder queen *Arsinæ*, being returned from *Cyrene* to *Alexandria* about three days before this tumult broke out, the women, who had attended on that unhappy princess, no sooner heard of his arrival, but, laying hold of the opportunity which the distractions of the city gave them, they resolved to revenge their mistress's death; and accordingly, breaking into his house, they killed him with stones and clubs, a death which he well deserved, for becoming the instrument of such a wicked and detestable murder<sup>c</sup>.

THE guardianship of the young king was, for the present, committed to *Sosibius*, the son of that *Sosibius* who had been

<sup>c</sup> POLYB. l. xv. p. 712, 713, 714. DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt Valefii, p. 294. & excerpt. Polybii, p. 56. PLUT. in Cicor.



prime minister during the three last reigns. Whether he was still living or no, is no-where said ; but it is certain, that he lived to a very great age, having, for the space of three score years been at the helm, and governed *Egypt*, we may say, with an absolute sway ; and for this reason he was surnamed *Polychronos*, or *the long liver*. He was as crafty and as wicked a minister as ever any prince employed in the administration of public affairs. He did not scruple to commit the blackest crimes, when they were any ways conducive to the ends he proposed. *Polybius* imputes to him the murder of *Lyfimachus* the son of *Ptolemy* ; of *Arsinoë* the daughter of *Lyfimachus* ; of *Magas* the king's brother ; of *Berenice* the king's mother ; of *Cleomenes* king of *Sparta* ; and lastly of queen *Arsinoë*<sup>1</sup>. It is surprizing that this old *Egyptian* politician, after having behaved with so much haughtiness and cruelty in his administration for such a number of years, should at last be suffered to retire unmolested, and end his days in peace. There are very few instances of this nature to be met with in history, most ministers, who acted on his principles, having fallen at last victims, either to the just resentment of the princes themselves, whom they pretended to serve, or of the people, whom they oppressed.

*Ptolemy Philopator* was, without all doubt, one of the most wicked and debauched princes that ever swayed a scepter ; for he began his reign with the murder of his mother *Berenice* and his brother *Magas*, and closed it with that of his sister and wife *Arsinoë*. He minded nothing from the time he ascended the throne to his death, but his pleasures and diversions, wallowing in all sorts of vices, and taking most pleasure in such as were most repugnant to nature. His favourites, catamites, and the many lewd women, with whom he spent his whole time, governed both him and the kingdom, disposing of all the employments civil and military to persons of their own stamp, and consequently no ways equal to them. However, he was not without some virtues ; witness his liberality towards the *Rhodians*, after the famous earthquake, which threw down their colossus, their arsenal, and great part of their walls, to the repairing of which he contributed more generously than any prince of his age ; for, upon the first application made to him in their behalf, he sent them three hundred talents of silver, a million of artabes or bushels of wheat, materials for building of twenty quinqueremes and the like number of triremes, three thousand talents for the rebuilding

*Character  
of Ptole-  
my Philo-  
pator.*

<sup>1</sup> VALENTI excerpt. ibid. PLUT. in Cleom. POLYB. ibid.



of the colossus, an hundred architects, and three hundred and fifty artificers, promising to pay annually fourteen talents for their subsistence so long as the *Rhodians* wanted them. Besides, he gave them ten thousand artabes of corn for their sacrifices, and twenty thousand for the service of their fleet<sup>u</sup>. *Athenæus* tells us, that he was an encourager of learning, and, when sober, took pleasure in conversing with one *Se-phærus* an eminent philosopher. The same author adds, that he built a magnificent temple in honour of *Homer*, placing in it the statue of that great poet, and round his statue the figures of the several cities that claimed him<sup>w</sup>. *Ptolemy*, the son of *Agessarchus*, a native of *Megalopolis*, wrote the history of this prince's reign<sup>x</sup>; which, had it reached our times, would enable us to give a more particular and distinct account of his actions.

Ptolemy  
Epipha-  
nes

Year of  
the  
Flood,  
2799.  
Before  
Christ,  
200.



Embassy of  
the Ro-  
mans to  
Ptolemy.

HE was succeeded, as we have related above, by his son *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, a child of five years old. During his minority *Antiochus the Great*, king of *Syria*, entering into an alliance with *Philip* of *Macedon*, made himself master of *Pa-lestine* and *Cœle-Syria*; but was soon dispossessed of them again by *Aristomenes*, the prime minister of *Egypt*, as we have related in the history of *Syria*<sup>y</sup>; where the reader will find a particular account of the troubles which disturbed the beginning of his reign, and were occasioned partly by the ambition of *Antiochus*, and partly by the treachery of *Scopas* the *Ætolian*, who was commander in chief of *Ptolemy's* forces. In the third year of his reign the *Romans*, as *Justin*<sup>z</sup> and *Li-*

<sup>y</sup> inform us, sent three deputies to him, viz. *Caius Clau-*  
*dius Nero*, *Marcus Æmilius Lepidus*, and *Publius Sempronius*  
*Tuditanus*, to notify to the court of *Egypt* the victory which  
they had gained over *Hannibal*, and the treaty of peace con-  
cluded between *Rome* and *Carthage*; to thank him for his  
inviolable attachment to the republic, at a time when the  
neighbouring nations had in a cowardly manner deserted her;  
and lastly, to exhort him always to continue this good un-  
derstanding with the *Romans*, in case *Philip* should oblige  
them to carry the war into *Macedon*. The *Egyptian* lords,  
who were guardians to the young king, encouraged by this  
embassy, thought they could not better secure the life of  
their prince, than by putting him and his kingdom under the

<sup>u</sup> POLYB. l. v.  
hist. l. xiii. c. 2.  
viii. p. 485, & seq.  
xxxi. c. 4.

<sup>w</sup> ATHEN. l. v. p. 204.  
<sup>x</sup> ATHENÆUS, l. x. p. 426.

<sup>z</sup> JUSTIN. l. xxx. c. 1.

ÆLIAN var.  
<sup>y</sup> Vol.  
<sup>z</sup> LIV. l.



protection of the *Roman* senate; which they did accordingly, sending a solemn embassy to *Rome* for that purpose. The senate complied with their request, and sent *M. Lepidus* to take upon him the guardianship, which he, after a short stay in *Egypt*, conferred upon *Aristomenes*, by birth an *Acarnanian*, but an experienced minister of that court, and thoroughly acquainted with the affairs of *Egypt*. He undertook the charge, and acquitted himself in it with great prudence and fidelity <sup>b</sup>. In the beginning of his administration, being informed of the ravages *Philip* had committed in *Attica*, and of the motion of the *Macedonian* troops to lay siege to *Athens*, he advised his royal pupil to send an embassy to the senate, acquainting them, that he was ready to deliver *Athens* from the danger that threatened her, provided it were agreeable to the *Romans*. This act of submission from so powerful a king was highly acceptable to the senate, who returned thanks to *Ptolemy* for the respect he had shewn them, and gave the ambassadors the following answer; that *Rome* was resolved to assist the *Greeks* against *Philip*, that she would give *Ptolemy* notice when she wanted his assistance, and was fully convinced of their master's fidelity and affection <sup>c</sup>. *Aristomenes* in like manner took care to renew the antient alliance between the crown of *Egypt* and the republic of *Achaia*, on which occasion *Lycortas*, the father of *Polybius* the historian, and two others, were sent by the *Achaean* confederacy into *Egypt* to sign the treaty <sup>d</sup>.

In the mean time the king, having attained to the fourteenth year of his age, his enthronization, called by the *Alexandrians* *Anaclateria*, was celebrated with great pomp and magnificence; and the administration of affairs put into his hands; for at that age the kings of *Egypt* were, according to the custom of the country, declared to be out of their minority. So long as *Aristomenes* was at the helm, matters were managed in such manner as gained the king an universal applause and approbation; for he followed in all things the advice of that prudent and experienced minister. But as soon as he became his own master, the flattery of his worthless courtiers prevailing over the wise counsels of so able and faithful a servant, the kingdom suffered great calamities, and the remaining part of his reign was rendered infamous. *Aristomenes* did not cease to give him good advice, and intreat him to conduct himself in a manner more worthy of his exalted station; but the young prince, plunging himself into all the vices which

*Offers the Romans assistance against Philip.*

*Puts Aristomenes to death.*

<sup>b</sup> JUSTIN. & LIV. *ibid.* POLYB. l. xv. p 717. ubi supra.

<sup>d</sup> POLYB. *legat.* 37.

<sup>c</sup> LIV.



*His subjects revolt.*

had rendered his father's name and reign so odious, instead of hearkening to his wholesome admonitions, ordered him to be put to death for the liberty he had taken. Having thus got rid of so troublesome a censor, he abandoned himself to excesses and disorders of all kinds, following no other guides, in the administration of affairs, but his wild passions, and exercising a most cruel tyranny over his subjects<sup>c</sup>. The Egyptians, not being able to bear the grievances they suffered under his arbitrary administration, began to cabal against him; and, being headed by many persons of the first quality, entered into a conspiracy with a design to depose him, which they were very near putting in execution<sup>d</sup>. To extricate himself out of these difficulties, he appointed *Polycrates* his prime minister, who was a man of great abilities and experience in affairs both of peace and war; for he had commanded in quality of general under his father in the famous battle of *Raphia*, and, on that occasion, greatly contributed to the signal victory which was there gained. He had been afterwards made governor of *Cyprus*, and, happening to come from thence to *Alexandria*, when the conspiracy of *Scopas*<sup>e</sup> broke out, he had a great share in the suppressing of it<sup>h</sup>. By his means *Ptolemy* having got the better of the rebels, obliged their leaders, who were the chief lords of the country, to capitulate, and submit upon certain conditions. But, having got them into his power, he forfeited his promise; and, after treating them in the most cruel manner, caused them all to be put to death. This treacherous conduct involved him in new difficulties, from which he was again delivered by the wisdom of his faithful minister *Polycrates*<sup>i</sup>.

*Cultivates the friendship of the Romans.*

He maintained, during the whole time of his reign, a strict friendship with the *Romans*. For *Livy* tells us<sup>k</sup>, that he offered the *Romans* a thousand pounds weight of gold, and twenty thousand of silver, to carry on the war against *Antiochus* king of *Syria*, whose daughter *Cleopatra* he had married; nay, after *Antiochus* was by the arms of the republic driven out of *Europe*, he sent an embassy to *Rome* to congratulate the senate on the deliverance of *Greece* and the flight of *Antiochus*, and to offer them, in his name and in that of his queen *Cleopatra*, what ships, money, or provisions they wanted to pursue the war with the king of *Syria*<sup>l</sup>. *Ptolemy* hated *Antiochus* on ac-

<sup>c</sup> DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt. 294. POLYBIUS, I. xvii. p. 73. <sup>d</sup> DIODOR. SICUL. ibid. <sup>e</sup> Vol. viii. p. 506. <sup>h</sup> POLYB. in excerpt. Valesii, p. 113. <sup>i</sup> POLYB. ibid. <sup>k</sup> LIV. l. xxxvi. c. 3. <sup>l</sup> POLYB. legat. 17.



count of the disturbances he had raised and fomented in his kingdom, and *Cleopatra* in all likelihood was shocked at his treachery and cruelty; for he is said to have married her to *Ptolemy* with no other view but to get rid of him by her means, and have *Egypt* delivered into his hands. But the virtuous young queen, inviolably attached to her duty, joined with *Ptolemy* against *Antiochus*, and preferred conjugal affection to the ties of blood <sup>m</sup>.

*Ptolemy* in like manner cultivated with great care the friendship of the *Achæan* republic; for in the end of his reign he sent embassadors to them, inviting the confederacy to join with him in an offensive and defensive league, and promising them six thousand shields, two hundred talents of brass, and ten ships of fifty oars rigged and equipt. His offer was accepted, and embassadors were appointed, viz. *Lycortas* with his son *Polybius* and young *Aratus*, to renew the alliance, and bring the ten ships into *Peloponnesus* <sup>n</sup>. But while they were preparing to set out, news was brought of the death of *Ptolemy*. And of the Achæans.

THIS prince, having reduced his rebellious subjects at home, as has been already related, was preparing to make war abroad upon *Seleucus* king of *Syria*. But, as his finances were exhausted, one of his chief officers asked him, by what means he would raise money to carry on the war which he was ready to imbarque in. The king replied, that *his friends were his treasure*; which answer being spread abroad among his officers and the chief men about him, they inferred from thence, that he designed to pursue the war with their fortunes and estates. To prevent therefore this evil, which made a stronger impression upon them than any misfortune which could befall their country, they caused poison to be given to the king, which put an end to his project and life, in the twenty fourth year of his reign and twenty ninth of his age <sup>o</sup>. *Cato*, as quoted by *Priscian* the grammarian, commends him as an excellent and bountiful prince; and such he was, so long as he followed the counsels of *Aristomenes*; but after he had caused him to be poisoned, he abandoned himself to all manner of wickedness and debauchery. He left two sons, both under age, viz. *Ptolemy Philometor* and *Ptolemy Physcon*, and one daughter by name *Cleopatra*. *Ptolemy Philometor*, who was but six years old, succeeded his father under the guardianship of his mother *Cleopatra*, who for the Is poisoned.

<sup>m</sup> HIERONYM in Dan. c. 11.

<sup>n</sup> POLYB. legat. 57.

<sup>o</sup> HIERONYM. ubi supra.

*Ptolemy Philometor.*  
Year of the Flood,  
2823.  
Before  
Christ,  
176.



space of eight years governed the kingdom of *Egypt* with great prudence and moderation. Upon her death the regency fell to *Lennæus*, a nobleman of great distinction in that country, and to *Eulæus* an eunuch, who was charged with the care of the young king's education. These no sooner entered on the administration, but they demanded *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine* of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, who at that time reigned in *Syria*. These provinces had always been in the possession of the kings of *Egypt* from the time of *Ptolemy* the first, till *Antiochus the Great* wrested them out of the hands of *Ptolemy Epiphanes*; and by this title alone *Antiochus Epiphanes* now held them. However, this demand occasioned a war between the two crowns, the particulars whereof we have related elsewhere at length<sup>p</sup>, and therefore shall not repeat in this place. *Philometor* having in the course of this war, either of his own accord delivered himself up to *Antiochus*, or, as others will have it, been taken prisoner by that prince, the *Alexandrians*, looking upon him as lost, raised his younger brother to the throne, who from that time took the name of *Ptolemy Euergetes* the second, which was afterwards changed into that of *Physcon*, or *the great bellied*, by reason of the prominent belly which by his luxury and gluttony he acquired. On his ascending the throne *Cineas* and *Cumanus* were appointed to serve him in quality of prime ministers, and charged with the care of restoring the kingdom to its former splendor, and flourishing condition<sup>q</sup>. But *Antiochus Epiphanes*, returning soon after into *Egypt*, drove *Physcon* from the throne, and restored the whole kingdom, except the city of *Pelusium*, to *Philometor*. His design was to kindle a war between the two brothers, and seize the kingdom for himself, after they had wasted their strength by their domestic feuds. With this view he retained *Pelusium*, that having this city, which was the key of *Egypt*, in his hands, he might re-enter that country at his pleasure. But *Philometor*, being well apprised of his design, invited his brother *Physcon* to an accommodation, which was happily effected by the mediation of *Cleopatra* their sister. In virtue of this agreement both brothers were to reign jointly, and oppose, to the utmost of their power, *Antiochus* as a declared and common enemy<sup>r</sup>. Hereupon *Antiochus* invaded *Egypt* at the head of a mighty army; but

War between him and the king of Syria.

His brother *Physcon* raised to the crown.

The two brothers reign jointly.

<sup>p</sup> Vide Vol. viii p. 561, & seq. <sup>q</sup> PORPHYR. in Græc. EUSEB. Scalig. p. 60—68. POLYB. legat. 81. p. 907. <sup>r</sup> Liv. l. xlv. c. 11. JUSTIN. l. xxxiv. c. 2. PORPHYR. ibid. p. 60 EUSEB. in Chron. p. 68.



was obliged by the *Romans* to leave that country in the manner we have related in the history of *Syria* <sup>c</sup>.

THE two brothers, being by the retreat of *Antiochus* freed from all apprehension of a foreign enemy, began to quarrel with each other ; and the divisions between them rose to such a height, that the *Roman* senate wrote to their ambassadors *Gneius Octavius*, *Spurius Lucretius*, and *Lucius Aurelius*, whom they had sent a little before into *Syria*, injoining them to proceed from thence to *Alexandria*, and use their utmost endeavours to reconcile the two kings. But before the ambassadors reached *Egypt*, *Physcon* the younger brother had driven *Philometor* from the throne, and obliged him to quit the kingdom <sup>d</sup>. Whereupon embarquing for *Italy*, he landed at *Brundisium* ; from whence he travelled to *Rome* on foot, meanly dressed and with very few attendants. This humble appearance he affected, in all likelihood, to raise the compassion of the senate. *Demetrius*, the son of *Seleucus Philopator*, late king of *Syria*, who was then an hostage at *Rome*, having had notice of the arrival of *Ptolemy* in *Italy*, and of the deplorable condition in which this unfortunate prince was going to appear in the metropolis of the world, caused an equipage to be prepared for him suitable to his dignity, and went out with it himself to meet him, that he might appear at *Rome* as a king. He found him at twenty six miles distance from *Rome*, on foot, and covered with dust, embraced him, put a crown on his head, and begged he would make use of the royal equipage which he had brought for that purpose. *Ptolemy* expressed his gratitude for the honour and respect the *Syrian* had shewn him ; but had his reasons for not accepting the offers of the prince. Nay, he would not even permit him to accompany him the rest of the way ; but entered *Rome* on foot, with the same mean attendance, and in the same dress with which he first set out on his journey, and without any state or ceremony took up his lodging in the private house of a painter of *Alexandria*, his subject. The senate was no sooner informed of his arrival, but they sent for him, and excused themselves for not having received him with those ceremonies which were usual on such an occasion, assuring him, that it was not from any neglect or want of respect for his person, but merely because his coming had been kept so private, that they had no notice of it till after his arrival. After this having desired him to quit the habit in which he came, and to fix a day for an audience of the senate, in order to lay before them the motives of his journey, he was con-

<sup>c</sup> Vide Vol. viii. p. 570.

<sup>d</sup> PORPHYR. ubi supra.



ducted by some of the senators to lodgings suitable to his royal dignity ; and the quæstor was ordered to supply him, at the expence of the public, with all things necessary during his stay at *Rome* <sup>u</sup>.

*The differences of the two Brothers composed by the Romans.*

ON the day appointed for his having an audience of the senate, he represented to the conscript fathers the injustice of his brother, and the wrong done him so effectually, that they immediately decreed his restoration ; and deputed two of their body, viz. *Quintius* and *Canulcius*, to attend him to *Alexandria*, and cause their decree to be put in execution. They reconducted him accordingly, and on their arrival in *Egypt* succeeded in negotiating an accommodation between the two brothers ; in virtue of which *Physcon* was put in possession of *Libya* and *Cyrene*, and *Philometor* of all *Egypt* and the island of *Cyprus*, each of them being declared independent of the other in the dominions allotted them <sup>w</sup>. The treaty of agreement was confirmed with the customary oaths and sacrifices. But oaths had been long among the generality of princes no more than mere ceremonies, by which they did not think themselves bound in the least. For not long after the youngest of the two kings, being dissatisfied with the part allotted him, sent ambassadors to *Rome*, desiring that, besides *Libya* and *Cyrene*, the island of *Cyprus* might be assigned him. As he could not obtain this of the conscript fathers by means of his ambassadors, he went to *Rome* in person to solicit the senate for it. But *Menithyllus* of *Alabanda*, whom *Philometor* had sent to plead his cause, maintained it with great zeal and ability. He represented to the senate, that *Physcon* had had a much greater share than he could in reason have expected. “ His brother, said he, has  
“ given him *Cyrenaica* ; and will not this rich maritime  
“ country satisfy the desires of a younger brother ? Nay,  
“ *Philometor* has done more for *Physcon* ; he has saved his  
“ life. For after the death of *Cleopatra*, *Physcon*, being  
“ suspected of parricide, would not have escaped the fury  
“ of the incensed multitude, had he not been protected by  
“ the king his brother. Besides, an accommodation was  
“ made, conscript fathers, by your ambassadors between the  
“ two competitors : it was agreed, that *Philometor* should  
“ reign in *Egypt* and in the island of *Cyprus*, and that *Libya*  
“ and *Cyrene* should be given to *Physcon* with the title of

*New disputes between them.*

<sup>u</sup> DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt. Valcxi, p. 322. VAL. MAX. l. v. c. i. POLYB. legat. 113. p. 941. <sup>w</sup> POLYB. ibid. p. 943. Epitom. LIV. l. xlv. ZONARAS, l. ii.

“ king.





“ king. This treaty was signed and ratified at the altars,  
 “ each party binding themselves by the most solemn oaths  
 “ to the observance of it. But the ambition of *Phyſcon*  
 “ knows no bounds; he pays no regard to his oath, and  
 “ even despises your decrees.” The embassadors, whom  
*Rome* had sent to negotiate the accommodation between the  
 two brothers, being present in the senate, confirmed the  
 truth of all *Menithyllus* had advanced. *Phyſcon* had no-  
 thing to answer, but that he was forced by the necessity of  
 his affairs at that time to consent to the proposal of an ambi-  
 tious brother, though greatly to his prejudice. “ It is cer-  
 “ tain, said he, that I was injured in the division of my fa-  
 “ ther’s dominions; and therefore, conscript fathers, I have  
 “ recourse to your equity. That with me shall supply the  
 “ place of gods and oaths. I still abate of what is due to  
 “ me in justice. All I desire is the island of *Cyprus*, which,  
 “ though granted, will not put me upon the level with my  
 “ brother. *Egypt* is a large kingdom, and if *Philometor*  
 “ reigns alone there, and in the island of *Cyprus* too, his  
 “ power will become very formidable\*.

NOTHING could be more equitable than the decisions of *The Ro-*  
*the senate*, when their own interest did not interfere and mans ad-  
 help to turn the balance. But, as it was for the advantage judge the  
 of the republic that the strength of the kingdom of *Egypt* island of  
 should be divided, and consequently lessened, those refined *Cyprus to*  
 politicians, without any regard to equity or justice, granted *Phyſcon*.  
 the younger brother what he demanded. *Polybius* observes  
 here, that the *Romans* were ever careful to improve to their  
 own advantage the quarrels and disputes which arose among  
 kings and princes, conducting themselves therein in such  
 manner, as to make the contending parties believe that they  
 favoured them, while they promoted their own interest,  
 which they had solely in view in all their resolutions<sup>y</sup>. This  
 alone prompted them to favour *Phyſcon*, and adjudge to him  
 the island of *Cyprus*, as an addition to his share, contrary to  
 the treaty of division concluded a little before by their own  
 embassadors. *Demetrius*, who was then at *Rome*, and whose  
 interest it was that *Cyprus* should not continue subject to so  
 powerful a prince as the king of *Egypt*, supported the de-  
 mand of *Phyſcon* with all his credit. Two commissioners  
 were therefore sent with the king of *Cyrene*, viz. *T. Torqua-*  
*tus*, and *Cn. Merula*, to put him in possession of *Cyprus*.  
 Their orders were to use gentle methods, and endeavour by

\* POLYN legat. 113. p. 941, & legat. 117. p. 950.  
 ibid.

<sup>y</sup> Idem



fair means to prevail upon *Philometor* to give up *Cyprus* to his brother.

WHILE *Phyſcon* was at *Rome* on this occasion, he had often the opportunity of ſeeing *Cornelia*, the mother of the *Gracchi*, who was the pattern of her ſex and the prodigy of her age. The *Egyptian*, being taken, not ſo much with her charms, as with her virtue, ſuperior underſtanding, and extraordinary qualifications, cauſed propoſals of marriage to be made to her. But ſhe, being the daughter of *Scipio Africanus*, and the widow of *Tiberius Gracchus*, who had been twice conſul and once cenſor, deſpiſed the offer, thinking it more honourable to be one of the firſt matrons of *Rome*, than to reign with *Phyſcon* in *Libya* and *Cyrene* <sup>2</sup>.

*Phyſcon* ſet out from *Rome* with the two embaſſadors, and arriving in *Greece* on his way to *Cyprus*, he there raiſed a great number of mercenaries, with a deſign to ſail forthwith to *Cyprus* and poſſeſs himſelf by force of that iſland. But the embaſſadors having acquainted him that they were enjoined by the ſenate to uſe gentle methods, and procure him the poſſeſſion of the iſland by way of treaty with his brother, and not by dint of arms, at their requeſt he diſmiſſed his forces, and with *Merula* returned to *Libya*, while *Torquatus* purſued his journey to *Alexandria*. The deſign of the embaſſadors was to bring the two brothers to an interview on the frontiers of their dominions, and there to ſettle matters between them in an amicable manner, agreeable to the inſtructions of the ſenate. But *Torquatus*, on his arrival at the court of *Alexandria*, found *Philometor* no ways inclined to comply with the decree of the ſenate. He urged the late agreement made between him and his brother, by *Quintius* and *Canuleius* the former embaſſadors; in virtue of which *Cyprus* having been allotted to him, he thought it very ſtrange, that it ſhould, contrary to the articles of that treaty, be now taken from him and given to his brother. However, he did not abſolutely reſuſe to yield to the orders of the ſenate, but ſhewing himſelf inclined to grant ſome things, and objecting againſt others, he ſpun out the time without coming to any determination <sup>3</sup>. In the mean time *Phyſcon*, who waited at *Apis* in *Libya*, as had been agreed on, to hear the reſult of *Torquatus*'s negotiations, receiving no intelligence from him, ſent *Merula* alſo to *Alexandria*, hoping that both the embaſſadors might prevail upon *Ptolemy* to comply with the expreſs orders of their republic. But *Philometor* ſtill

<sup>2</sup> Plut. in Tiber. Gracch.

<sup>3</sup> POLYB. legat. 113. p. 942.

observed



observed the same conduct, treating the ambassadors with great kindness, flattering them with fair words, and entertaining them at a great charge for forty days together, without ever giving them any positive answer. At length, when he found that they would be put off no longer, he plainly declared that he was resolved to stand to the first treaty, and would hearken to no other <sup>b</sup>. With this answer *Merula* returned to *Physcon*, and *Torquatus* to *Rome*.

*Philometor refuses to submit to the decree of the senate.*

In the mean time the *Cyreneans* being informed of the ill conduct of *Physcon* during his short reign at *Alexandria*, conceived so strong an aversion against him, that they resolved to keep him out of their country by force of arms. It was not doubted, but *Philometor* fomented under-hand these disturbances in order to find his brother employment at home, and thereby divert him from raising new commotions in *Egypt* or *Cyprus*. *Physcon*, being informed of these troubles, and at the same time receiving intelligence that the *Cyreneans* were already in the field, laid aside all thoughts of *Cyprus*, and leaving *Apis* where his fleet lay in harbour, he hastened to *Cyrene* with all his forces, but was on his arrival overthrown by the rebels. Hereupon being involved in great difficulties, he resolved to send two ambassadors to *Rome*, there to renew his complaints against his brother, not daring to go thither in person, till such time as the troubles raised at *Cyrene* were appeased. The ambassadors, setting out with *Torquatus* and *Merula*, arrived safe at *Rome*, where, after a long debate between them and *Menithyllus*, whom *Philometor* had sent back to *Rome*, on this occasion, the senate not only declared in favour of *Physcon*, but to express their resentment against *Philometor* for not submitting to their decree, renounced all friendship and alliance with him, and ordered his ambassadors to leave the city in five days. Two ambassadors were immediately dispatched to *Cyrene*, to acquaint *Physcon* with the resolution of the *Roman* senate.

*The Cyreneans rise up in arms against Physcon.*

*Physcon*, having at last got the better of his rebellious subjects, established himself in *Cyrene*; but his wicked and vicious conduct soon estranged the minds of the *Cyreneans* from their new king to such a degree, that some of them entering into a conspiracy against him, fell upon him one night as he was returning to his palace, wounded him in several places, and left him for dead on the spot. This he laid to the

*A conspiracy formed against him.*

<sup>b</sup> POLYB. legat. 116 p 950.

<sup>c</sup> POLYB. legat. 116, 117. p.

950.



charge of his brother *Philometor*, and as soon as he was recovered returned to *Rome* to make his complaints to the senate, and shew them the scars of his wounds, accusing him of having employed the assassins, from whom he had received them <sup>d</sup>. Though *Philometor* was known to be a prince of a most mild and humane disposition, and of all men living the most unlikely to have given countenance to so black an attempt, yet the senate, being offended at his refusing to submit to the regulations they had made with respect to the island of *Cyprus*, hearkened to this false accusation, and carried their prejudice against him to such a height, that they would not so much as hear what his ambassadors had to say in confutation of the charge, but ordered them forthwith to depart the city. At the same time they appointed five commissioners to conduct *Physcon* into *Cyprus*, and put him in possession of that island, injoining all their allies in those parts to furnish him with forces for that purpose <sup>e</sup>.

*Physcon*  
defeated,  
and taken  
prisoner by  
his brother  
*Philometor*, who  
generously  
pardons  
him.

*Physcon*, having by this means got together an army, which seemed to him sufficient for the execution of his design, landed in *Cyprus*; but being there encountered by *Philometor* in person, his forces were put to flight, and he obliged to shut himself up in *Lapitho*, a city in that island, where he was closely besieged, and at length taken and delivered up to *Philometor*, whom he had so highly provoked. Every one expected he would have treated him with the severity he well deserved; but the prince gave on this occasion a signal proof of his good nature and truly generous temper; for he not only forgave him, but restored to him *Libya* and *Cyrene*, adding some other territories in lieu of the island of *Cyprus*, and promising him his daughter in marriage <sup>f</sup>. Thus an end was put to the war between the two brothers, the *Romans* being ashamed to oppose any longer a prince, whose clemency had gained him the affection of all the neighbouring nations.

*Philometor* on his return to *Alexandria* appointed one *Archias* governor of the island of *Cyprus*. But he soon after the king's departure agreed with *Demetrius* king of *Syria* to betray the island to him for five hundred talents. The treachery was discovered, before it took effect, and the traitor, to avoid the punishment which he deserved, laid violent hands on himself. *Archias* had formerly served *Ptole-*

<sup>d</sup> Idem legat. 132. p. 961.      <sup>e</sup> POLYN. legat. 133. & in excerpt. Valesii. p. 197.      <sup>f</sup> POLYN in excerpt Valesii, p. 197. DIODOR. SICUL in excerpt. Val. p. 334, 335. LIV. l. xivii. ZONAR. ex Dion.



my with great fidelity, and even attended him to *Rome*, when he was driven out of his kingdom, and forced to implore the assistance of the senate in his distress. But as he was of a covetous temper, his fidelity was not proof against money; and therefore offered to betray his trust for the above-mentioned sum, and lost his life by the bargain <sup>s</sup>. *Ptolemy*, being disgusted with *Demetrius* for this attempt upon *Cyprus*, joined *Attalus* king of *Pergamus* and *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*, in setting up a pretender to his crown, and supporting him with all the strength of his kingdom; as we have related at length in the history of *Syria* <sup>h</sup>. This was *Alexander Balas*, to whom he even gave his daughter *Cleopatra* in marriage, after he had placed him on the throne of *Syria*. But he, notwithstanding these and many other favours, being suspected of having entered into a plot against his benefactor, *Ptolemy*, highly provoked at his ingratitude, became his greatest enemy, and marching against him routed his army in the neighbourhood of *Antioch*, but died a few days after of the wounds he received in the engagement; as we have related elsewhere <sup>i</sup>. He was, without all doubt, an excellent prince, and is by all the profane historians highly commended on account of his clemency and good nature. *Polybius*, who was his contemporary, gives him this character; he was, says that historian, an enemy to all kind of cruelty and oppression, averse from spilling the blood of his subjects, and so much inclined to mercy; that during the whole time of his long reign he put none of his nobles, nor even of the citizens of *Alexandria*, to death, though some of them well deserved it. Though his brother, continues the same writer, had provoked him to the highest degree, and committed such crimes as to others would have seemed unpardonable, yet he not only forgave him, but treated him with the affection of a kind brother <sup>k</sup>. 'Tis true, that in the beginning of his reign he was looked upon, as *Justin* informs us <sup>l</sup>, as a very mean-spirited prince, keeping, while in the army, at as great a distance from all danger as he was able, and afterwards submitting in a shameful manner to the will of *Antiochus Epiphanes* king of *Syria*, by whom he suffered himself to be deprived of a rich and powerful kingdom without attempting to recover it. But this mean behaviour was not owing to his want of natural courage or capacity, for he after-

*Death of  
Philometor.*

*His character.*

<sup>s</sup> POLYB. in excerpt. Val. p. 170.

<sup>h</sup> Vide Vol viii. p. 598.

<sup>i</sup> Vide Vol. viii. p. 608.

<sup>k</sup> POLYB. in excerpt. Val. p. 191.

<sup>l</sup> JUSTIN. l. xxxiv. c. 2.



wards gave many instances of both, as we have seen ; but to his effeminate education. For the eunuch *Eulæus*, who had the care of his education, and was at the same time one of his prime ministers, endeavoured to corrupt him with all manner of luxury, in order to render him unfit for governing, and by that means keep the power in his own hands. He took the name of *Philometor* to testify his gratitude to his mother *Cleopatra*, for her prudent and careful administration during his minority. He allowed the *Jews* to build a temple in *Egypt* like that of *Jerusalem*, being induced thereunto by *Onias*, who was in high favour both with him and his queen *Cleopatra* <sup>m</sup>. *Aristobulus* an *Alexandrian Jew*, and a *Peripatetic* philosopher of great note, is said to have been *Ptolemy's* preceptor, and to have dedicated to him a comment, which he wrote on the five books of *Moses* <sup>n</sup>. The author of the history of the *Maccabees*, in his account of the troubles of *Syria*, represents *Ptolemy* as an ambitious and perfidious prince, trampling under his feet the most sacred laws of justice and nature, to raise himself on the ruins of his son-in-law *Alexander Balas* ; which no-ways agrees with the character given him by *Josephus*, *Polybius*, and other profane historians <sup>o</sup>.

Ptolemy  
Phyſcon.  
Year of  
the Flood,  
2858.  
Before  
Chriſt,  
141.



Maries  
Cleopa-  
tra, and  
on the day  
of the nup-  
tials mur-  
ders her  
ſon.

*Cleopatra*, queen of *Egypt*, on the death of *Philometor* her brother and husband, endeavoured to secure the crown for the son she had by him, being therein supported by some chief lords of the kingdom ; but others, declaring for *Phyſcon* the deceased king's brother, sent ambassadors to invite him from *Cyrene*, where he then reigned, to *Alexandria*. This obliging *Cleopatra* to provide for her defence, she had recourse to *Onias* and *Dositheus*, two *Jews*, who had had the whole management of affairs during the last years of *Philometor's* reign. These with an army of their countrymen hastened to her assistance. But before hostilities were committed on either side, matters were compromised by the interposition of *Thermus*, a *Roman* ambassador at that time in *Alexandria*, on the following terms ; viz. that *Phyſcon* should marry *Cleopatra*, and reign jointly with her during his life, but at the same time declare her son by *Philometor* next heir to the crown <sup>p</sup>. To these terms both parties agreed ; but as *Phyſcon* could not but look with jealousy on the young prince, whose birth intitled him to the crown, he murdered him in

<sup>m</sup> JOSEPH. contra Apion l. ii.      <sup>n</sup> EUSEB. Præp. Evang. l. xiii. c. 12. & Clem. ALEXAND. Strom. l. i.      <sup>o</sup> Vide Vol. viii p. 610.  
<sup>p</sup> JOSEPH. l. ii. contra Apion. p. 1064      JUSTIN. l. xxxviii. c. 8.



his mother's arms on the very day of the nuptials. This prince, as we have observed above, was commonly called *Physcon* by reason of his prominent belly; but the name which he assumed was *Euergetes*, that is, *the benefactor*; this the *Alexandrians* changed into that of *Kakergetes*, or *the evil-doer*, a surname to which he had the justest title; for he was the most cruel, wicked, and likewise the most vile and despicable, of the *Ptolemies*, who reigned in *Egypt*. He began his reign with the murder of his nephew in the manner we have related, and continued it to the last with the same cruelty and wickedness. He was no sooner seated on the throne, than he caused all those to be put to death, who had shewed any concern for the murder of the young prince. Transported with rage against the *Jews*, for having espoused the cause of *Cleopatra*, he treated them more like slaves than subjects. *Josephus* tells us, that he condemned all those of that nation, who were at *Alexandria*, to be trod to death by elephants, and that by the miraculous interposition of heaven in their favour they escaped the fury of those animals. But that writer places a fact here which happened in the reign of *Ptolemy Philopator*, as is plain from the history of the *Maccabees*. However, it is certain, that this wicked prince made himself the curse of his people by his unparalleled cruelties; putting every day some of them to death, either on groundless suspicions, or for the smallest faults; and often for no faults at all, but merely to gratify his cruel and inhuman temper. Those who had had the greatest share in the confidence of his brother *Philometor*, were sacrificed the first; and next to them most of the leading men, who had declared in his favour against *Cleopatra*; for as they had by their interest placed him on the throne, so they might by the same, as he apprehended, drive him from it; and therefore he resolved to dispatch his own friends after he had got rid of his brother's <sup>1</sup>.

IN the second year of his reign, queen *Cleopatra* brought him a son, while he was employed in the performance of certain religious ceremonies, practised, according to the sacred rites of *Egypt*, by their kings, soon after their accession to the crown. *Physcon* was transported with joy at the birth of a son, whom he designed for successor, calling him *Memphis*, from the ceremonies which he was discharging at the time of his birth in the city of *Memphis*. However, he could not forbear his cruel practises, even during the public rejoic-

<sup>1</sup> JUSTIN. *ibid.* DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt. Valesii, p. 350.



Learning  
revived in  
Greece,  
Asia Mi-  
nor, &c.

ings on account of the young prince's birth ; but caused some chief lords of *Cyrene*, who attended him into *Egypt*, to be barbarously murdered, for having on that occasion cast some reflections on one of his favourite courtesans, by name *Irene* <sup>r</sup>. On his return to *Alexandria*, he banished all those who had been brought up with his brother *Philometor*, and, without the least provocation, gave his guards, who consisted of *Greek* and *Asiatic* mercenaries, free liberty to murder and plunder the inhabitants of that rich metropolis at their pleasure ; and the cruelties practised by those greedy and inhuman wretches upon this licence, are not to be expressed. *Justin* <sup>c</sup> and *Athenæus* <sup>r</sup> tell us, that not only the private houses, but the streets, and even the temples, streamed daily with the blood of the innocent citizens ; which so terrified the few *Alexandrians*, who out-lived these repeated massacres, that stealing privately away, they fled into other countries, and left their native city in a manner desolate. *Phyſcon* therefore, that he might not reign over empty houses, invited strangers, by his edicts dispersed over the neighbouring countries, to repopulate the place. Upon this invitation great multitudes flocking thither, he gave them the habitations of those who had fled, and, admitting them to all the rights, privileges, and immunities of the former citizens, by this means re-peopled the city <sup>u</sup>. As there were among those who left *Egypt* on this occasion, many grammarians, philosophers, physicians, geometricians, and masters of other liberal arts and sciences, by their means learning was revived in *Greece*, *Asia Minor*, the islands of the *Archipelago*, and in other places where they settled. The wars, which had been carried on for a long tract of time among the successors of *Alexander*, had in a manner extinguished learning in those parts ; and it would have been intirely lost, but for the protection and encouragement given to learned men by the *Ptolemies* of *Egypt*. The first *Ptolemy* erected at *Alexandria* a museum or college, as we have related above, for the support of those who devoted their time to the study of the liberal arts ; and, adding to it a great library for their use, drew by that means most of the learned men out of *Greece* to his metropolis. *Ptolemy* the second, and also the third, having herein followed the example of their predecessor, *Alexandria* became the place where the sciences flourished, when they were quite neglected elsewhere, most of the inhabitants of that city being bred up in the knowledge of some science or other.

<sup>r</sup> DIODOR. SICUL. *ibid.* p. 374. <sup>c</sup> JUSTIN. l. xxxviii. c. 8.  
<sup>r</sup> ATHEN. l. iv c. 24. <sup>u</sup> JUSTIN. & Athen. *ibid.*

Whence



Whence when they were driven by the cruelty and oppressions of this wicked tyrant into foreign countries, as they were qualified to gain themselves a maintenance, by teaching in the places where they settled the particular arts they were skilled in, they erected schools for this purpose in the countries through which they were dispersed; and being satisfied, by reason of their poverty, with a small salary, great numbers of scholars flocked to them. By this means the several branches of learning were revived in those eastern parts, in the same manner as they were in latter ages in the western, after the taking of *Constantinople* by the *Turks*. For that city being reduced by the infidels in the year of the christian æra 1453, the learned men, who lived there and in the other parts of *Greece*, to avoid the cruelty of the *Turks*, withdrew into *Italy*, where, under the patronage of the *Italian* princes, especially of *Lorenzo de Medicis*, they propagated their books and their learning.

BUT to return to *Alexandria*; while foreigners were flocking from all parts to that metropolis, with a design to settle there, on the encouragement given them by *Phyſcon*, three *Roman* ambassadors landed at that port, viz. *Scipio Africanus* the younger, *Spurius Mummius*, and *L. Metellus*. They had been sent by their republic to visit the countries which were subject to *Rome*, as *Greece* and *Macedon*, and those also that were only in alliance with her; their commission being to pass through *Greece* and *Macedon*, and from thence to the courts of the princes of *Egypt*, *Syria*, *Pergamus*, *Bithynia*, &c. to observe the state of affairs in each kingdom, to compose what differences they should find among their kings, and to settle in all places peace and concord. The report of *Scipio*'s coming had reached *Egypt* before him; and upon the news of his arrival, the inhabitants repaired to the port in great crowds, to see a man, who had filled the whole world with the fame of his exploits. On his landing he had covered his head with one of the lappets of his gown; but the *Alexandrians* desired him to shew his face to them, the multitude being come on purpose to see him. *Scipio* complied immediately with their request; whereupon he was with loud acclamations applauded by the numerous crowds<sup>u</sup>. The king himself went out to meet the ambassadors; but made such an appearance as inspired them with a contempt for him. He had, says *Athenæus* out of the seventh book of *Possidonius* the *Stoic* w, a great head, and a broad face, extremely deformed and shocking, upon a short squat body, with a belly enor-

Three Roman ambassadors arrive at Alexandria.

<sup>u</sup> PRUT. in Apoph.

<sup>w</sup> ATHEN. l. xii. c. 27.



Kindly en-  
tertained  
by Phys-  
con.

mously prominent. His dress was agreeable to his vicious disposition; for he wore only a fine stuff, which was so transparent as to leave those parts visible, which it is the chief end of garments to conceal. *Scipio* and his colleagues were extremely offended with these indecencies, but they had no right to reform them. The more conscious the king was of his crimes and wicked administration, the more respect he affected to shew to the ambassadors. He entertained them, during their stay at *Alexandria*, with all the varieties of the most sumptuous viands; but they, scorning that rich fare, as prejudicial both to their bodies and minds, touched nothing but what was necessary in the most temperate manner for the support of nature. Such was the temperance of the *Romans*, in the times we are now writing of. The king shewed them in person his palace and treasury, and whatever else was worth seeing at *Alexandria*. After they had viewed that great metropolis, and made themselves well acquainted with the state of affairs there, they sailed up the *Nile* to see *Memphis* and the other parts of *Egypt*. In this progress observing the great number of cities, the vast multitudes of inhabitants, the fertility of the soil, &c. they concluded, that nothing was wanting to render the kingdom of *Egypt* one of the most powerful states in the world, but a prince of abilities and application; and therefore were mighty well pleased to find a prince on the throne intirely destitute of every qualification that was necessary for such an undertaking \*.

Physcon  
divorces  
his sister,  
and mar-  
ries his  
wife.

THE ambassadors no sooner left *Egypt*, but *Physcon* began to exercise the same cruelties upon the new inhabitants of *Alexandria*, which had obliged the ancient citizens to abandon their country. No day passed without some signal instance of his cruelty and tyranny; such of the *Alexandrians*, as were possessed of large estates, being daily murdered under some pretence or other. We have observed above, that he married *Cleopatra*, his sister, and his brother's widow, and slew her son in her arms on the very day of the nuptials. But now falling in love with a daughter she had by *Philometor*, who was also called *Cleopatra*, he first ravished, and afterwards married her, having divorced her mother to make room for her. These and many other excesses of the like nature exasperated the *Alexandrians* against him to such a degree, that they wanted only an opportunity of taking up arms, and ridding themselves of a tyrant, who was become the contempt, as well as the hatred and detestation, of his people. That he

\* JUSTIN DIOL. R. SICIL. ubi supra. VAL. MAX. l. iv c. 3. ATHEN. l. vi p. 273



kept the crown on his head, under so general an odium and aversion of his subjects, was wholly owing to *Hierax* his chief minister. He was a native of *Antioch*, and had in the reign of *Alexander Balas*, in a joint commission with *Diodotus*, called afterwards *Tryphon*, governed the city of *Antioch*, as we have related elsewhere. On the turn of affairs, which afterwards happened in *Syria*, he retired into *Egypt*; and there, entering into the service of *Ptolemy Physcon*, was raised to the chief command of the army, and moreover charged with the whole management of the affairs of the kingdom. As he was a man of great valour and wisdom, he took care to gain the affections of the soldiery, by paying them punctually, and to balance, so far as in him lay, by his good and wise administration, the wicked conduct of his master; and by this means had the good luck to keep for several years all things quiet in the kingdom, under the most contemptible, brutal, and cruel tyrant that had ever swayed a scepter<sup>1</sup>. But afterwards, *Hierax* being either dead, or removed from his station, the *Alexandrians* began openly to complain of the oppressions they groaned under, and throw out threats against their king in case he did not change his conduct. But *Physcon*, in order to put them out of a condition of attempting any thing against him, resolved on a general massacre of all their young men, in whom the whole strength of the place consisted. Accordingly when they were one day assembled in the gymnasium or place of their public exercises, he caused fire to be set to it, so that they all perished in the flames, or by the swords of his mercenaries, whom the tyrant had placed at all the avenues. Hereupon the people, being exasperated to the highest degree, assembled in a tumultuous manner, and running without any guide, but their rage and despair, to the king's palace, set fire to it, and reduced it to ashes. But he had the good fortune to make his escape undiscovered, and to retire to the island of *Cyprus*, with *Cleopatra* his wife, and *Memphitis* his son by his sister *Cleopatra*<sup>2</sup>. Upon his flight the *Alexandrians* placed on the throne his divorced queen and sister; but he, fearing lest they should bestow the crown on his son, whom he had appointed governor of *Cyrene*, sent for him into *Cyprus*, and, as soon as he was landed, caused him to be assassinated. This new act of cruelty provoking the people still more against him, they pulled down and dashed to pieces all the statues which had been erected

*A general massacre of all the young men of Alexandria.*

*Physcon driven from the throne.*

<sup>1</sup> DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt. Val. p. 361. ATHEN. l. iv. p. 184. VAL. MAX. l. ix. c. 1. & 2. <sup>2</sup> VAL. MAX. l. ix. c. 2. JUSTIN. l. viii. c. 8. OROSIVS, l. v. c. 10. EPIR. LIV. l. lix.



*Murders  
his own  
son, and  
sends his  
mangled  
members  
to Cleopa-  
tra his mo-  
ther.*

to him in *Alexandria*, which he supposing to have been done at the instigation of his divorced queen, his rage stifled all natural affection in him; wherefore considering *Memphitis* only as *Cleopatra*'s child, he resolved to revenge the mother's quarrel upon him. Accordingly, without the least concern at spilling the blood of a young prince, his own son, and amiable for his beauty and rising virtues, he caused his throat to be cut in his own sight, and his mangled members to be put into a box, with the head intire, to shew thereby to whom they belonged, and sent to *Alexandria*. The messenger, who was one of his guards, was ordered to wait till the queen's birth-day, which approached, and was to be celebrated with extraordinary pomp and magnificence, and then to present it. His orders were executed, and the box conveyed to the queen in the midst of the public rejoicings, which were quickly changed into a general mourning. The horror and detestation which the sight of so dismal an object stirred up in all who were present, against the author of such a monstrous and unparalleled cruelty, cannot be expressed. The abominable present, being exposed to the view of the public, had the same effect on the populace, as it had on the nobles at court. They knew what they were to expect from a king who had thus treated his own son, and therefore nothing was thought of, but how to prevent that monster of cruelty from ever reascending the throne. An army was soon raised, and the command of it given to *Marsyas*, whom the queen had appointed general, enjoining him to take all the necessary steps for the defence of the country<sup>a</sup>.

ON the other hand, *Physcon*, having hired a numerous body of mercenaries, sent them under the command of *Hegelochus* against the *Alexandrians*. Hereupon the two armies meeting on the frontiers of *Egypt*, a bloody battle ensued, wherein the *Egyptian* army was intirely defeated, and their general *Marsyas* taken prisoner, and sent in chains to *Physcon*. Every one expected that so bloody a tyrant would have made his unhappy prisoner first suffer the most exquisite torments, and then put him to some cruel death. But he, to the great surprize of all, pardoned him, and gave him his liberty. For finding by experience, that his cruelties did not keep in awe, but exasperated the people, he resolved to try whether he could, by using lenity, regain their affections<sup>b</sup>. *Cleopatra*, being greatly distressed by this overthrow, and the

<sup>a</sup> JUSTIN. *ibid.* DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt. VAL. p. 374. LIV. l. lix. JUL. Obsequens de prodig. VAL. MAX. l. ix. c. 2.

<sup>b</sup> DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt. VALESII, p. 376.



loss of her army, which was almost intirely cut to pieces, sent to demand aid of *Demetrius* king of *Syria*, who had married her eldest daughter by *Philometor*, promising him the crown of *Egypt* for his reward. *Demetrius*, accepting the proposal without hesitation, marched with all his forces into *Egypt*, and there laid siege to *Pelusium*<sup>c</sup>. But he being, by his tyrannical government, vicious manners, and haughty behaviour, no less hated by the *Syrians* than *Phyſcon* was by the *Egyptians*, the people of *Antioch*, taking advantage of his absence, broke out into open rebellion, and were joined therein by the *Apameans*, and most of the inhabitants of the other cities of *Syria*. This obliged *Demetrius* to leave *Egypt*, and hasten back into *Syria*. *Cleopatra*, being destitute of the aid she expected, and no-ways in a condition, after the defeat of her army, to make head against *Phyſcon*, put all her valuable effects on board a ship, and set sail for *Ptolemais*, where her daughter *Cleopatra* queen of *Syria* then resided. This *Cleopatra* had been, in her father's life-time, first married to *Alexander Balas*, and afterwards to *Demetrius*. But *Demetrius* being taken prisoner by the *Parthians*, and detained amongst them, she had, after her father's death, disposed of herself to *Antiochus Sidetes*, the brother of *Demetrius*. *Sidetes* dying soon after, she returned to the bed of *Demetrius* her first husband, upon his being set at liberty by the *Parthian* king<sup>e</sup>. Upon the flight of *Cleopatra*, *Phyſcon* returned to *Alexandria*, and reassumed the government, there being, after the retreat of *Cleopatra* and defeat of *Marsyas*, no power in *Egypt* to withstand him. His first thoughts, after his being settled anew on the throne, were to be revenged on *Demetrius* for his late invasion. With this view he set up an impostor against him, called *Alexander Zebina*, whose adventures we have related at length in the history of *Syria*<sup>f</sup>. From this time *Phyſcon* held the kingdom of *Egypt* undisturbed till the twenty ninth year of his reign, and sixty seventh of his age, when he died at *Alexandria*, and by his death put an end to a most wicked life, and a most cruel and tyrannical reign, he having been infamous for both, beyond all who reigned before him in that country<sup>g</sup>. His death.

ONE would hardly believe, that a prince, who is represented by historians as a monster rather than a man, should have deserved the reputation of being the restorer of letters, Phyſcon  
an encour-  
ager of  
learning.

<sup>c</sup> JUSTIN. l. xxxviii. c. 9. & l. xxxix. c. 1.

<sup>e</sup> JUSTIN.

ibid. & JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 17. f See before, p. 20, & seq.

<sup>g</sup> PORPHYR. in GRÆC. EUSEB. SCALIG. PTOLEMÆUS in CAN.

EPHRAIM. de ponder. & mensur. Hieron. in DAN. c. 11.



and the patron of learned men. But this is attested in several places by *Athenæus*, *Vitruvius*, *Epiphanius*, and others <sup>h</sup>. *Athenæus* tells us, that, in the short intervals between his debaucheries, he applied himself to the study of the polite arts and sciences. Nay, according to this author, he had so extensive a knowledge, and so great an ease in discoursing of all kinds of literature, that he acquired the surname of *Ptolemy the Philologist*. The same author adds, that he wrote an history in twenty four books, and a learned comment on *Homer*. His history, as *Epiphanius* informs us, was in great repute among the antients, and often quoted by those who wrote on the same subject. *Galen* tells us, that he enriched the *Alexandrian* library with a great number of valuable books, which he purchased at a vast expence, having sent men of learning into all parts of the world for that purpose. He allowed one *Panaretus*, who had been a disciple of *Arcefilas*, and was a man of great learning, an annual pension of twelve talents, that is, of two thousand three hundred and twenty five pounds sterling <sup>i</sup>. He left three sons behind him, viz. *Apion*, whom he had by a concubine; *Lathyrus* or *Lathyrus*, and *Alexander*, his children by *Cleopatra* his niece, whom he had married after divorcing *Cleopatra* her mother. He left the kingdom of *Cyrene* to his eldest son *Apion*, and that of *Egypt* to his widow *Cleopatra*, in conjunction with one of her sons, whom she should think fit to chuse. The crown belonged, by right of inheritance, to *Lathyrus*, the eldest of his lawful children; but *Physcon*, either from an ill-judged policy, or an excessive condescension to his wife, gave her the absolute disposal of it; and she, looking upon *Alexander* as the most likely to leave the whole management of affairs in her hands, resolved to chuse him. But the people of *Alexandria*, taking up arms upon this unjust preference, obliged her to send for *Lathyrus* from the island of *Cyprus*, whither she had procured him to be banished in his father's life-time, and admit him to reign jointly with her <sup>k</sup>. But before she would suffer him to be inaugurated, according to the custom of the country, at *Memphis*, she forced him to divorce his eldest sister *Cleopatra*, whom he passionately loved, and to marry in her stead *Selene* his younger sister, for whom

Ptolemy  
Lathyrus.  
Year of  
the Flood,  
2887.  
Before  
Christ,  
112.



<sup>h</sup> ATHEN. l. ii. c. 33. EPIPHAN. de ponder. & mens. VITRUVIUS in præfat. ad l. vii.

<sup>i</sup> Vide USHER. ad annum mundi 3835.

<sup>k</sup> JUSTIN l. xxxix. c. 5. APPIAN. in Mithridat. 255 TROG. in Prolog 39. & 40. JOSEPH. Antiquit. l. xiii. c. 18. CLEM. ALEXANDRIN. Strom. l. i. STRAB. l. xvii. p. 795. PLIN. l. ii. c. 67. & l. vi. c. 30.



he had no inclination. On his inauguration he took the name of *Soter*; but is called by *Strabo*, *Trogus Pompeius*, *Pliny*, *Josephus*, and *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Lathyrus*, or *Lathurus*, by *Athenæus* and *Pausanias*, *Philometor*, which *Natalis Comes*, in his translation of *Athenæus*, changes into that of *Philopator*. The name *Philometor* was given him, as *Pausanias* observes<sup>1</sup>, by antiphrasis, no one having ever hated his mother more than he did. But he is commonly known by the name, or rather nick-name of *Lathyrus*, which in the *Greek* tongue signifies a *chick-pea*, he having in all likelihood some mark of this sort on his face. The *Greek* word *Lathyros* answers the *Latin Cicer*, whence the family of the *Ciceros* had their name, one of their ancestors having had an excrescence like a pea on his nose. *Cleopatra*, whom *Lathyrus* had been obliged to repudiate, disposed of herself in marriage to *Antiochus Cyzicenus*, carrying with her an army, which she raised in *Cyprus*, for her portion, and thereby enabling *Cyzicenus* to make head against *Antiochus Grypus* his half brother and competitor, as we have related in the history of *Syria*<sup>m</sup>. However, *Cyzicenus* was defeated by *Grypus*, and his wife *Cleopatra* dragged from one of the temples of *Antioch*, where she had taken sanctuary, and put to death by the command of her sister *Tryphæna*, the wife of *Grypus*<sup>n</sup>.

IN the mean time *Cleopatra*, queen of *Egypt*, the common mother of these two sisters, did not seem to be any ways affected, either with the death of the one, or the crime of the other. Her mind was so actuated by ambition and the desire of reigning, that she had no other thoughts, but how she might best support her authority in *Egypt*, and there continue to reign without controul during her life. To strengthen herself the better, she gave the kingdom of *Cyprus* to *Alexander* her younger son, that she might from thence be assisted by him against his brother *Lathyrus*, in case he should ever dispute the authority, which she was determined never to part with<sup>o</sup>.

*Lathyrus* had not reigned long, before his mother, provoked Cleopatra at some measures entered into against her will, found drives out means by base artifices to gain over the people of *Alexandria* Lathyrus, to the interest of her youngest son, and to place him on the and places throne. The matter is thus related by *Justin*<sup>p</sup>, *Pausanias*<sup>q</sup>, on the *Porphyrius*<sup>r</sup>, and *Josephus*<sup>s</sup>: While the two competitors for throne A-lexander

<sup>1</sup> PAUSAN. in Atticis, p. 7.      <sup>m</sup> See before p. 26.      <sup>n</sup> Jus- her young-  
TIN l. xxxix. c. 3.      <sup>o</sup> PAUSAN. in Atticis. PORPHYR. in er son.  
Græc. EUSEB. SCALIG.      <sup>p</sup> JUSTIN. l. xxxix. c. 4.      <sup>q</sup> PAU-  
SAN in Attic.      <sup>r</sup> PORPHYR. ubi supra.      <sup>s</sup> JOSEPH. An-  
tiq. l. xiii. c. 19.



the crown of *Syria* were wasting their strength against each other, *John Hyrcanus* prince of the *Jews*, seeing he had nothing to fear from them, undertook the siege of *Samaria*. Hereupon the *Samaritans* had recourse to *Cyzicenus*, who marched to their relief; but had the misfortune to be overthrown in battle by the two sons of *Hyrcanus*, who had besieged the place. After this victory the two brothers returned to the siege, and pursued it with such vigour, that the besieged were obliged to implore once more the assistance of *Cyzicenus*, who, not having sufficient forces of his own for such an attempt, desired *Lathyrus*, king of *Egypt* to send him a body of troops to be employed against the victorious *Jews*. *Lathyrus* readily complied with his request, and ordered six thousand men into *Syria*, contrary to the opinion and inclination of *Cleopatra* his mother. For as she had two *Jews*, *Chelcias* and *Ananias*, the sons of that *Onias* who built the *Jewish* temple in *Egypt*, for her chief favourites and ministers, she was very unwilling to do any thing that might redound to the disadvantage of their nation; and therefore, being highly provoked against *Lathyrus* for this and some other attempts of the like nature against her authority, she first took his wife *Selene* from him, though he had already two sons by her, and then drove him out of the kingdom. As this could not be effected without the consent of the *Alexandrians*, the treacherous and unnatural mother, to stir up the populace against her own son, caused some of her favourite eunuchs, on whose fidelity she could depend, to be wounded, and then bringing them covered over with blood into the public assembly of the *Alexandrians*, pretended that they had been thus treated and abused by *Lathyrus*, for defending her person against his wicked attempts. She inflamed the people by this black fiction to such a degree, that they rose in a general tumult against the prince, and would have tore him in pieces had he not saved his life on board a ship, which immediately set sail, and delivered him from the imminent danger he was in<sup>1</sup>. Upon the flight of *Lathyrus*, *Cleopatra* sent for her younger son *Alexander*, on whom she had bestowed the kingdom of *Cyprus*, and having declared him king of *Egypt* in the room of *Lathyrus*, obliged the latter to be content with *Cyprus* on his brother's quitting it<sup>2</sup>. This happened, according to *Porphyrius*<sup>3</sup>, in the eighth year of *Alexander's* reign in *Cyprus*, and eleventh of *Cleopatra's* in *Egypt*.

<sup>1</sup> JUSTIN. l. xxxix. c. 4. PAUSAN. in Attic. PORPHYR. ibid. p. 60. <sup>2</sup> JUSTIN. PAUSAN. &c. ibid. <sup>3</sup> PORPHYR. in Græc. EUSEB. SCALIG.



NOT long after this revolution, *Alexander Jannæus*, king of the *Jews*, having settled matters at home, marched out against the inhabitants of *Ptolemais*, and having vanquished them in battle, obliged them to shut themselves up within the walls of their city, and there closely besieged them. Hereupon they dispatched messengers to *Ptolemy Lathyrus* king of *Cyprus*, imploring his assistance, and begging he would come in person to their relief. But the messengers were scarce gone, when, upon second thoughts, they began to repent of what they had done. They apprehended, that they might suffer as much by *Ptolemy's* coming to them as a friend, as *Lathyrus* they could from *Alexander* their enemy; for they did not doubt but *Cleopatra*, upon their entering into an alliance with *Cyprus*, *Lathyrus*, would march against them with all the forces of *Egypt*. Upon this consideration they resolved to defend themselves without admitting any auxiliaries at all, and took care to acquaint *Ptolemy* with their resolution. But he having in the mean time, with incredible expedition, increased his army to the number of thirty thousand men, and prepared vessels to transport them, notwithstanding their remonstrances, landed his forces in *Phœnice*, and marched towards *Ptolemais*, encamping at a small distance from the city. But the *Ptolemaians* refusing to admit his ambassadors into the town, or to enter into any treaty with him, he was under great perplexity, not knowing what course to take. While he was in this condition, messengers arrived at his camp from *Zoilus* prince of *Dora* and from the *Gazæans*, desiring his assistance against the *Jews*; for *Jannæus*, having divided his army, besieged *Ptolemais* with one part of his forces, and had sent the other to lay waste the territories of *Zoilus* and *Gaza*. *Ptolemy* was glad of this opportunity of employing his troops; and accordingly marched to the assistance of those who had called him. This obliged *Jannæus* to raise the siege of *Ptolemais*, and lead back his army from thence to watch the motions of *Lathyrus*. As he was not in a condition to make head against so powerful an enemy, he pretended to court his friendship, and entering into a treaty with him, he engaged to pay him four hundred talents of silver, on condition, that he would deliver *Zoilus* into his hands, with the places which he held. *Lathyrus* closed with the proposal, and accordingly seized on *Zoilus* and all his territories, with a design to deliver them up to *Alexander Jannæus*. But in the mean time, being informed that *Alexander* was treating under-hand with *Cleopatra*, in order to bring her upon him with all her forces and drive him out of *Palestine*, he broke off all friendship and alliance with him,

*Lathyrus passes from Cyprus, where he reigned, into Phœnice.*

*And makes war upon Alexander Jannæus.*



*And de-  
feats him.*

*Cruelty of  
Lathyrus.*

him, and resolved to do him all the mischief he could \*. Accordingly the next year, having divided his army into two bodies, he detached one of them to form the siege of *Ptolemais* for not having admitted his ambassadors; with the other he marched in person against *Alexander*. At first he took *Asochis* a city of *Galilee* on a sabbath day, and carried away from thence ten thousand captives with an immense booty. From *Asochis* he advanced to *Sepphoris*, another city of the same country, which he invested; but was soon obliged to raise the siege, upon intelligence that *Alexander* was coming full march against him at the head of fifty, or as others write of fourscore, thousand men. The two armies met at *Asophos*, not far from the *Jordan*, and engaged with the utmost fury. Victory was some time doubtful, eight thousand of *Alexander's* men, who carried brazen bucklers having fought with great intrepidity and resolution; but at length the *Jews* were put to the rout after having lost thirty thousand, or, as *Timagrinus* writes, fifty thousand men, not including the prisoners taken by *Lathyrus* after the victory. The success of this day was chiefly owing to one *Philostephanus*, who observing that his men were ready to turn their backs, being warmly charged by the *Jewish* targeteers, flanked the enemy with fresh troops, put them in confusion, and obliged them, as they were not relieved by their companions, to give ground and save themselves by a precipitate flight †. A most cruel and barbarous action is related to have been done by *Lathyrus* on this occasion. For having taken up his quarters in the evening after this victory in the neighbouring villages, and finding them full of women and children, he caused all their throats to be cut, and their mangled limbs to be put into boiling caldrons, as if he intended to make a repast with them for his army. His design was to make the *Jews* believe that his men fed upon human flesh, and thereby strike a greater terror and dread of his army into the neighbouring country. This fact is related by *Josephus* on the authority of *Strabo* and *Nicolaus Damascenus* ‡. *Lathyrus*, after the defeat of *Alexander*, ravaged and laid waste the whole country, the *Jews* being no-ways in a condition to make head against him, or even appear in the field.

THIS victory, and the advantages attending it, alarmed *Cleopatra*, who apprehending, that, if *Lathyrus* should make

\* JOSEPH. *Antiq.* l. xiii. c. 20.

† JOSEPH. *ibid.* c. 20, 21.

‡ JOSEPH. *ibid.*



himself master of *Judæa* and *Phœnice*, he would thereby be in a condition to invade *Egypt* and recover that kingdom, resolved to put a stop to his further progress. She therefore commanded an army to be raised, with all possible expedition, under the command of *Chelcias* and *Ananias*, the two *Jews* of whom we have made mention above. At the same time she equipped a powerful fleet with a great number of transports, and putting her troops on board of them, she embarked with them herself and set sail for *Phœnice*, where she landed her army, and so terrified *Lathyrus* with her unexpected arrival, that he abandoned the siege of *Ptolemais* and retired in great haste into *Cœle-Syria*. *Cleopatra* dispatched *Chelcias* with one part of her army after him, and marched with the other, which she put under the command of *Ananias*, to *Ptolemais*, expecting the citizens would open their gates to her. But they refusing to admit her, she invested the place with a design to reduce by force that important fortress. In the mean time *Chelcias* having lost his life in pursuing *Lathyrus* into *Cœle-Syria*, that prince, taking advantage of the disorder occasioned in the army by the loss of their general, marched with all his forces into *Egypt*, hoping to find it unprovided with forces in the absence of his mother, who had carried her best troops with her into *Phœnice*. But he was disappointed in his expectation; for the forces, which *Cleopatra* had left for the defence of the country, made good their ground, till they were joined by other troops, which, on this attempt of *Lathyrus*, she detached from *Phœnice* to reinforce them. Upon their arrival *Lathyrus* was obliged to return to *Palestine*, and there take up his winter quarters at *Gaza* <sup>w</sup>.

*Obliged by  
by Cleo-  
patra to  
quit Phœ-  
nice.*

*Cleopatra*, however, pursued the siege of *Ptolemais* with so much vigour, that she reduced it at last. She no sooner entered it, but *Alexander Jannæus* hastened thither with rich presents to implore her protection. What chiefly recommended him to her favour was his enmity to *Lathyrus*; and on this account he was received kindly by the queen; but some persons about her thinking she had now a fair opportunity of making herself mistress of all *Judæa* by seizing *Alexander*, earnestly pressed her to it. The queen was not averse from following their advice; but *Ananias* represented to her how base and dishonourable it would be to treat thus an ally engaged with her in the same cause; that it was contrary to the faith of treaties, which are the foundations of society;

*Cleopatra  
takes Pto-  
lemais.*

<sup>w</sup> Idem ibid.

that



that such a conduct would be highly prejudicial to her interest, and would not fail to draw upon her the abhorrence of all the *Jews* dispersed throughout the world. Partly by these considerations, and partly by his credit, which was great with the queen, he prevailed upon her to drop the design, and to renew her alliance with *Alexander*, who having, after his return to *Jerusalem*, recruited his army, took the field anew, and crossing the *Jordan* laid siege to *Gadara* \*. *Lathyrus* having spent the winter at *Gaza* after his retreat out of *Egypt*, and finding that all his efforts against *Palestine* would prove ineffectual, so long as his mother opposed him, abandoned that country and returned to *Cyprus*. Hereupon *Cleopatra* on her side sailed back into *Egypt*; and thus *Palestine*, to the great joy of the *Jewish* nation, was delivered from all foreign forces †.

*Cleopatra*, understanding on her return to *Alexandria*, that a treaty was carrying on at *Damascus* between her son *Lathyrus* and *Antiochus Cyzicenus*, in virtue of which the Syrian was to supply *Ptolemy* with a body of troops to be employed in a second attempt upon *Egypt*, the queen, to render their measures abortive, gave her daughter *Selene*, whom she had taken from *Lathyrus*, to *Antiochus Grypus*, sending him at the same time a considerable supply of men and money. By this means *Grypus* being enabled to renew the war with his brother *Cyzicenus*, the latter had so much employment upon his hands at home, that he was not in a condition to lend any assistance to *Lathyrus*, who thereupon was forced to drop the project ‡ and return to *Cyprus*.

In the mean time *Ptolemy Alexander*, the younger brother, acted the base part of a slave under the specious appearance of a sovereign. But at last being tired out with the indignities he was forced to suffer from this fury, and terrified at the barbarous cruelty with which she persecuted his brother *Lathyrus*, especially in thus taking from him his wife and giving her to his enemy; and moreover observing, that she did not scruple to commit the greatest crimes to gratify her ambition, that prince did not think himself any longer safe near her, and therefore stole away privately from *Alexandria*, chusing rather to live in banishment with safety, than to reign with so wicked and cruel a mother in continual danger of his life. His flight alarmed the queen, who was well apprised, that the *Alexan-*

\* Idem ibid.  
epit. l. lxxviii.

† JOSEPH. ibid.

‡ JUSTIN. ibid. Liv.



*drians* would never suffer her to reign without one of her sons. She therefore used all possible artifices to prevail upon her son to return; and it was not without great sollicitation that he was induced thereunto. Not long after his return he found, that this restless woman had formed a conspiracy against his life, and hired assassins to murder him. But *Alexander* having notice of it prevented the plot, and by cutting her off first made it turn upon her own head. She was a most wicked woman, as her actions sufficiently shew, and well deserved this death, had it come from any other hand but her own son. As soon as it was known at *Alexandria*, that the son had caused the mother to be put to death, the enormity of the crime stirred up all his subjects against him; they could not suffer a parricide to reign over them, but drove him out with ignominy, and sending to *Cyprus* for *Lathyrus*, replaced him on the throne. *Alexander* led for some time a rambling life in the island of *Cos*, while his brother returned in triumph into his dominions amidst the acclamations of his people<sup>a</sup>. *Alexander* having got together some ships, he next year attempted to return into *Egypt*; but being met at sea by *Tyrrhus*, *Ptolemy's* admiral, he was defeated, and obliged to fly to *Myra* in *Lycia*. From *Myra* he steered his course towards the island of *Cyprus*, hoping that the inhabitants would declare in his favour, and place him on the throne, which his brother had left empty to return to *Egypt*. But *Chæreas*, another of *Ptolemy's* admirals, coming up with him while he was ready to land, dispersed his fleet, and killed him in the engagement, after he had reigned, or rather bore the title of king, for that was all his mother allowed him, for the space of nineteen years<sup>b</sup>. He left a son behind him named also *Alexander*, of whom we shall have occasion to speak in the sequel of this history.

*Alexander murders his mother Cleopatra, and is driven from the throne.*

*Alexander killed.*

DURING all the troubles that disturbed *Egypt*, *Apion*, the natural son of *Phyſcon*, maintained peace and tranquillity in his dominions; and at length, after a reign of one and twenty years, in order to secure them from the miseries, in which the countries subject to the *Egyptian* government were involved, devised them by will to the *Romans*. He was, as we have related above, son to *Phyſcon* by a concubine named *Irene*, and by him at his death appointed king of *Cyrenaica*. This country enjoyed its freedom, till it was reduced by

*Apion by his last will leaves the kingdom of Cyrenaica to the Romans.*

<sup>a</sup> JUSTIN. l. xxxix. c. 4. APPIAN. in Syriac. Epit. LIV. l. lxxvii, lxxviii. MEMNON. c. 33. EUSEB. in Chron. PAUSAN. in Attic. ATHENÆUS, l. xii. p. 550. <sup>b</sup> PORPHYR. in Græc. EUSEB. Scal.



*Ptolemy* the first king of *Egypt*; after it became subject to the crown of *Egypt*, it was governed by the brothers or younger sons of those princes, till *Ptolemy*, surnamed *Apion* or *the lean*, bequeathed it to the *Romans*. It comprehended the following cities, *Cyrene*, *Berenice*, *Arsinoe*, *Ptolemais*, and *Apollonia*, whence it was called the *African Pentapolis*. The first was the capital of the country, and one of the most wealthy cities in *Africa*. Near it was the fountain *Cyre* mentioned by *Callimachus*, and mount *Cyra* spoke of by *Justin*. *Aristippus* the founder of the sect of the *Cyrenaics*, *Eratosthenes* the geographer, and *Carneades* the philosopher, were all natives of *Cyrene*. This city is mentioned by the prophet *Amos* <sup>c</sup>, and in the second book of kings by the name of *Kir*; but is now called *Corene* and *Cairan*. *Herodotus* gives us a very particular, but fabulous, account of the origin of this city <sup>d</sup>; and *Justin* is pretty diffuse on the same subject <sup>e</sup>; but *Strabo* tells us in few words, that *Cyrene* was built by one *Battus*, a native of the island of *Thera*, of whom we have spoke in the history of the islands of the *Ægean* sea, or the *Archipelago*. From him the *Cyreneans* are called by the poet *Silius Battiadae* <sup>f</sup>. As the island of *Thera*, the native country of *Battus*, belonged to the *Lacedæmonians*, *Josephus* tells us, that the *Cyreneans* were originally *Lacedæmonians* <sup>g</sup>. The second of the five cities took its name from *Berenice*, the daughter of *Ptolemy Philadelphus* and wife of *Ptolemy Euergetes* the first. This city was first called *Hesperis* and *Hesperides*, and stood but at a small distance from the *Great Syrtis*. Some have placed in its territory the famous gardens of the *Hesperides*, and the river *Lethon* or *Lethe*, which has furnished the poets with numberless fictions. It is at present a miserable village, called by its beggarly inhabitants *Bernichio*. *Arsinoe*, another considerable city of *Cyrenaica*, took its name from the wife of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, to whom the *Egyptians*, as *Callimachus* tells us, paid divine honours, equalling her to *Venus*. The antient name of this city was, according to *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, *Stephanus*, &c. *Teuchira* or *Tauchira*. *Ferrarius* gives it the name of *Sues*, but the *Turks* call it *Barraru*. *Ptolemais* was antiently called *Barca*, according to *Pliny*, *Strabo*, and *Stephanus*. But *Ptolemy* makes *Barca* and *Ptolemais* two different cities, placing the former in the inland country, and the latter on the coast. It is now commonly called

<sup>c</sup> AMOS, c. 9. v. 7.      <sup>d</sup> HERODOT. l. iv. c. 156.      <sup>e</sup> JUSTIN. l. xiii. c. 7.      <sup>f</sup> SILIUS ITALIC. l. xi. v. 60.      <sup>g</sup> JOSEPH. de Bell. JUDÆIC. l. xi. c. 28.



*Tolemata.* *Cyrenaica* comprehended other countries besides the *Pentapolis*, which the *Romans* upon the death of *Apion* did not fail to take possession of. But they were at first very moderate in the exercise of their power, declaring the people a free nation, and only obliging them to pay an annual tribute of *laser*, which grew here in great quantities, and was better than in any other part of the world (H). By this means

(H) The *Laser* of *Africa*, which some moderns confound with the *Benjamin*, was a viscos and medicinal juice drawn by incision from a plant, which the *Latins* called *Laserpitium*, and the *Greeks* Σιδφιων. It grew in some places of *Cyrenaica*, and the liquor it produced was, according to *Pliny*, worth its weight in silver. *Strabo* tells us, that in his time the species was lost, some *Nomades*, who made an irruption into *Egypt*, having tore up the roots of that shrub (16). But *Pliny* ascribes the loss of it to the avarice of the publicans, or public farmers, who used to feed their cattle with it. Nevertheless, in *Nero's* time, there was one shrub of it found, which the natives sent as a great rarity to that emperor (17). The same author gives, in the place we have quoted, an account of the qualities of the *Laser*, and describes the manner of preparing it; for it was formerly prescribed in many cases by physicians, and thought to be a sovereign remedy against several distempers. The stalks baked under ashes, and taken before any other food for forty days together, purified the blood, corrected the vicious humours, and was deemed a great restorative of a worn out constitution. *Pliny* adds, that it had the same effects on cattle as on men. It fattened sheep and oxen, according to him, and gave the meat an exquisite flavour. In the year of *Rome* 660, *Valerius* and *Herennius* being consuls, it was first brought from *Cyrenaica* to that city, as the same writer informs us; and there greatly admired, and sought for by all the citizens. From that time the care and sale of it was committed to the quaestors. In the beginning of the civil war *Julius Caesar*, having seized the public treasury, is said to have taken out of it, besides other things, fifteen hundred pounds of *laser*. Afterwards *Rome* was supplied with this plant from *Persia*, *Syria*, and *Media*; but the *laser* brought from those countries had much less virtue than that of *Cyrenaica*. Some botanists have confounded this famous specific with *Assa-fætida*, and others with *Benjamin*, which is a valuable sort of rosin brought from the kingdom of *Lao*, and several parts of the *East Indies*. *Theophrastus* has given us in his history a full account of the properties and uses of the *Laserpitium*; and described its roots, leaves, stalks, and the peculiar form of each of its parts (18). From this antient botanist *Pliny* seems to have copied the accounts which we

(16) *Strab.* l. ix.  
*phrastus*, l. iii.

(17) *Plin.* l. ix, c. 3.

(18) *Theo-*



means the *Libyan Pentapolis* enjoyed a perfect freedom, and acknowledged no foreign dominion, *Rome* being at present content with lessening very considerably the power of *Egypt*. Not long after, this country became a prey to two tyrants, who successively usurped a sovereign authority over their fellow-citizens; but *Lucullus*, while he served under *Sylla* in quality of quæstor, having touched at *Cyrene* as he coasted along *Africa*, restored the oppressed province to its former liberty, re-settled it in peace, and reformed its laws, putting at the same time the *Cyreneans* in mind of the answer *Plato* had formerly given to the deputies of their nation, desiring him to give them a plan of government. The philosopher refused to grant them their request, saying, that a people so happy and rich as they were, would never submit to the authority of laws <sup>h</sup>. But to return to *Egypt*.

Lathyrus takes the city of Thebes, and plunders it.

*Ptolemy Lathyrus*, being upon the death of his mother and brother delivered from two formidable competitors to his crown, began to settle all things on their antient footing, and to remedy, as far as in him lay, the many disorders and abuses which had crept in during the late troubles. But the city of *Thebes* in the upper *Egypt* refused to submit to his regulations, and even attempted to shake off the yoke, and resume their antient liberties. Hereupon *Lathyrus* marched against the rebels; defeated them in a pitched battle, and laid close siege to their city, which with incredible obstinacy held out against the utmost efforts of a victorious army for the space of three years. But it was at last taken, and by way of punishment given up to be plundered by the enraged soldiery, who left every-where melancholy marks of their avarice and cruelty. *Thebes*, which till that time had been one of the greatest and most wealthy cities of *Egypt*, was on this occasion reduced to so low a condition, that it never after made any figure in history <sup>i</sup>. It is surprising, that *Pausanias*, deceived by the identity of names, should apply the history of the revolt and conquest of *Thebes* in *Egypt* to the city of *Thebes* in *Bæotia*. What had the kings of *Egypt* to do with *Thebes* in *Bæotia*, which at this time was under the protection of the *Romans*, having been united in interest with that

<sup>h</sup> APPIAN in Mithridat. PLUT. in Lucullo. <sup>i</sup> PAUSAN. in Atticis, p. 8.

read of it in his nineteenth book. If we stand to either of these descriptions or accounts, we must own, that the *laser* is very different both from the *Benjamin*, and from the stinking and offensive drug called *Assa-fœtida*.

republic



republic against the kings of *Macedon*, during the whole time of the *Macedonian* war?

TOWARDS the latter end of this king's reign, *Lucullus*, being sent by *Sylla* to procure ships from the princes who retained any regard for the *Roman* name, in order to block up the ports of *Piræus* and *Munychia*, landed at *Alexandria*; where the inhabitants, pursuant to *Lathyrus*'s orders, received him with those honours which were paid only to the kings of *Egypt*. His entrance into that city was a kind of triumph. Upon the news of his approach the royal fleet sailed out in good order to meet him. The king received him with all possible marks of distinction; appointed him an apartment in his own palace, an honour which had never before been bestowed upon any foreigner; and ordered his ministers to give *Lucullus*'s attendants four times the allowance, which was usually given to other ambassadors. But the *Roman* contented himself with bare necessaries, and refused a present in money, which *Ptolemy* pressed him to accept. He likewise declined going to *Memphis*, and to the other famous cities of *Egypt*, to see there the wonders that were the admiration of all strangers, saying, that such amusements became none but idle persons, and that it would be shameful in him to take a journey of pleasure, while his general was daily hazarding his life in the service of his country. But, after all, the king could not be prevailed upon to part with any of his ships, pretending, that he was threatened with a civil war in his own dominions. He therefore dismissed *Lucullus* without complying with his request, after having presented him with his picture cut in an emerald of great value\*. This picture, or head of *Ptolemy*, cut in an emerald, *Turnebius* is pleased to turn into a cup set with precious stones.

NOT long after *Lathyrus* died, having reigned from the death of his father thirty six years, viz. eleven jointly with his mother in *Egypt*, eighteen in *Cyprus*, and seven alone in *Egypt*, after his mother's death. *Ptolemy* the astronomer takes no notice of *Alexander* in his canon, but reckons the whole time from the death of *Ptolemy Physcon* to that of *Ptolemy Lathyrus*, as the reign of the latter, though he lived half of them in the island of *Cyprus* (1). He was succeeded by  
*Cleopatra*

\* PLUT. in Lucullo.

(1) Though no two persons were ever more unlike, than *Cleopatra* the mother of *Philometor* and *Physcon*, and *Cleopatra* the mother of *Lathyrus* and *Alexander*, yet the two jesuits, *Catrou* and *Rouillé*,



*Cleopatra* his daughter, and only legitimate offspring. She is called by *Pausanias* <sup>1</sup> *Berenice*, which was her proper name; for

<sup>1</sup> PAUSAN. in Atticis.

*illé*, authors of the *Roman* history now publishing at *Paris*, confound them, and charge the former, who was a prince of an unblemished character, and governed with great equity, wisdom, and moderation, during the minority of her children, with the many enormous crimes, which by all historians, except themselves, are imputed to the latter (19). Their confounding thus the two mothers, leads them of course into the like confusion with respect to their children, and this second mistake, still more material than the former, plunges them into endless blunders, which plainly betray in those reverend writers a very superficial knowledge, not to say a total ignorance, of the *Syrian* history. For what they find related by the antients of *Lathyrus* and *Alexander* the sons of *Phyſcon*, and his niece *Cleopatra*, they apply to *Philometor* and his brother *Phyſcon*, the sons of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, and *Cleopatra* the daughter of *Antiochus the Great*. Thus, for instance, they tell us, that *Phyſcon* the youngest was also called *Alexander*, that the capricious mother, whom they call elsewhere a virtuous princess (20), conceived a fondness for him, which tended to nothing less than robbing *Ptolemy* the elder brother, whom she hated, of the crown, and that hence the surname of *Philometor* was given him by way of derision. A few lines after they tell us, that the son, whom she tenderly loved, killed her with his own hand, and that he, and not the elder, was for this parricide ironically surnamed *Philometor*. What a complication of blunders, anachronisms, and contradictions! This is, if we may be allowed the expression, turning the whole history of *Syria* topsy-turvy. *Cleopatra*, the mother of *Philometor* and *Phyſcon*, died quietly in her bed, when her eldest son was but thirteen years old; for the year ensuing he was declared, as *S. Jerom* informs us (21), to be out of his minority, which was a great solemnity among the *Egyptians*, called *Ααληθρία*, or, the solemnity of salutation, because they then first saluted their young prince as king. This ceremony was always performed in the fourteenth year of their king's age, he being then, according to their laws, out of his minority. *Polybius* tells us (22), that *Cleopatra*, as she was sister to *Antiochus Epiphanes* king of *Syria*, and mother to *Philometor* and *Phyſcon*, prevented, so long as she lived, a rupture between them; but that, upon her death, the management of affairs falling into the hands of *Lenæus*, a nobleman of the court, and *Eulæus* an eunuch, these no sooner entered on the administration, but

(19) *Vide hist. Rom* l. xliii. (20) *Lib. xxxix. Ad ann. urb.*  
 561. (21) *Hieronym. in c. 11 Dan.* (22) *Polyb. legat. 81.*  
 p. 908.



for as all the males, according to the established custom of the royal family of *Egypt*, had the name of *Ptolemy*, so the females had that of *Cleopatra*, and besides other names to distinguish them from each other. Thus, for instance, *Selene* was called *Cleopatra*, and so were also her two sisters<sup>m</sup>. In like manner the daughter of *Lathyrus*, whose proper name was *Berenice*, bears also that of *Cleopatra*. The observing of this will remove many obscurities and difficulties which occur in the history of *Egypt*. *Sylla*, who, at this time, was perpetual dictator at *Rome*, and gave or took away crowns at pleasure, hearing that *Lathyrus* was dead without male issue, sent *Alexander*, the son of that *Alexander*, who had reigned before *Lathyrus*, and murdered his mother, to succeed his uncle in the kingdom, as the next heir of the male line.

THIS *Alexander* had met with many adventures. When *Cleopatra*, the mother of *Ptolemy Alexander* and *Ptolemy Lathyrus*, marched with her army into *Phœnice* against the latter, she sent her grandson *Alexander*, the son of the former who then reigned with her in *Egypt*, into the island of *Cos*, with a great sum of money, all her jewels, and her most valuable effects, to be deposited there as a reserve against all events. When *Mithridates* made himself master of that island, the inhabitants delivered up into his hands the young *Egyptian* prince, and the treasures which his grand-mother had lodged there with him. The king of *Pontus* gave him an education suitable to his birth; but he, not thinking himself safe with a prince who had imbrued his hands in the blood of his own children, fled from the court of *Mithridates*, and took refuge in *Sylla's* camp, while that general was making war in *Asia*. From that time he had lived in the dictator's family, and in a manner among his domestics, till news was brought to *Rome* of the death of *Lathyrus*. Then *Sylla* sent him to take possession of the crown of *Egypt*, as the nearest heir male of the deceased king. But the *Alexandrians*, having placed *Cleopatra* the daughter of *Lathyrus* on the throne six months before his arrival in *Egypt*, to compromise the matter, and avoid displeasing *Sylla*, who governed *Rome* with an

Alexander  
II.  
Year of  
the Flood,  
2923.  
Before  
Christ,  
76.

Alexander  
marries  
Cleopatra  
the daughter  
of La-  
thyrus,  
and murders  
her.

<sup>m</sup> JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 24.

they demanded of *Epiphanes* the provinces of *Cœle-Syria* and *Palestine*. This gave occasion to the war, and not the ambition of *Antiochus*, veiled with the specious pretence of assisting *Philometor* against the intrigues of his mother, prejudiced in favour of her youngest son, *Cleopatra* being dead a whole year before this rupture.

absolute



*Is driven  
out.*

*Dies in ban-  
ishment.*

absolute sway, prevailed upon *Alexander* to marry *Cleopatra* and reign jointly with her. The nuptials were accordingly celebrated with great pomp and magnificence; but *Alexander*, either out of a dislike to *Cleopatra's* person, or not caring to have a partner in the government, caused her to be assassinated nineteen days after the marriage, the blackest murders and parricides being now become in a manner fashionable at the court of *Egypt*<sup>n</sup>. *Porphyry* and *Appian* tell us, that the *Alexandrians*, highly provoked at this murder and the haughty and imperious airs their new king assumed, rose up in arms, surrounded his palace, and dragging him into the gymnasium, there put him to death, after a reign of nineteen days<sup>o</sup>. But it is manifest from *Suetonius* and *Cicero*, that he reigned fifteen years after the death of *Cleopatra*, as we shall make appear in the sequel of this history, against the common opinion, or rather mistake, of historians and chronologers, who begin the reign of *Ptolemy Auletes* here, confounding it with that of *Alexander*. This prince reigned fifteen years, during which time he made himself so odious to his subjects by his cruelties and vices, that at last they made a general insurrection, and would have sacrificed him to their resentment, had he not seasonably withdrawn himself from the fury of the enraged multitude. He fled first to *Pompey*, who was then in that neighbourhood carrying on the war with *Mithridates* king of *Pontus*, and offered him rich presents and a large sum of money, in hopes of prevailing upon him, by that means, to espouse his cause and restore him to the crown; but *Pompey* refused to meddle with this matter, as being foreign to his commission. Hereupon the banished prince took refuge in the city of *Tyre*, whither he had sent before great part of his treasures, and there died some months after, perhaps of grief for the loss of his crown<sup>p</sup>. It is to be observed, that *Ptolemy*, in his chronological canon, does not reckon *Alexander* among the kings of *Egypt*, but begins the reign of *Auletes* his successor from the death of *Lathyrus*, tho' it is manifest, both from *Cicero* and *Suetonius*, that *Alexander* reigned full fifteen years between these two princes<sup>q</sup>. Perhaps *Auletes*, on his father *Lathyrus's* death, got possession of some part of the *Egyptian* empire; and, on this account, is looked upon by *Ptolemy* as his immediate successor, tho' he had not the whole kingdom till fifteen years after.

<sup>n</sup> JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 24. APPIAN. de bell. civil. l. i. PORPHYR. in GRÆC. EUSEB. Scalig. <sup>o</sup> APPIAN. & PORPHYR. ibid. <sup>p</sup> SUETON. in Jul. Cæs. c. 11. TROGUS in prolog. CIC. in orat. 2. contra Rullum. <sup>q</sup> CIC. & SUET. ibid.



*Alexander*, when driven from his dominions and forced to shut himself up in the city of *Tyre*, had, by his ambassadors, appealed to the *Roman* senate against his rebellious subjects; but dying before the negotiation was finished, he made over, by his last will, all his rights to the *Roman* people, declaring them heirs to his kingdom, not out of any affection to the republic, but to raise, by that means, a dispute between *Rome* and his rival *Auletes*, whom the *Egyptians* had placed on the throne. The will was brought to *Rome*, where it occasioned warm debates. Some, with *Lucius Marcius Philippus*, were for taking immediate possession of the kingdom bequeathed to them in prejudice of *Auletes*. Others, with *Cicero*, were of opinion, that no notice should be taken of such a will, since *Alexander* had no right to dispose of his dominions in prejudice of his successor, and to exclude from the crown all those who were of the royal blood of *Egypt*. *Cicero* represented, that such a notorious usurpation would debase the majesty of the *Roman* people and involve them in endless wars and disputes; that the fruitful fields of *Egypt* would be a strong temptation to the ambition of the restless tribunes and to the avarice of the common people, who would claim those lands as due to them on account of their poverty; and lastly, that this new acquisition would revive the bloody quarrels, which the *Agrarian* laws had so often raised in the heart of the republic. The authority of *Cicero*, and the reasons he alledged against the opinion of *Marcius Philippus* were of great weight with the senate; but what prevented them from seizing on *Egypt* at that time was, their lately having taken possession of *Bithynia*, in virtue of the will of *Nicomedes*, and of *Cyrene* and *Libya* by the like will of *Apion*. They thought therefore, that if they should, on the same pretence, take possession of *Egypt*, this might give too great umbrage, as if they designed to engross to themselves all foreign dominions; besides, as *Mithridates* was not at that time intirely reduced, they were afraid this might involve them in a new war, while they had the other still on their hands. On these considerations they contented themselves, for the present, with sending deputies to *Tyre*, to take possession of the effects of the deceased king for the use of the republic, and dropped all the rest<sup>r</sup>.

THE *Egyptians*, having driven *Alexander* from the throne in the manner we have related, called to the crown *Ptolemy*, surnamed *Auletes*, or the *Flute player*, the natural son of *Ptolemy Lathyrus*, who had no male issue by his wife, that

Ptolemy  
Auletes.  
Year of  
the Flood,  
2938.  
Before  
Christ,  
61.

<sup>r</sup> Cic. in orat. 1. & 2. in Rull



Is acknow-  
ledged by  
the Ro-  
mans.

survived him, but several by his concubines. One of these had the kingdom of *Cyprus*, where he reigned till he was, with the greatest injustice, deprived of it by the *Romans*. *Auletes*, on whom the *Alexandrians* bestowed the crown after the expulsion of *Alexander*, is also called by the historians *Dionysius Neos*, or *the New Bacchus*. The name of *Auletes* was given him, because he piqued himself upon his skill in playing on the flute, and even debased himself so as to contend for the prize in the public games. He took great pleasure in imitating the effeminacies of the *Bacchanals*, dancing in a female dress, and in the same measures that they used during the solemnities of their god *Bacchus*; and hence he had the name of *the New Dionysius* or *Bacchus*<sup>c</sup>. *Strabo* tells us, that he surpassed all the kings who reigned before him in the effeminacy of his manners, and was no less infamous on that account, than his grandfather *Phyſcon* was for his wickedness<sup>d</sup>. As he had but a contested title to the crown, being only the natural son of *Lathyrus*, and the *Romans* pretending, that in virtue of the last will of *Alexander*, his dominions were devolved upon their republic, his first care was to get himself declared an ally of *Rome*, which was a certain means of being authentically acknowledged lawful king of *Egypt*. This he obtained by applying to *Julius Cæsar*, who was then consul, and, being immensely in debt, willingly embraced this opportunity of raising money; for he obliged the king of *Egypt* to purchase the desired alliance at the price of six thousand talents, that is, one million one hundred sixty-two thousand five hundred pounds sterling, paid partly to himself, and partly to *Pompey*, whose interest was necessary for obtaining the consent of the people<sup>e</sup>. Tho' that prince's yearly revenues were twice this sum, yet he could not raise it immediately without over-taxing his subjects, which occasioned a general discontent throughout the kingdom. While the *Egyptians* were thus dissatisfied with the conduct of their king, and even ready to rise up in arms against him, a most unjust decree was carried at *Rome* by the tribune *Clodius*, for deposing *Ptolemy* king of *Cyprus*, seizing his kingdom for the republic, and confiscating all his effects. When the *Alexandrians* heard of the intentions of the republic, they pressed *Auletes* to demand that island as an antient appendant of *Egypt*, and, in case of a denial, to declare war against the imperious and incroaching republic;

<sup>c</sup> STRABO, l. xvii. p. 796. TROGUS in prolog. 39. LUCIAN. de non tem. cred. calum. <sup>d</sup> STRABO, ibid. <sup>e</sup> PLUT. in Cæſ. DIO. CASS. l. xx.viii.

which



which he refusing to do, the people, already provoked with the exorbitant taxes with which he loaded them, ran to arms *Is driven* and surrounded the palace; but the king escaped their fury, *from the* and, by the advice of his favourite *Theophanes*, who gave *throne.* him timely notice of the insurrection, having privately withdrawn from *Alexandria*, crossed *Egypt*, and embarked for *Rhodes*, with a design to implore the assistance of his old protectors at *Rome* <sup>w</sup>. In his flight he had time to reflect, as *Tully* observes <sup>\*</sup>, on his change of fortune, and being very hungry and much fatigued, he applied to a peasant, who received him into his poor hut, and presented him with a piece of brown bread, which seemed so savoury to him, that he used to say, he had never had a more delicious meal.

THE king arriving in *Rhodes* was informed, that the famous *Cato* was there in his way to *Cyprus*, being charged by the seditious *Clodius* to put in execution the unjust decree of the people, depriving *Ptolemy* of that island, as we have related at length in the history of *Cyprus* <sup>y</sup>. *Auletes*, desirous to confer with a man of his prudence and integrity *Confers* about his affairs, sent immediately to acquaint him with his *with Cato* arrival, expecting, that, upon this notice, he would without *at Rhodes.* delay come and wait upon him; but the proud *Roman* told the messenger, that, if the king of *Egypt* had any thing to say to *Cato*, he might, if he thought proper, come to his house. Accordingly *Auletes* went to pay him a visit; but *Cato* did not vouchsafe so much as to rise when the king entered his chamber, or to salute him otherwise than as a private person. The *Egyptian* monarch was much surprized to see so much haughtiness and state, joined to the great simplicity and modesty which he observed in the *Roman's* dress and equipage, and would have entertained a very mean opinion of him, had he not discovered in his conversation an extraordinary fund of probity and good sense; for the king having laid before him the situation of his affairs, *Cato* blamed him for leaving *Egypt*, the richest kingdom in the world, in order to expose himself to the many insults and indignities which he would meet with at *Rome*, nothing being there in request but wealth, pomp, and grandeur. He did not scruple to tell him, that all the riches of *Egypt* would not be sufficient to satisfy the rapacious avarice of the leading men there; that they would not concern themselves about the interests of a king, who brought nothing with him but wants and complaints;

<sup>w</sup> DIO CASS. & PLUT ibid Epitom I. iv. l. 104

<sup>\*</sup> CIC.

<sup>y</sup> Tusc. quart. l. v.

<sup>y</sup> Vide Vol. VII. p. 114.



that new patrons, after he had purchased them at a great rate, would prove new chains to him, &c. He therefore advised him to return to *Egypt*, and strive, by a more equitable conduct, to regain the affections of his people, which he had lost by his male-administration. He even offered to reconduct him thither in person, and employ his mediation and good offices in his behalf<sup>z</sup>. *Ptolemy*, reflecting on what the wise *Roman* told him, perceived the error he had committed in quitting his kingdom, and entertained some thoughts of returning to it; but, the friends he had with him having dissuaded him from following *Cato's* good counsel, he pursued his journey to *Rome*.

Goes to  
Rome.

His daughter  
Berenice placed  
on the  
throne.

In the mean time the *Egyptians*, not knowing what was become of him, and either believing, or feigning to believe, that he was dead, placed *Berenice* his daughter on the throne, and sent an embassy into *Syria* to *Antiochus Asiaticus*, who, by his mother *Selene* the daughter of *Ptolemy Physcon*, was the next male heir of the family, inviting him into *Egypt*, in order to marry *Berenice*, and reign jointly with her; but he being dead, the ambassadors were enjoined by the chief men of *Alexandria*, to make the same proposal to *Seleucus* his brother<sup>a</sup>, who readily accepted the offer. This *Seleucus Strabo* describes as a monster of deformity, and adds, that his ill-shaped body was animated by a yet more deformed soul. The *Egyptians* soon discovered his true character, and gave him the nickname of *Cybiosactes*, that is, *the Scullion*; for such he was in his whole conduct and behaviour. He was scarce seated on the throne, when he gave a signal instance of his sordid and avaricious temper. *Ptolemy* the first had caused the body of *Alexander the Great*, to be deposited in a coffin of massy gold; this *Cybiosactes* seized, and by this shocking crime provoked *Berenice*, who was already grown weary of him, to such a degree, that, breaking through the most sacred ties, she caused him to be strangled<sup>b</sup>. Having thus got rid of a man, whose presence she could no longer bear, she married one *Archelaus*, high-priest of *Comana* in *Pontus*, who pretended to be the son of *Mithridates the Great*, tho' he was, in fact, only the son of that king's chief general, whom we shall have occasion to bring upon the scene in the history of *Pontus*<sup>c</sup>.

She murders her  
husband  
Seleucus,  
and marries  
Archelaus.

<sup>z</sup> PLUT. in Caton.

<sup>a</sup> PORPHYR. ubi supra. & STRABO, l.

xvii. p. 796.

<sup>b</sup> SUET. in Vespas. c. xix. STRABO. l. xvii.

p. 794.

<sup>c</sup> STRABO, ibid. DIO. CASS. l. xxxix. p. 115—117.

CIC. in Pison. n. 49, 50.

*Auletes,*



*Auletes*, on his arrival at *Rome*, found, to his great concern, that *Cæsar*, on whom he chiefly depended, was making war in *Gaul*. However, *Pompey*, his other patron, who was then in the city, received him with great expressions of kindness, gave him an apartment in his house, and omitted nothing that lay in his power to serve him ; but, notwithstanding the protection of so powerful a man, the king was forced to go from house to house, like a private person, soliciting the suffrages of the senators. After he had spent immense treasures in procuring a strong party at *Rome*, he was at last, by the interest of *Pompey*, admitted to lay his complaints before the senate ; which he did with a great deal of art, exaggerating the hard usage he had met with from his rebellious subjects, and putting the senators in mind of his alliance with the republic, by the articles of which they were bound to support him to the utmost of their power, against his enemies both foreign and domestic. While *Auletes* was thus making interest at *Rome*, and courting the republic for her consent to his being restored by force of arms, the *Alexandrians*, being informed of what passed in *Italy*, sent a solemn embassy to the senate, consisting of an hundred citizens of distinction, to justify their revolt before the conscript fathers. *Dion*, a celebrated academic philosopher, who had many powerful friends at *Rome* was at the head of this embassy ; but *Ptolemy* found means to destroy most of them, either at *Rome*, or before their arrival in that metropolis ; which so intimidated the rest, that they declined acquitting themselves of their commission, and even demanding justice for the murder of their colleagues <sup>d</sup>. The rumor of these murders raised the indignation of the public, and gave a general alarm. *Marcus Favonius* the stoic was the first who declared in senate against *Auletes*. He accused him before the fathers, and exaggerated his late murders, his former mis-carriages, and the shameful meanness of many self-interested senators, who had suffered themselves to be corrupted with his money. At the motion of this zealous senator, *Dio*, the chief of the embassy, was summoned to appear before the senate, in order to give, by word of mouth and upon oath, an authentic account of the assassination of the ambassadors ; but *Pompey*, *Lentulus*, and the other great men at *Rome*, whose interest the perfidious king had bought at a vast price, declared so openly in his favour, that *Dio* was afraid to appear ; however, he was soon after stabbed by an assassin,

<sup>d</sup> DIO CASS. l. xcvii, xcvi. PLIN. l. xxxiii c. 10 CIC. epist. familiar. in Pison. & pro Cæ. PLUT. in Cat. MIN. STRAB. l. xvii.



Auletes whom *Ptolemy* had hired for that purpose. The king, knowing he could depend on *Pompey's* protection, was not ashamed to own himself the chief author of that crime; nay, he even pretended to justify so base and treacherous an action; but nevertheless a prosecution was carried on against *Ascitius* the assassin, his accomplices, who were for the most part the domestics of *Lucius* at whose house *Dio* lodged, attesting upon oath, that he stabbed him with his own hand; but, in spite of these and other unexceptionable evidences, *Ascitius* was acquitted. Then an action was brought by the adverse party against the judges, for selling themselves to *Ptolemy* and betraying their trust; but, *Pompey* and his faction employing all their interest against the accusers, the venal judges were likewise cleared, and injustice triumphed<sup>c</sup>.

*A decree for his restoration carried in the senate*

THO' the scandalous behaviour of *Auletes* at *Rome* had made him highly odious and contemptible to the generality of the *Romans*, yet, by the powerful interest of *Pompey's* party, a decree was carried in senate, whereby it was enacted, That the *Egyptians* should be compelled, by force of arms, to receive their king. All the great men of *Rome* were ambitious of being charged with the commission of re-conducting a king, who was undoing himself and ruining his kingdom, to reward those who protected him. No one had more reason to expect it than *P. Lentulus Spinther* the proconsul, he having been appointed governor of *Cilicia*, which lay in that neighbourhood, and *Cicero* supporting him with all his eloquence and interest. *Pompey* likewise, *Cn. Cornelius Marcellinus*, who was then consul, and many others, were no less desirous of a commission, which, they well knew, would be attended with immense profit. After several months warm debates, *Pompey*, whose too great power gave already no small umbrage, was excluded, under this honourable pretence, that his presence was necessary at *Rome*, he being charged with the care of maintaining plenty there. After the exclusion of *Pompey*, all things seemed to favour the proconsul of *Cilicia's* claim; but, what through the superstition of the people, what by the artifices of one of the tribunes, he was unexpectedly disappointed as well as *Pompey*. A statue erected on the hill of *Alba* being beat down with thunder, the *Sibylline* books were consulted, to discover the meaning of a prognostic which was deemed ominous. *C. Porcius Cato*, who was then a young man and one of the tribunes, took this opportunity of opening the *Sibylline* books, and thereby fruit-

*But opposed by Porcius Cato.*

<sup>c</sup> DIO. CASS. STRABO, PLIN. CIC. *ibid.*



rating the intrigues and expectations of the leading men in *Rome*; for he was an eloquent speaker, a zealous advocate for virtue and highly incensed at the meanness of the *Roman* magistrates, who, for great sums of money, had engaged to protect a king, whose crimes had rendered him insupportable to his subjects. He read, or pretended to read, in the *Sibylline* prophecies the following words: *If a king of Egypt shall apply to you for succour, assist him, but not with an army; if you use violence, fear great dangers and misfortunes*<sup>f</sup>. *Cicero* acknowledges, that all men of sense were convinced, that the pretended prediction was forged; but nevertheless the young tribune obliged the keepers of the *Sibylline* books to report it to the people, and rehearse the words in full comitia. The law required, that these oracles should never be divulged till they had been examined by the senate, who suppressed or published them as they thought fit; but *Cato*, being well apprized, that *Ptolemy* would, by his immense profusions, prevail upon the self-interested senators to suppress an oracle no-ways favourable to his restoration, had no regard to this law, but proclaimed the pretended answer of the *Sibyls* without imparting it to the senate<sup>g</sup>. The reading of the words of the *Sibyl* in the comitia had the desired effect on the minds of the people; and the decree, which empowered *Lentulus Spinther* to carry back *Auletes* to his dominions, was, at their request, revoked and annulled<sup>h</sup>. Then several expedients were proposed, in order to facilitate the king's return, without disobeying the pretended oracle; but the whole year being spent in fruitless debates, *Ptolemy*, tired out with these delays, resolved to leave *Rome*, where he had incurred the hatred of the people, and retiring to the temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus*, the most venerable asylum in *Asia*, wait there in safety the decision of his fate<sup>i</sup>. From thence he wrote to *Ammonius*, whom he had left with the character of his ambassador to the senate, desiring, that *Pompey* might be appointed to replace him on the throne; and his letter being read in the comitia by *Aulus Plautius* tribune of the people, his colleague *Caninius*, whom *Plutarch* through mistake calls *Canidius*, was of opinion, that *Pompey*, attended only by two lictors, for no violence could be used without disobeying the oracle, should go into *Egypt*, and, by his authority alone, bring the king into favour with

*Auletes*  
leaves  
*Rome*.

<sup>f</sup> *Cic.* l. i. ad familiar. ep. 1. & in orat. pro Rabir. Posthumus, & in L. Pison. *PLUT.* in Pomp. *STRABO*, l. xvii. p. 796. *DIO*, l. xxxix.

<sup>g</sup> *Cic.* l. i. ad familiar. epist. 4. &

*DIO*, ibid.

<sup>h</sup> *Cic.* ibid.

<sup>i</sup> *Cic.* & *DIO*, ibid.



his rebellious subjects ; but the tribune was herein opposed by the senate, and *Pompey*, notwithstanding his great interest, obliged to drop the pursuit of an honour which he most passionately desired. *Pompey* being thus excluded, the senators were greatly divided in their sentiments. *Bibulus* and the consul *Marcellinus* were of opinion, that the king should be restored by three ambassadors, and that those only should be chosen who had no other employment. Their view in this was to exclude *Lentulus*, at that time governor of *Cilicia* and *Cyprus*. *Crassus* agreed with *Bibulus* and *Marcellinus*, as to the re-settling of the king on his throne by three ambassadors, without an army ; but was not for excluding such as had employments. *Cicero* never quitted the interest of *Lentulus*, who during his consulship, had greatly contributed to his being recalled from banishment ; nay, he was so desirous that his friend should have the honour of re-establishing the king of *Egypt*, and enjoy the advantages, which, he was well apprised, would accrue to him from thence, that, after *Lentulus* was gone into *Cilicia*, he wrote to him, advising him to advance, without any further orders from the senate, with all his sea and land-forces to *Alexandria*, and oblige the inhabitants by force to receive their king. “ You are the  
“ best judge, says he in a letter he wrote to him on this  
“ occasion, of what you can undertake and perform. If  
“ you can reduce *Alexandria* and the other cities of *Egypt*,  
“ it is, without doubt, both for your honour and that of  
“ the republic, that you advance thither with your fleet and  
“ army, leaving the king at *Ptolemais*, or some other  
“ neighbouring place, till you have got the better of the  
“ rebels, and settled all things in peace, so that he may re-  
“ turn without danger. In this manner you will re-instate  
“ him without troops, which as our zealots pretend, is the  
“ meaning of the *Sibyl*.” The *Romans* were prohibited by the oracle to re-conduct the king of *Egypt* with an army ; and *Cicero* was of opinion, that if *Lentulus* had first reduced *Egypt* by force of arms, and then carried back the king without an army, he would not have acted therein contrary to the prohibition of the *Sibyl*, since it would be still true, that the king had returned without an army. One would hardly believe, that such a grave magistrate as *Cicero* could be capable of eluding the oracle by such an evasion ; but he looked upon it only as a political contrivance to disappoint the expectations of *Pompey*, *Lentulus*, and the other great men, who were desirous to command the army on this occasion. But, *Lentulus*, being well apprised of the many difficulties,



culties, which he foresaw, would attend this enterprize, followed the advice which *Cicero* gave him in the close of his letter, viz. that he should by no means undertake so great an enterprize, unless he could promise himself certain success <sup>k</sup>.

*Pompey*, on his being excluded from the honour of restoring the king, had wrote to him, advising the banished prince to recur to *Gabinus*, who commanded in *Syria* in quality of proconsul; and *Ptolemy*, seeing the senate came to no resolution with respect to his restoration, but spent the whole time in fruitless debates, determined to follow *Pompey's* advice. *Gabinus* was a man of a most infamous character, and ready to undertake any thing for money, without the least regard to law, justice, or religion. He had quite ruined by his enormous robberies and oppressions, the unhappy province of *Syria*, whither he had been sent after his consulship; and, finding that the *Syrians* could no longer gratify his avarice, had resolved to make war on the *Arabians*, in hopes of enriching himself with their spoils; but, in the mean time, *Mithridates*, who had been driven out of *Parthia*, by his brother *Orodes*, flying for refuge to him, prevailed on the avaricious proconsul, by promising him large sums, to turn his arms against *Parthia*, and assist him in the recovery of his crown. He had already begun his march and passed the *Euphrates*, with a design to replace *Mithridates* on the throne, not doubting but he should return loaded with an immense booty, the *Parthians* being deemed at that time a very wealthy nation; but as he was advancing with *Mithridates*, whom he took along with him for his guide, towards the borders of *Parthia*, *Ptolemy* came up with him, and delivered into his hands letters from *Pompey*, their common friend and patron, whereby he was desired to restore the banished king, upon such terms as he should think fit to require, and the king to grant. It was against an express law for any governor to go out of the limits of his province, or to make war, upon any pretence whatsoever, even with the neighbouring princes or states, without positive orders from the senate and people of *Rome*; but the authority of *Pompey* and the hope of a great reward made the proconsul despise this law, and undertake the re-establishing of the king of *Egypt*, contrary to the opinion of all the officers of the army, except *Marc Antony* alone, who commanded the horse, and supported with great

*Rekurs to*  
*Gabinus*  
*governor*  
*of Syria.*

<sup>k</sup> *Cic. ad famil. l. i. epist. 7.*



warmth the king's interest <sup>1</sup>. The more dangerous the enter-  
 prize was, the more right *Gabinus* thought he had to make  
*Who un-* *Ptolemy* pay dear for it ; and therefore was not ashamed to  
*dertakes to* demand of the king ten thousand talents for his pains, that is,  
*restore him.* one million nine hundred thirty seven thousand five hundred  
 pounds sterling, one half of it to be paid immediately, and  
 the other as soon as he should be settled on the throne.  
*Ptolemy* who was glad to be restored upon any terms, agreed  
 to pay the proconsul the abovementioned sum ; but *Ga-*  
*binius* would not stir till the first payment was made,  
 which obliged the king to borrow it of *Caius Rabirius*  
*Posthumius*, a Roman knight, *Pompey* interposing his credit  
 and authority for the payment of the capital and inter-  
 rest <sup>m</sup>.

*Marc An-* *Gabinus*, having received the sum of five thousand talents,  
*tony dis-* repassed the *Euphrates*, and, leaving *Mithridates* to shift for  
*tinguishes* himself; began his march towards *Egypt*. As he drew near  
*himself in* the borders of that country, he detached *Antony* with a body  
*this war.* of horse to seize the passes, and open the way for the rest of  
 the army. As this young Roman was the chief promoter of  
 the expedition, so he acted in it with the utmost vigour and  
 resolution ; for he not only possessed himself of the passes of a  
 sandy desert, and found a way through the marshes of *Solonis*,  
 which the *Egyptians* call the exhalations of *Tryphon*, but took  
 the city of *Pelusium*, which was a place of great importance,  
 and the key of *Egypt* on that side <sup>n</sup>. For this success he was  
 indebted to *Hyrchanus* prince of *Judæa*, and *Antipater* the fa-  
 ther of *Herod*, who not only assisted him with provisions, but  
 prevailed upon their countrymen, who lived in *Pelusium*, to  
 favour the *Romans*, and introduce them into the city. *Pto-*  
*lemy*, on his entering the place, was for putting all the *Egyp-*  
*tians* to the sword ; but *Antony* opposed so barbarous an exe-  
 cution, remonstrating, that it would draw both upon him and  
 the *Romans* the general hatred of the nation; and by that  
 means retard at least, if not prevent, his restoration ; since  
 the *Egyptians* would chuse rather to die in battle, than be  
 sacrificed, after victory, to the resentment of the conqueror <sup>o</sup>.  
 As soon as *Gabinus* received advice of *Antony's* good success,

<sup>1</sup> DIO. CASS. l. xxxix. APPIAN. in Parthic. & Syriac. PLUT. in Anton. CIC. in Orat. pro Rabir Posthum. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 11. & de bell. Judaic. l. i. c. 6. JUSTIN. l. xlii. c. 4.

<sup>m</sup> CIC. PLUT JOSEPH. DIO. ibid.

<sup>n</sup> PLUT. in Anton. AP-

PIAN. de bell. civil. l. v. p. 676.

<sup>o</sup> PLUT. ibid. JOSEPH.

l. i. de bell. Jud. c. 6. & l. xiv. c. 10.



he advanced into the heart of *Egypt*, the waters of the *Nile*, as it was then winter, being very low. *Archelaus*, who, as we have said before, had married *Berenice*, and reigned jointly with her, met *Gabinius* at the head of a considerable army, and offered him battle; but the *Egyptian* troops were cut in pieces, and *Archelaus* himself taken prisoner, so that the proconsul might at once have put an end to the war; but his avarice prompted him to prolong it; for he gave *Archelaus* his liberty, upon his paying a considerable ransom, and then pretending that he had made his escape, demanded fresh sums of *Ptolemy* to pursue the war. *Rabirius*, who followed the king in this expedition, lent him what money he wanted at a very high interest. Such were the artifices made use of by the *Romans* of this age to enrich themselves. *Archelaus*, when again at liberty, would have long disputed the crown with his rival, had his troops seconded his valour, for he was a young man of extraordinary parts; but the *Egyptians* having, in several encounters, turned their backs at the very first onset, he was at length obliged to shut himself up in *Alexandria*, which *Gabinius* closely besieged, both with his sea and land-forces. *Archelaus* defended the place with incredible bravery, till he was reduced to the last extremity; and then he marched out of the distressed city to hazard another battle, which put an end both to his reign and life; for being abandoned by his effeminate and dastardly troops, he chose rather to die in the field, than survive the loss of his crown<sup>8</sup>. *Marc Antony*, who had been his particular friend and guest, hearing that he was slain, commanded his body to be sought for among the dead, wept over it when it was found, and took upon himself to inter it with all the pomp and magnificence that was due to a person of his rank<sup>9</sup>.

*Ptolemy*, being now master of *Alexandria*, easily reduced *Auletes* the rest of *Egypt* to his obedience, and was thereby thoroughly resettled on his throne. For the preventing of new insurrections, *Gabinius*, before he returned into his province, left some of his *Roman* forces in *Alexandria* to keep that city in awe; but these soon exchanged the *Roman* manners for the *Egyptian*, and gave into the luxury and effeminacy of those among whom they lived<sup>1</sup>. *Auletes*, seeing himself again in quiet possession of the crown, began to vent his rage on all those who had been any ways concerned in the rebellion. His daughter *Berenice* was sacrificed the first to his re-

resettled  
on the  
throne.

Puts to  
death his  
daughter

<sup>1</sup> DIO. l. xxxix. VAL. MAX. l. ix. c. i.

<sup>9</sup> PLUT. ibid.

<sup>8</sup> CÆSAR. Commentar. de bell. civil. l. iii. LUCAN. l. x. ver. *Berenice*



sentment. The crime he laid to her charge was her having accepted of the vacant throne when the *Alexandrians* offered it her<sup>c</sup>. Afterwards he cut off most of the wealthy citizens of *Alexandria*, under pretence that they had been concerned in the rebellion, and confiscated their estates, in order to raise the vast sums which he was still to pay *Gabinus*, or had borrowed of *Rabirius*. To be rich was a crime for which many were condemned, the king filling his dominions, as *Dion Cassius* expresses it, with blood and slaughter, that he might thereby fill his coffers with the treasures of his unhappy subjects. These oppressions and violences the cowardly *Egyptians* suffered with great patience, being kept in awe by the *Roman* garison which *Gabinus* had left in *Alexandria*; but neither the fear of the *Romans*, nor the authority of *Ptolemy*, could make them put up a much less affront; for a *Roman* soldier having killed a cat, which animal, as it is well known, was worshipped by the *Egyptians*, the supposed sacrilege was no sooner known, but the *Alexandrians* made a general insurrection, and, gathering together in crowds, made their way through the *Roman* guards, dragged the soldier out of his house, and, in spite of all opposition, tore him in pieces<sup>d</sup>. *Diodorus Siculus*, who relates this insurrection, was an eye-witness of it.

*His ingratitude to Rabirius Posthumus.*

*Caius Rabirius Posthumus* had lent *Ptolemy Auletes*, as we have hinted above, immense sums to defray the expence of his expedition against the usurper of his crown, and had reason to expect in gratitude to be speedily repaid; but finding that the king affected delays, he resolved to leave *Rome*, where he then was, and go into *Egypt*. When he arrived at *Alexandria*, he pressed the king to perform his engagements; but *Ptolemy* shewed little regard to his remonstrances, excusing himself on account of the bad condition of his finances since the late revolution; nevertheless he offered to make him general collector of his revenues, that he might, in that employment, pay himself. The unfortunate creditor accepted the offer, for fear of losing his debt, for which he was himself indebted to others; but the base prince soon after, upon some frivolous pretence, ordered him and all his servants to be closely confined. This shocking treatment of a man who had assisted him in his distress exasperated *Pompey* as much as *Rabirius*, the former having been in a manner security for the debt, as the money had been lent at his request, and the

<sup>c</sup> STRABO, l. xvii. p. 796. DIO. ibid. PORPHYR. in Græc. EUSEB. SCALIG. p. 226. <sup>d</sup> DIODOR SICUL. l. i. p. 74, 75.



whole business transacted by him at a country-house of his near *Alba*; however, *Rabirius* had reason to fear the worst from a cruel and faithless prince, and therefore, having found means to make his escape, was glad to save his life from the wicked designs of his debtor; but, to complete his misfortunes, he was prosecuted as soon as he returned to *Rome*, 1<sup>st</sup>, For having enabled *Ptolemy* to corrupt the senate with sums lent him for that purpose. 2<sup>dly</sup>, For having debased and dishonoured the character of a *Roman* knight, by farming the revenues, and becoming the servant of a foreign prince. And, lastly, For having been an accomplice with *Gabinus*, and sharing with him the ten thousand talents, which the proconsul had received for his *Egyptian* expedition. *Rabirius* seems to have been acquitted; and the eloquent oration which *Cicero* spoke in his defence, will be an everlasting monument of *Ptolemy's* treachery and ingratitude<sup>u</sup>. As for *Gabinus*, three actions were commenced against him as soon as he returned to *Rome*; one of high-treason against the people, for restoring *Ptolemy* to his dominions, contrary to the express orders of the republic, and thereby being guilty of the death of so many persons who were killed on that occasion; the other of bribery and corruption, since it was notorious that he had been induced, by vast sums of money, to replace that cruel and wicked prince on the throne, in defiance of the laws, and the prohibition of the *Sibyl*; the third action was of tyranny and oppression in his government. *Cicero* represented his crimes in so strong a light, that he escaped death very narrowly; for, notwithstanding the powerful interest of *Cæsar* and *Pompey's* party, and the vast sums he spent in bribing the judges, he was cleared from the first charge by a majority of six votes only out of seventy; but in the other two actions he was cast, and condemned to perpetual banishment, the only punishment which the *Roman banished* laws inflicted on public extortioners and oppressors<sup>w</sup>. We are told, that, before he left *Rome*, he was reduced to great poverty, having spent the money, which he got by oppression, bribery, and corruption, in bribing and corrupting others, in order to escape the punishment which he deserved. He lived in banishment till the time of the civil wars, when he was recalled by *Cæsar*, in whose service he lost his life<sup>x</sup>.

<sup>u</sup> Cic. pro Rabir. Posth.      <sup>w</sup> Dio. ibid. Cic. ad Attic 1. iv. epist. 16. & ad Quint. Fratr. l. iii epist. 4.      <sup>x</sup> HIRT. de bell. Alexandrin. c 43.



*Auletes*  
*die.*

*Ptolemy*  
*and Cleo-*  
*patra.*  
Year of  
the Flood,  
2063.  
Before  
Christ,  
35.



*Auletes*, notwithstanding the unheard-of tyrannies with which he harrassed his subjects, died in the peaceable possession of his kingdom, about four years after his re-establishment, and thirty after he had first ascended the throne, leaving behind him two sons and two daughters. He bequeathed his crown to his eldest son and his eldest daughter, ordering them to be joined in marriage, according to the custom of their family, and to govern with equal power; and because they were both under age, the daughter, who was the eldest, being but seventeen years old, he left them under the tuition of the *Roman* people, whom he conjured, by all the gods and by his alliance with *Rome*, to take care that his will was duly executed<sup>1</sup>. *Eutropius* tell us<sup>2</sup>, that a copy of his will being transmitted to *Rome*, the people appointed *Pompey* the young prince's guardian. The sons were both called *Ptolemy*; the daughters names were *Cleopatra* and *Arsinoe*. This was the *Cleopatra* who afterwards became so famous, and had a great share in the civil wars of *Rome*. We know but very little of the beginning of her and her brother's reign. The first thing we find recorded of her is, that two of the sons of *Bibulus*, who had been consul with *Julius Cæsar*, and was at this time proconsul of *Syria*, being killed in *Alexandria* by the *Roman* soldiers, whom *Gabinus* had left for a guard to *Ptolemy Auletes*, *Cleopatra* sent the murderers to *Bibulus*, that he might punish them as he thought fit; but the proconsul sent them back untouched, with this message, that the punishing of them belonged not to him, but to the senate of *Rome*<sup>3</sup>.

*Cleopatra*  
*driven out*  
*of her bro-*  
*ther's mi-*  
*nisters.*

As *Ptolemy* was a minor, under the tuition of *Pothinus* an eunuch, and *Achillas* commander in chief of the *Egyptian* forces, these two ministers, to engross the whole power to themselves, deprived *Cleopatra* of that share in the sovereignty which had been left her by the will of *Auletes*, and drove her out of the kingdom. *Cleopatra*, thus injured, retired into *Syria*, and having raised in that country and in *Palestine* a very considerable army, led it herself into *Egypt*, with a design to assert her right by force of arms. On the other hand, *Ptolemy*, having drawn together all the forces he could, took the field, and marched against his sister. Both armies encamped between *Pelusium* and mount *Casius*, observing the motions of each other, neither of them being inclined to venture an engagement. While affairs were in this situation, *Pompey*, after the loss of

<sup>1</sup> CIC. l. viii. ad familiar. epist. 7. CÆS. l. iii. Comment de bell. civil.

<sup>2</sup> EUTROP. l. vi.

<sup>3</sup> VAL. MA. l. iv.

CIC. CÆS. ibid. SENEC. ad Marciam.



the battle of *Pharsalia*, arrived off *Pelusium*, hoping to find Pompey in the kingdom of *Egypt* an open and safe asylum; for he had been, as we have observed above, the great friend and constant protector of *Auletes*, the father of the reigning prince; and therefore, as his favours were of a late date, he expected to find the son, and those who were about him, grateful; but gratitude is a virtue unknown to princes and ministers, as *Pompey* found by woeful experience, and many others have done since his time. The unfortunate *Roman*, observing from the sea a great army encamped on the shore, concluded from thence, that the king was at war with his sister, and that, in such a conjuncture, he should find the young prince the more ready to protect him, since he might stand in need of his assistance; he therefore sent some of his friends to acquaint the king with his arrival, and to demand permission to land and enter his kingdom<sup>b</sup>. The king himself, who was then but thirteen years old, gave no answer; but *Pothinus* and *Achillas*, the two reigning ministers, taking *Theodotus* a rhetorician, who was the king's præceptor, and some others, to consult with them, advised together what answer to return. In this council some were for receiving *Pompey*, thinking it would be a reproach to the *Egyptian* nation and king to abandon him in his distress, and refuse protection and relief to one who had been the late king's zealous and constant protector, and was the present king's guardian. Others were for rejecting his petition, and desiring him to seek a retreat and asylum elsewhere; but *Theodotus* displayed all his eloquence to shew, that the safest course they could take was to dispatch him. His reasons were, because, if they received him, *Cæsar* would not fail to be revenged on them for protecting and abetting his enemy; and if they refused to receive him, and affairs should take a turn in his favour, he would, without all doubt, when again become powerful, make them pay dear for their refusal; and therefore the only safe way to guard against both these evils was to cut him off, which, said he, will gain us the friendship of *Cæsar*, and prevent the other from doing us any mischief; for *dead men*, according to the antient proverb, *don't bite*<sup>c</sup>. Some writers tell us, that *Theodotus* maintained this cruel paradox only to display his eloquence and talents; but, however that be, his advice prevailed, and was put in execution in the manner we shall relate in the history of *Rome*. And is murdered

<sup>b</sup> *Cæs.* *ibid* l. iv. *APPIAN.* p. 480. *PLUT.* in *Pomp.* *DIO.* l. xlii. *LIV.* l. cxii. *PLUT.* *ubi supra*, & in *Bruto*.



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Where he  
 is in great  
 danger.

it, *Achillas*; presented him with the head and ring of his rival; but he wept at that sight, and; turning away his eyes with abhorrence; ordered the head to be buried in a proper place, with the usual solemnities<sup>d</sup>. *Cæsar*; for the greater expedition; had pursued *Pompey* with few forces, having with him, when he arrived at *Alexandria*; only eight hundred horse and three thousand two hundred foot. The rest of his army he had left behind him in *Greece* and *Asia Minor*, under the command of his lieutenants, with orders to pursue the advantages of his late victory; and secure his interest in those parts; and therefore, confiding in his good fortune and the fame of his success at *Pharsalia*, he ventured to land at *Alexandria* with the small body above-mentioned; but was very near paying dear for it; for the few forces he had with him not being sufficient to defend him against the unruly mob of that populous city, which was all in an uproar on account of *Pompey's* death; he; with much ado; got into the king's palace, and there shut himself up with part of his men; the rest having been driven back to their ships by the outrageous multitude<sup>e</sup>. As it was not in *Cæsar's* power to leave *Alexandria*; by reason of the *Etesian* winds; which in that country continue blowing all the dog-days; in the beginning of which *Cæsar* had entered that port; and prevent any ships from sailing out; he sent orders to the legions he had left in *Asia* to join him with all possible expedition; but the tumult being appeased before the arrival of his troops; he ventured out of the palace; and having; by his affable behaviour, gained the affections of the common people; he spent his time in visiting the curiosities of that great and stately metropolis; and seemed to take great pleasure in assisting at the public speeches and harangues, made by the *Alexandrian* orators and rhetoricians by way of trial; but, that he might not spend his whole time in diversions only; since he could not leave the place, he began to solicit the payment of the money due to him from *Auletes*, and to take cognizance of the difference between young *Ptolemy* and his sister *Cleopatra* f.

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<sup>d</sup> LIV. l. cxii. PLUT. in Cæsar.  
<sup>f</sup> CÆS. Comment. ibid. DIO. l. iv.

<sup>e</sup> LIV. ibid. DIO. l.



tained of him the alliance of the *Roman* people, and by that means secured to himself the crown. The king had paid him only part of this sum, and given him an obligation or bond for the remainder. This debt now *Cæsar* called for, wanting it to pay his soldiers, and exacted it with great rigour; which *Pothinus* the king's treasurer by several artifices made appear greater than it really was; for he plundered their temples of their gold and silver utensils, and persuaded the king and all the great persons of the kingdom to eat in earthen or wooden vessels, insinuating underhand, that *Cæsar* had seized on all their gold and silver plate, in order to stir up the people against him; but what most provoked them, and at last drove them to take up arms against *Cæsar*, was the haughtiness with which he acted as judge between *Ptolemy* and *Cleopatra*; for he not only cited them to appear before him for the decision of their difference, but issued out a peremptory order, commanding them to disband their armies, and stand to the sentence which he, after hearing their reasons, should pronounce. This was looked upon in *Egypt* as a violation of the royal dignity, and an open incroachment on the prerogative of their sovereign, who being independent acknowledged no superior, and therefore was not, like a subject, to be adjudged by any man. To these complaints *Cæsar* replied, that he did not take upon him to judge as a superior, but as an arbitrator appointed by the will of *Auletes*, who having put his children under the tuition of the *Roman* people, and all their power being now vested in him as their dictator, it belonged to him to arbitrate and determine this controversy, as guardian of *Auletes*'s children by virtue of his will; and that he claimed for no other end than to settle peace between the king and his sister<sup>s</sup>. This explanation quieting all for the present, the cause was brought to *Cæsar*'s tribunal, and advocates were appointed on both sides to plead before him.

*Endeavours to make up the differences between Ptolemy and Cleopatra.*

BUT *Cleopatra*, being informed that *Cæsar* had a very particular regard for such of her sex, as were recommended to him by their youth and beauty, resolved to make use of both, and by their means attach him first to her person, and next to her cause. Accordingly she sent a private messenger to *Cæsar*, complaining, that her cause was betrayed by those she employed, and demanding his permission to appear before him in person. *Plutarch* says, that *Cæsar* pressed her the first to come and plead her cause before him. Be that as it will, she no sooner knew that *Cæsar* was inclined to see her, but

<sup>s</sup> PLUT. in Cæs. DIO, l. xlii OROS. l. vi. c. 15. CÆS. Comment. de bell. civ. l. iii.



Julius Cæsar arrives at Alexandria.

IN the mean time *Cæsar*, being informed that *Pompey* had steered his course towards *Egypt*, pursued him thither, and arrived at *Alexandria*; just as the news of his death was brought to that city. Soon after *Theodotus*, or, as others will have it, *Achillas*, presented him with the head and ring of his rival; but he wept at that sight, and, turning away his eyes with abhorrence, ordered the head to be buried in a proper place, with the usual solemnities<sup>d</sup>. *Cæsar*, for the greater expedition, had pursued *Pompey* with few forces, having with him, when he arrived at *Alexandria*, only eight hundred horse and three thousand two hundred foot. The rest of his army he had left behind him in *Greece* and *Asia Minor*, under the command of his lieutenants, with orders to pursue the advantages of his late victory, and secure his interest in those parts; and therefore, confiding in his good fortune and the fame of his success at *Pharsalia*, he ventured to land at *Alexandria* with the small body above-mentioned, but was very near paying dear for it; for the few forces he had with him not being sufficient to defend him against the unruly mob of that populous city, which was all in an uproar on account of *Pompey's* death, he, with much ado, got into the king's palace, and there shut himself up with part of his men, the rest having been driven back to their ships by the outrageous multitude<sup>e</sup>. As it was not in *Cæsar's* power to leave *Alexandria*, by reason of the *Etesian* winds, which in that country continue blowing all the dog-days, in the beginning of which *Cæsar* had entered that port, and prevent any ships from sailing out; he sent orders to the legions he had left in *Asia* to join him with all possible expedition; but the tumult being appeased before the arrival of his troops, he ventured out of the palace, and having, by his affable behaviour, gained the affections of the common people; he spent his time in visiting the curiosities of that great and stately metropolis, and seemed to take great pleasure in assisting at the public speeches and harangues, made by the *Alexandrian* orators and rhetoricians by way of trial; but, that he might not spend his whole time in diversions only, since he could not leave the place, he began to solicit the payment of the money due to him from *Auletes*, and to take cognizance of the difference between young *Ptolemy* and his sister *Cleopatra*†.

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<sup>g</sup> Plut. in Cæs. Dio, l. xlii. Oros. l. vi. c. 15. Cæsar. Comment. de bell. civil. l. iii.



*Cleopatra  
gains over  
Cæsar to  
her interest.*

*Ptolemy  
stirs up the  
Alexan-  
drians a-  
gainst him.*

taking along with her only one of her servants, *Apollodorus* the *Sicilian*, she imbarqued in a small vessel, and, in the dusk of the evening, arrived under the walls of *Alexandria*. She was afraid of being discovered by her brother, or those of his party who were masters of the city, and would not have failed to stop her, and prevent her from going to *Cæsar's* house. In order therefore to get thither without being known, she caused herself to be tied up in a mattress, and was thus carried by *Apollodorus* on his back through the streets of *Alexandria* to *Cæsar's* apartment. There he laid down his burden at *Cæsar's* feet, saying he had brought him a present, and having untied it, up started a fine lady with the best airs she could put on. *Cæsar* was highly pleased with the stratagem, but much more with the person of *Cleopatra*, whose extraordinary beauty so charmed him, that he kept her with him all that night, and thinking himself engaged by the favours she granted him, to do all that lay in his power in her behalf, the next morning he sent for *Ptolemy*, and pressed him to receive his sister again upon her own terms. By this proposal *Ptolemy* found, that *Cæsar* from being their common judge, was become her advocate, and being at the same time informed, that his sister was with him in that part of the palace where he lodged, the young prince left *Cæsar* in a violent passion, and running into the streets, took the diadem off his head, tore it to pieces, and threw it on the ground, complaining with his face bathed in tears, that he was betrayed, and relating the whole to the multitude that flocked round him, in a moment the whole city was in an uproar; the king himself, at the head of the populace, led them tumultuously to charge *Cæsar*, which they did with all the fury which is usual on such occasions. The *Roman* soldiers who were near him secured the king's person, and delivered him up to *Cæsar*; but nevertheless, as the rest of his forces, who knew nothing of what passed, were dispersed in the several quarters of that great city, *Cæsar* must necessarily have been overpowered, and tore to pieces by the enraged multitude, had he not had the presence of mind to shew himself from a balcony which was out of their reach, and from thence assure them, that he was ready to do whatever they should think fit to suggest to him. These fair promises appeased the tumult for the present <sup>b</sup>.

The next day, having summoned a general assembly of the people, he brought out to them *Ptolemy* and *Cleopatra*, and

<sup>b</sup> *FLORUS* l. iv. c. 2. *DIO*, l. xlii. *SUET.* in *Julio*. *PLUT.* in *Cæs.* *LIV.* l. cxii. *CÆS.* ubi supra.

then



then causing their father's will publicly to be read, he decreed as guardian and arbitrator, that *Ptolemy* and *Cleopatra* should reign jointly in *Egypt* agreeable to the will; and that *Ptolemy* the younger son and *Arfinoe* the younger daughter should jointly enjoy the island of *Cyprus*. He added this last article to appease the people, and by that means escape their fury, which he was then in great fear of; for the island of *Cyprus* had for some time belonged to the *Romans*, as we have related elsewhere. This decree pleased all except *Pothinus*; for as he had been the cause of the breach between *Cleopatra* and her brother, and also of the expulsion of that princess, he had reason to apprehend, that she on her return would deprive him of the great power he had at court, and perhaps of his life. To prevent therefore *Cæsar's* decree from taking effect, he inspired the people with new jealousies, giving out, that the *Roman* dictator had, by force and against his inclination, bestowed the crown on both; but that his true design was to place *Cleopatra* alone on the throne. When he had, by sowing such reports among the populace, stirred them up anew against *Cæsar*, for the *Egyptians* could not bear to be governed by a woman alone, he solicited *Achillas*, by private letters and messengers, to advance at the head of the army from *Pelusium*, where he was then encamped, to *Alexandria*, in order to drive *Cæsar* out of the city. The general was easily prevailed upon to fall in with his measures, and approaching *Alexandria* with twenty thousand regular and well disciplined troops, put all things again therein confusion. *Cæsar*, who had but a small number of forces with him, persuaded the king to send out ambassadors to *Achillas*, ordering him to forbear using any violence, since he was well pleased with what *Cæsar* had decreed. *Dioscorides* and *Serapion*, who had been ambassadors at *Rome* and had great authority at court, were employed on this occasion; but *Achillas* was so far from complying with the king's orders, that he commanded the two ambassadors to be seized and put to death; and accordingly one of them was killed on the spot, and the other carried off by his own men for dead. *Cæsar*, finding that *Achillas* would hearken to no proposals, resolved to keep within the walls of the town, not being in a condition to make head against the enemy in the open field. He therefore posted his men so well in the streets and avenues of that quarter of the town which he had taken possession of, that he found no difficulty in supporting the attack of the whole *Egyptian* army. *Achillas*, not being able to force that quarter, changed his measures, and went to attack the port, with a design to make himself master of the *Egyptian* fleet at anchor

*Cæsar be-  
sieged in A-  
lexandria.*



*The library in the quarter called Bruchium burnt.*

anchor there, to the number of seventy two ships, and by that means to shut up the *Romans* by sea, and prevent them from receiving succours and convoys on that side; but *Cæsar* prevailing there likewise, caused the fleet to be set on fire, and at the same time seizing the tower of *Pharos*, placed a strong garison in it, and by this means secured his communication with the sea, without which he must necessarily have been soon obliged to surrender at discretion. Some of the ships, when on fire, driving to the shore, communicated their flames to the adjoining houses, which, spreading into the quarter of the city called *Bruchium*, consumed the noble library, which had been the work of so many kings, and contained at that time four hundred thousand volumes <sup>1</sup>.

*Cæsar*, finding himself thus engaged, contrary to his expectation, in a dangerous war, dispatched messengers into all the neighbouring countries, soliciting speedy succours. He wrote, amongst others, to *Domitius Calvinus* his lieutenant in *Asia*, properly so called, acquainting him with the danger he was in. That general, upon the receipt of his letter, immediately detached two legions, putting the one on board some transports which he had ready, and sending the other by land. The former arrived very seasonably; but the latter did not reach *Alexandria* till the war was over. But *Cæsar* was best served by *Mithridates* of *Pergamus*, a man of great valour and experience in war; for he being sent into *Syria* and *Cilicia* to hasten the supplies there, brought those forces which extricated him out of danger, as we shall see in the sequel <sup>2</sup>.

In the mean time *Cæsar*, that he might not be forced to fight the numerous troops of the enemy till his succours arrived, fortified that quarter of the city where he lay, with walls, towers, and other works, including within them the palace, a theatre adjoining to it, which he made use of as a citadel, and a passage to the harbour. *Cæsar*, from the very beginning of the tumult, had taken care to get the king into his power, that this war might seem to be undertaken only by a few malecontents, and not by his authority or approbation. While he was thus detained in *Cæsar's* quarters, *Pothinus*, who attended him there as his governor and chief minister, carried on a private correspondence with *Achillas*, and by letters secretly conveyed to him, gave him intelligence of all

<sup>1</sup> CÆS. & DIO. *ibid.* OROS. l. vi. c. 15. SENECA. de tranquill. anim. c. 9. AUL. GELL. l. v. c. 17. AMMIAN MARCEL. l. xxii.

<sup>2</sup> A. HIRTIVS. de bell. Alexandrin. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. vii. that



that passed, encouraging him to push on the war with vigour ; but at length one of his letters being intercepted and the treason thereby discovered, *Cæsar* caused him to be put to death. Hereupon *Ganymedes*, another eunuch, who was charged with the education of *Arfinoe* the king's younger sister, fearing the same punishment, as having been privy to the treasonable practices of *Pothinus*, secretly conveyed the young princess out of *Cæsar*'s quarters, and fled with her to the *Egyptian* army, who, wanting one of the royal family to head them, were overjoyed at her arrival, and proclaimed her queen ; but *Ganymedes*, who entertained thoughts of supplanting *Achillas*, caused an accusation to be formed against him, as if he had betrayed the fleet which *Cæsar* had burnt in the harbour, and having by this means got him condemned and executed, he took on himself the command of the army and the administration of all the affairs of that party ; and indeed he was thoroughly qualified for the employment of a prime minister, being a man of great penetration and activity, and no probity. He contrived a thousand artful stratagems to distress *Cæsar* during the course of this war, shewing himself at the same time a discerning statesman and a crafty general ; for instance, he found means to spoil all the fresh water in *Cæsar*'s quarters, and thereby reduced him to great straits ; for the *Alexandrians* having no other fresh water but that of the *Nile*, the whole city was vaulted underneath their houses for the receiving and keeping of it. Once a year, on the great swell of the *Nile*, the water of that river came into the city by a canal cut for that purpose, and being by several sluices let into the vaults, filled them all, they being built without any partitions in a general communication from one to another under the houses. The water let in on this occasion served for the common use of the inhabitants the whole year, every one having an opening in his house, not unlike the mouth of a well, through which the water was drawn in buckets or pitchers. *Ganymedes* having stopt up the communications between the vaults or reservoirs in *Cæsar*'s quarters and those of the rest of the city, found means to turn the sea-water into the former, and thereby spoiled all the fresh-water that was kept in them. This raised a general uproar among *Cæsar*'s soldiers, and he would have been obliged to abandon his quarters very much to his disadvantage, had he not immediately ordered wells to be dug, and discovered, after he had sunk them to an incredible depth, springs of fresh-water, which made amends for that which was spoiled<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> HIRTIVS, PLUT. & CÆS. *ibid.*



AFTER this *Cæsar* receiving advice, that the legion which *Calvinus* had sent him by sea was arrived on the neighbouring coasts of *Lybia*, but was detained there by contrary winds, advanced with his whole fleet to convoy it safely to *Alexandria*, being then reduced almost to the utmost extremity, and his men quite tired out with the continual assaults of the enemy. *Ganymedes* immediately assembled all the *Egyptian* ships he could, with a design to intercept him on his return. *Cæsar* was unwilling to engage, being desirous to get the legion safe into the city; but a *Rhodian* galley, which was placed in his right wing, being attacked by several of the enemy's ships, he could not forbear assisting his faithful allies, which brought on an engagement between the two fleets, wherein *Cæsar* gained a considerable advantage, and would have intirely destroyed the *Egyptian* fleet, had he not been obliged by night coming on to retire with his ships and legion into the harbour <sup>m</sup>.

To repair this and other losses, for *Cæsar* had by this time destroyed an hundred and ten *Egyptian* ships, partly in the harbour, and partly in the arsenal, *Ganymedes* drew together all the ships that were in the mouths of the *Nile* and in the private arsenals, and, having formed with them another fleet, entered the port of *Alexandria*. This produced another fight at sea, in which *Cæsar* gained a second victory, which was owing chiefly to the great valour and skill of the *Rhodians* in naval affairs. To make the most of the advantage he had got, he endeavoured to seize the town of *Pharos*, and the mole leading to it called the *Heptastadium*; but after he had landed his troops in the island, he was repulsed with the loss of above eight hundred of his men, and was very near perishing himself in his retreat; for finding the ship in which he endeavoured to escape ready to sink, by reason of the numbers of those who had crowded into it, he threw himself into the sea, and with great difficulty swam to the next ship, whence he saw, to his great concern, the vessel which he had left sink with all the men <sup>n</sup>. And here we must not pass over in silence a circumstance which is omitted by *Hirtius*, but recorded by *Dion Cassius* <sup>o</sup>, *Plutarch* <sup>p</sup>, *Suetonius* <sup>q</sup>, and *Orosius* <sup>r</sup>. These tell us, that *Cæsar*, while he thus made his escape, carried his commentaries, which he had then with him, in one hand, holding it up the whole time, lest the water should reach them, and swam with the other. *Appian* relates this whole affair in a quite different manner; for he

<sup>m</sup> DIO. CASS. l. 42. HIRTIUS, *ibid.*

<sup>n</sup> HIRTIUS, *ibid.*

<sup>o</sup> DIO. l. xlii. <sup>p</sup> PLUT. in *Cæsar*.

<sup>q</sup> SUET. in *Julio*.

<sup>r</sup> OROS.

l. vi. c. 15.



writes; that *Cæsar*, being surrounded on a bridge by the enemy, was obliged to throw off his purple garment, and leap into the sea, and that the king's soldiers pursuing him he swam under water, arising up his head now and then, to one of his own ships, where he was known and taken up<sup>c</sup>. *Suctonius* tells us, that he held his purple coat in his mouth, dragging it after him, lest it should fall into the enemy's hands; and *Florus*<sup>d</sup>, with whom *Plutarch* agrees<sup>e</sup>, that he left it in the waves, either by chance or on purpose, that the enemy pursuing him might discharge their darts and arrows at his garment. *Appian* and *Dio* add, that the *Egyptians* having got it, fixed it on a trophy which they had set up for having put the *Romans* to flight, and seemed to be as much pleased and elated, as if they had taken *Cæsar* himself<sup>w</sup>.

THE *Alexandrians*, finding that the *Romans* were rather encouraged than disheartened by their late loss, and were making the necessary preparations to repair it, sent ambassadors to *Cæsar*, demanding their king, and assuring him, that his compliance with their request would gain over the multitude to him, and put a speedy end to the war; For your keeping the king confined, and in a manner prisoner, said they, is what chiefly provokes the populace, and prevents them from hearkening to any terms of an accommodation: allow him his liberty, and you will find them ready to lay down their arms and come to an agreement. *Cæsar*, though well acquainted with the subtle and deceitful temper of the *Alexandrians*, readily complied with their request, knowing, that he hazarded nothing in giving them up their king's person; and that, if they failed in their promises, the continuation of the war and the evils attending it would be laid to their charge. Before he dismissed the young prince, he exhorted him to take this opportunity of inspiring his subjects with sentiments of peace; to redress the evils which a war, very imprudently undertaken, had brought upon his dominions; to approve himself worthy of the confidence he reposed in him by granting him his liberty, and to shew himself grateful for the services he had rendered his father. *Ptolemy*, early instructed by his masters in the art of dissimulation and deceit, begged *Cæsar*, with tears in his eyes, that he would not oblige him to depart, assuring him, that he had rather live with him like a private person, than reign without him. The event soon shewed how little sincerity there was in the young king's tears and professions of friendship; for he was no soon-

<sup>c</sup> APPIAN. de bell civil. l. ii. p. 523<sup>d</sup> FLOR. l. iv. c. 2.<sup>e</sup> PLUT. ib.<sup>w</sup> DIO. ibid. & APPIAN. ubi supra. p. 484.



er at the head of his troops, than he renewed hostilities with more vigour than ever. The first thing *Ptolemy*, who was intirely governed by *Ganymedes*, attempted, was to intercept with his fleet all *Cæsar's* provisions. This occasioned a new fight at sea near *Canopus*, in which the *Romans*, under the conduct of *Tiberius Nero*, had again the victory. In this engagement *Euphanor*, the *Rhodian* admiral, lost his life and his ship, after having signalized himself in a very eminent manner<sup>\*</sup>; but by this time *Mithridates* of *Pergamus* was drawing near with an army which he had raised with great expedition in *Syria*.

*Mithridates* had been sent, as we have related above, into *Syria* and *Cilicia*, to raise there what forces he could, and lead them into *Egypt*. In this commission he acquitted himself with such diligence and prudence, that he soon formed a considerable army, being greatly assisted therein by *Antipater* the *Idumæan*, who not only joined him with three thousand *Jews*, but prevailed upon *Hyrcanus*, who was then at the head of that nation, and the neighbouring princes of *Arabia* and *Cæle-Syria*, to send him considerable reinforcements. With these troops *Mithridates*, attended by *Antipater* in person, marched into *Egypt*; and on his arrival at *Pelusium*, took that important place by storm. This advantage was chiefly owing to *Antipater*; for he was the first that mounted the breach, and thereby opened the way to the others. From *Pelusium* they advanced towards *Alexandria*; but as they approached the borders of the province of *Onion*, they found all the passes seized by the *Jews* who inhabited that part of *Egypt*; so that it was impossible for them to proceed any farther. This unexpected obstruction would have rendered their design abortive, had not *Antipater*, partly by his own authority, and partly by that of *Hyrcanus*, from whom he brought letters to the *Jews*, prevailed upon them to embrace *Cæsar's* party<sup>†</sup>. Their example was followed by the *Jews* of *Memphis*, and *Mithridates* was plentifully supplied by both. *Asinius* the *Trallian*, who wrote an account of the civil war, tells us, that *Hyrcanus* himself invaded *Egypt* with *Mithridates*. As they drew near the *Delta*, *Ptolemy* detached a considerable body of troops to dispute with them the passage of the *Nile*. This drew on a battle, in which *Mithridates* commanded one part of the army, and *Antipater* the other. *Mithridates's* wing was soon obliged to give ground, being attacked by the *Egyptians* with incredible fury; but *Antipater*, who had de-

<sup>\*</sup> HIRTIVS & DIO, *ibid.*

<sup>†</sup> HIRTIVS, *ibid.* JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 14 & 15. DIO, *ibid.*



feated the enemy on his side, hastening to his relief, the battle began anew, and the *Egyptians* were totally routed. The two victorious generals pursued the advantage, drove the enemy out of the field with great slaughter, and having taken their camp, obliged those to repass the *Nile* who had the good luck to make their escape<sup>2</sup>. *Mithridates* immediately acquainted *Cæsar* with this victory, ascribing with great ingenuity, if *Josephus* is to be credited, the whole glory of it to *Antipater*.

THE king, upon advice that the troops he had sent were defeated, advanced with his whole army against *Mithridates* and *Antipater*. At the same time *Cæsar*, leaving the city in the night-time, marched with all possible expedition to join *Mithridates*, before the *Egyptians* could fall upon him. Accordingly he was the first who brought him intelligence of the king's design. The *Egyptian* army appeared soon after; whereupon a bloody engagement ensuing, most of the enemy's forces were cut in pieces, and the king himself drowned in the *Nile*, as he was attempting to make his escape in a boat. His body was afterwards thrown on the shore, and there known by the gold cuirass which the *Ptolemies* of *Egypt* used to wear, as *Julius Capitolinus* informs us<sup>3</sup>. He had reigned from the death of his father *Auletes* three years and eight months. In this engagement twenty thousand *Egyptians* were killed in the battle and the pursuit, and twelve thousand taken prisoners. On *Cæsar*'s side five hundred only were killed, and about a thousand wounded. Among the latter was *Antipater*, who fought with incredible bravery, and had a great share in the victory<sup>4</sup>.

*Cæsar*, in confidence of this victory, returned to *Alexandria*, and entering that city, without opposition, bestowed the crown of *Egypt* on *Cleopatra*, obliging her to marry *Ptolemy* her younger brother. This was in effect giving it to *Cleopatra* alone, the young prince being then but eleven years old. The passion which *Cæsar* had conceived for that princess, was the sole motive that prompted him to imbarque in this dangerous and infamous war; and therefore, having been attended with success in so bold an enterprize, he took care that she should reap the advantages of his victory. The same passion detained him longer in *Egypt* than his affairs could well admit; for tho' he had settled all matters there in *January*, yet he did not leave that country till the latter end of *A-*

<sup>2</sup> HIRTIUS & JOSEPH. *ibid.*    <sup>3</sup> HIRTIUS & DIO. *ibid.* LIV. l. xii. OROS. l. vi. c. 16. FLOR. l. iv. c. 3. EUTROP. l. vi.

<sup>4</sup> JOSEPH. l. xiv. c. 15.



*pril*, passing his time in revels and banquets with *Cleopatra*, and the *Egyptians* of her court. He took great pleasure in diverting himself with her on the *Nile* in a large galley called *Thalamegos*, being attended by a fleet of four hundred sail. *Suetonius* tells us, that he designed to sail with her as far as *Æthiopia*, but that his troops refused to follow him<sup>c</sup>. He had even a mind to carry her with him to *Rome*, and there marry her, after having caused a law to pass in the comitia, by which the *Roman* citizens should be allowed to marry such women, and as many, as they pleased. *Marius Cinna*, then tribune of the people, declared after *Cæsar's* death, that, at his earnest request, he had prepared an harangue for the proposing of that law to the people<sup>d</sup>. In this war *Cæsar* having taken *Arfinoe* prisoner, carried her to *Rome* with him, and there caused her to walk before his triumphal chariot, bound with chains of gold. After that shew was over he gave her liberty, but would not allow her to return to *Egypt*, lest her presence should raise new troubles in that kingdom. The banished princess took up her residence in the province of *Asia*; for there *Antony* found her after the battle of *Philippi*, and, at the request of *Cleopatra* her sister, caused her to be put to death<sup>e</sup>. Before *Cæsar* left *Alexandria*, in acknowledgment of the assistance he had received from the *Jews*, he confirmed all the privileges they enjoyed in that city, and commanded a brazen pillar to be raised, whereon all those privileges were engraved, with the decree confirming them<sup>f</sup>. What made him at last take his leave of *Egypt* and his beloved *Cleopatra*, by whom he had a son called from his own name *Cæsarion*, was the war with *Pharnaces*, king of the *Cimmerian Bosphorus*, and son of *Mithridates*, the last king of *Pontus*. The success that attended that prince, in the recovery of his father's dominions, roused *Cæsar* out of the lethargy into which *Cleopatra's* charms had lulled him, and put him again upon action. He left part of his forces in *Egypt* to protect *Cleopatra*, and with the rest marched into *Syria*.

AFTER *Cæsar's* departure, *Cleopatra* enjoyed the crown without the least disturbance, having all the power in her own hands during the minority of her brother; but the young prince no sooner attained to the fourteenth year of his age, when, according to the laws of the country, he was to share the royal authority as well as the name; but she caused him

<sup>c</sup> SUTON. in Julio. APPIAN. l. ii. de bell. civil. p. 484. JOSEPH. l. xiv. c. 17. & l. ii. contra Apion. p. 1063. <sup>d</sup> SUTON. ibid. <sup>e</sup> CÆS. DIO. HIRTIUS, APPIAN. & c. ibid. <sup>f</sup> JOSEPH. ubi supra.



to be poisoned in the fourth year of his reign, and from that time governed *Egypt* <sup>b</sup> without a partner. Not long after *Cæsar* being killed at *Rome*, and the famous triumvirate formed between *Antony*, *Lepidus*, and *Octavius* to avenge his death, *Cleopatra* declared, without hesitation, for the triumvirs, and sent to *Albienus*, the consul *Dolabella*'s lieutenant, four legions, which were the remains of *Crassus* and *Pompey*'s armies, and part of the troops which *Cæsar* had left with her to guard *Egypt*. These four legions were taken by *Cassius*, who, by frequent messages, solicited *Cleopatra* to join him against the triumvirs; but she being indebted to *Cæsar* for her crown, could, neither by solicitations nor menaces, be prevailed upon to assist his murderer. Hereupon *Cassius* began his march towards the frontiers of *Egypt*, with a design to invade that kingdom; but being pressed by *Bru-tus* to join him, he dropped that enterprize. *Cleopatra* being thus delivered from all apprehensions of an invasion, sailed with a numerous fleet to join *Antony* and *Octavius*; but falling sick was obliged to return to *Egypt*, after having lost a great number of her ships by a violent storm <sup>h</sup>.

*Antony*, after the battle of *Philippi*, having passed over into *Asia* to settle all matters there for the interest of the conqueror, was informed that *Cleopatra*, or at least some of her governors, had sent succours to *Cassius* against *Dolabella*. Hereupon he summoned the queen of *Egypt* to appear before him at *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, whither he was then going to settle the affairs of that province. *Cleopatra*, convinced of the great power of her charms, by the proof she had already so successfully made of them on *Cæsar*, did not doubt but she should easily captivate *Antony*, and the more, because the former had been acquainted with her only when she was very young, and had no knowledge of the world; whereas she was going to appear before *Antony* at an age, when women unite to the bloom of their beauty a ripeness of understanding, which qualifies them to treat of and conduct the greatest affairs; for she was then twenty-five years old, had a great deal of wit and humour, and was no less agreeable in her conversation than in her person. She provided herself with rich presents, vast sums of money, and above all with magnificent and sumptuous habits and ornaments; and thus provided embarked on a stately galley, and, attended with the rest of her fleet, set sail for *Cilicia*, crossed the sea of *Pamphylia*, and, entering the *Cydus*, ar-

<sup>b</sup> JOSEPH. Antiquit. l. xv. c. 4. PORPHYR. in Græc. EUSIB. SCALIG. <sup>h</sup> APPIAN. l. iv. p. 675.



rived at *Tarsus*, where *Antony* waited for her. Never had there been seen in those parts a more splendid equipage than her's. Her galley was gilt all over, the sails of purple, and the oars plated over with silver. The queen appeared under a canopy of cloth of gold, raised on the deck, in the same attire and attitude as *Venus* was then generally painted, being surrounded by a great many comely youths fanning her like *Cupids*, and beautiful virgins, representing, some the *Nereids*, and others the *Graces*. The dales and hills echoed, as she sailed up the river, with the melodious sounds of various instruments, with which the oars keeping time, seemed in a manner to double the harmony. The great quantity of perfumes that were burnt on the deck spread their odours, on each side of the river to a great distance, and filled the air with the most fragrant scents. As soon as it was known in the city that the queen of *Egypt* was drawing near, the citizens of all ranks and ages, abandoning their houses, and interrupting their most serious occupations, crowded out of the gates to meet her ; inso-much, that *Antony*, who was distributing justice and hearing causes in the forum, saw his tribunal all on a sudden deserted, not a single person remaining with him but his lictors and domestics ; and indeed no wonder, that the whole city flocked to see her, a rumour being spread all over *Tarsus*, that the goddess *Venus* was coming to pay a visit to *Bacchus*, and confer with him about the good of *Asia*. She was no sooner landed, than *Antony* sent to invite her to supper ; but the queen answered, that, according to the rules of civility, he ought first to come to her, and that therefore she expected to see him that very night in the tents, which would be soon set up on the banks of the river. *Antony* complied with her invitation, and was received and entertained with a magnificence not to be expressed. *Antony* invited her in his turn for the next day, and no expence was spared ; but, in spite of his utmost efforts, he owned his entertainment far inferior to the queen's, and was himself the first to ridicule the parsimony and plainness of his own, when compared with the splendor and elegance of *Cleopatra's*. The more *Antony* conversed with the fair *Egyptian*, the more he was charmed with her conversation, which, being attended with all possible sweetness and gaiety, had attractions still more irresistible than her form and features. Little or no mention was made of the complaints which had been brought against her, and were indeed without foundation. She soon got so absolute an ascendant over her judge, that it was not in his power to refuse her any thing she asked, however repugnant to the laws



laws of justice, humanity, or religion<sup>1</sup>. At her request assassins were dispatched to *Miletus*, as *Appian* tells us<sup>2</sup>, or to *Ephesus*, as *Josephus* will have it<sup>3</sup>, with orders to murder *Arfinoe*, which were accordingly executed in the very temple where she had taken refuge. *Cleopatra*, to attach *Antony* the more to her person and interest, made daily entertainments during her stay at *Tarsus*, inviting him and the chief officers of his army to partake of them, and spending on those occasions immense sums of money. In one of these banquets *Antony* expressing great surprize at the vast number of gold cups, enriched with jewels which were displayed on all sides, the queen told him, that since he admired such trifles, he was very welcome to them, and immediately ordered her servants to carry them all to his house. The next day she invited him anew, and desired him to bring a good number of guests along with him. He accepted her invitation, and came attended with all the chief officers at that time in *Tarsus*. When the banquet was over, and the numerous company ready to depart, *Cleopatra* presented them with all the gold and silver plate which had been made use of during the entertainment<sup>4</sup>. In one of these feasts happened what *Pliny*, and after him *Macrobius*, relates of *Cleopatra's* magnificence, or rather profuseness. The queen had at her ears two of the finest and largest pearls that ever had been seen, each of them being valued at fifty two thousand five hundred pounds of our money. One of these she caused to be dissolved in vinegar, and then swallowed it for no other end, but to shew the little account she made of such toys, and how much she could spend on one draught. She was preparing in like manner to melt the other when *Plancus*, who was present, stopt her, and saved the pearl, which was afterwards carried to *Rome* by *Augustus*, and, being by his orders cut in two, served for pendants to the *Venus* of the *Julian* family<sup>5</sup>.

In the mean time *Antony* being obliged by his affairs to leave *Tarsus*, *Cleopatra* accompanied him as far as *Tyre*, and there taking her leave of him returned into *Egypt*. But the triumvir was so taken with her charms, that he could not now live without her; having therefore appointed *Plancus* to be his lieutenant in *Asia Minor*, and *Saxa* in *Syria*, he hastened after her to *Alexandria*, and there spent the whole

<sup>1</sup> PLUT. in Anton. APPIAN. l. v. p. 671—576. DIONOR. SICUL. l. xlviii. p. 371. JOSEPH Antiq. l. xiv. c. 23. <sup>2</sup> APPIAN. l. v. p. 676. <sup>3</sup> JOSEPH. l. xv. c. 14. <sup>4</sup> ATHEN. l. iv. p. 147, 148. <sup>5</sup> PLIN. l. xxxiii. c. 3. ARNOB. l. iv. continuing



ensuing winter with her in sports, banquets, and all kinds of diversions, treating each other every day at an immense and incredible expence. *Cleopatra's* whole study was to amuse him, and make him pass his time agreeably. She never left him day or night, but was continually contriving new diversions, that he might not have leisure to reflect, or entertain thoughts of leaving her. *Antony* took particular pleasure in angling; but being one day attended with very bad luck, and much concerned to appear before the queen without his usual address and good fortune, he ordered the fishermen he had with him to dive secretly under water, and fasten to his hook some of the largest fishes which they had taken in their nets. His orders being punctually executed, *Cleopatra* expressed in appearance great surprize and admiration every time he drew up his line, but, being well apprized of the artifice, she caused one of her own people to dive secretly under water, and fasten to the triumvir's hook a large dry fish of that kind that was brought from the *Euxine* sea into *Egypt*. When *Antony* drew up his line the whole company was highly diverted at the sight of the salt fish, and could not help laughing at the triumvir's extraordinary good luck; but he putting on a serious air, the queen took him in her arms, and displaying all her charms, Leave, said she, good general, leave the angling line to us kings and queens of *Pharos* and *Canopus*; it becomes you to take cities, kingdoms, and princes.

WHILE *Antony* was thus amusing himself with childish and trifling diversions, *Labienus* at the head of the *Parthian* army made great conquests in *Syria*, which obliged him to take his leave of *Cleopatra* early in the spring. As he was on his march against the *Parthians* he altered his measures, and sailed into *Italy* with two hundred ships against young *Octavius*, with whom he soon after reconciled himself, marrying by the advice of his friends his sister *Octavia*, a woman of extraordinary merit, who was lately become a widow by the death of *Marcellus*. It was believed, this marriage would make him forget *Cleopatra*; but his passion for the *Egyptian* soon reviving, after he had spent the winter with his new wife at *Athens*, he hastened back to *Alexandria*, where he gave himself up to the same loose and scandalous way of living, which he had followed the winter two years before. On his removing from *Alexandria* into *Syria* to pursue the war against the *Parthians*, he left her in *Egypt*; but before he set out on that expedition, he sent for her into *Syria* against the advice of all his friends. On her arrival she influenced him



him to commit such flagrant acts of cruelty and injustice, as rendered his name and government odious to the whole nation. Many Syrian lords were on false pretences put to death, that she might have their forfeited estates. Among these was *Lysanias* the son of *Ptolemy Mennæus*, prince of *Chalcis* and *Ituræa*, whom she accused to *Antony* of having entered into an alliance with the *Parthians*. Upon this groundless accusation, *Lysanias* was condemned, and his dominions granted to her. The stay he made with her before he set out against the *Parthians*, and the hurry he was in to return to her again, were the occasion of the many misfortunes that befel him in that unhappy expedition. On his return into *Syria*, having with much difficulty got to the borders of *Armenia*, instead of putting his army there into winter quarters, as his officers advised him, being impatient to see *Cleopatra*, he obstinately pursued his march, in the depth of winter, over that mountainous country then covered with snow, which, with the long march of three hundred miles he had made before he reached *Armenia*, so harassed his troops, that, on his arrival in *Syria*, he found that sixty thousand of them had perished in that destructive undertaking, mostly by the hardships they had suffered on their long and fatiguing marches °.

As soon as *Antony* had got back into *Syria*, he retired to *Leucecome*, a castle in *Phœnice*, lying between *Sidon* and *Berytus*, and there, having sent for *Cleopatra*, passed his time with her in feasting and revelling, without shewing the least concern for the loss of his army. *Cleopatra* brought with her cloaths for the poor remains of his shattered troops, which with a large donative in money were distributed among the soldiers in *Cleopatra's* name; though the money was given by *Antony*. Having thus quieted the soldiery, and made them amends for the hardships they had suffered, he returned with his beloved queen into *Egypt*, where he spent the remainder of the winter, in all manner of luxury and voluptuousness †. In the mean time the kings of *Parthia* and *Media* falling out about the division of the booty, which they had taken from the *Romans*, the latter sent an embassy to *Antony*, offering to join him against the *Parthian* with all his forces. At the same time news was brought him, that the *Parthians* had taken up arms against their king, and that all things were there in the utmost confusion. Hereupon *Antony*, resolved to lay hold of

° LIV. epit. l. cxxx. STRAB. l. xi. p. 525. PLUT. in Anton. DIO. l. xlix. FLOR. l. iv. c. 10. VELLEI. PATRICUL. l. ii. c. 82. † FLOR. l. iv. c. 18. PLUT. ibid.



so favourable an opportunity of being revenged on that nation, hastened into *Syria*, with a design to make the necessary preparations for a second expedition against that formidable enemy. But *Octavia* being come as far as *Athens* in her way to *Antony*, *Cleopatra* was under no small apprehension, lest by her virtue, wisdom, and the gravity of her manners she should recover the affection of her husband, and therefore employed all her arts to prevent their meeting. She affected to die for love, and having made herself lean and pale, by taking little nourishment, she wrote to him, that his absence had cast her into a languishing condition, and that she must die unless he returned to her again. This brought the credulous lover back to *Alexandria*, where *Cleopatra* with tears, caresses, reproaches, menaces, &c. prevailed upon him to put off his expedition into *Parthia*, and to order *Octavia* to proceed no further, but to wait for him at *Athens*. This scandalous behaviour of *Antony* towards *Octavia* was highly resented by her brother *Octavianus*, and became the first cause of that war, which ended in the ruin of both these lovers<sup>r</sup>.

EARLY in the spring, *Antony* set out for *Syria*, with a design to march from thence into *Parthia*. *Cleopatra*, pretending that she could not live without him, agreed to attend him to the banks of the *Euphrates*. To render his absence less grievous to her, before he set out he bestowed on her all *Cyrene*, *Cyprus*, *Cœle-Syria*, *Iturœa*, and *Phœnice*, with great part of *Cilicia* and *Crete*. But these provinces and kingdoms not satisfying her boundless ambition, she solicited him very earnestly to put to death *Herod* king of *Judæa* and *Malchus* king of *Arabia Petrœa*, that their kingdoms might thereupon be granted to her. But *Antony* would not by any means comply with her request. However, to quiet her, he was forced to give her that part of *Malchus's* kingdom which bordered upon *Egypt*, and out of *Herod's* the territory of *Jericho*, with the balsam-gardens. These large grants gave great offence to the *Roman* people, and estranged their minds from *Antony*<sup>c</sup>. *Cleopatra* accompanied him as far as the *Euphrates*, and, returning from thence by the way of *Apamea* and *Damascus*, came to *Jerusalem*, where she was splendidly entertained by *Herod*. During her stay in that city, she pretended to be in love with the king, and employed all her charms to draw him into a criminal conversation with

<sup>r</sup> DIO. CASS. l. xlix. p. 411. PLUT. ibid. <sup>c</sup> JOSEPH. Ant. l. xv. c. 4. & de Bell. Judaic. l. i. c. 13. PLUT. & DIO. CASS. ibid.







lemy, whom he surnamed *Philadelphus*, and *Cleopatra*, at the same time he gave to *Alexander Armenia, Media, Parthia*, and the rest of the eastern countries from the *Euphrates* to *India*, when they should be subdued; to *Cleopatra*, the twin-sister of *Alexander*, *Lybia* and *Cyrene*; and to *Philadelphus*, *Phœnicæ*, *Syria*, *Cilicia*, and all the countries of *Asia Minor* from the *Euphrates* to the *Hellespont*, conferring on each of them the title of *king of kings*. At the same time he obliged *Cleopatra* to take the name of *Isis*, assuming to himself that of *Osiris*; the former being the great goddess, and the latter the great god, of the *Egyptians*. From thenceforth they both affected to appear in public in the dress which was deemed peculiar to those deities <sup>w</sup>. By these follies he lessened his character among all wise and sober men, and daily alienated more and more the affections of the *Romans* from his person and cause, which *Octavianus* made good use of to hasten his ruin.

*Antony*, as soon as the season allowed him to take the field, marched into *Armenia*, and, having there rendezvoused his troops, began his march into *Parthia*, and advanced as far as the banks of the *Araxes*, when news was brought him that *Octavianus* had stirred up the people of *Rome* against him, and was making the necessary preparations, as if he designed to come to an open rupture with him. Hereupon he dropt the *Parthian* expedition, and detaching *Canidius*, one of his lieutenants, with sixteen legions to the coasts of the *Ionian* sea, he himself hastened after them to *Ephesus*, to be there ready at hand to act in case of a rupture, which there was great reason to expect. In this journey he carried *Cleopatra* with him, which proved his ruin. His friends earnestly entreated him to send her back to *Alexandria*, there to wait the event of the war. But the queen, fearing lest in her absence *Antony* should hearken to an accommodation with *Octavianus* and receive again *Octavia*, left no stone unturned to obtain leave to accompany him, and at last, having by rich presents gained *Canidius* to speak in her favour, prevailed upon him to comply with her request. Her chief argument was, that since she contributed most to the expences of the war, for she had advanced twenty thousand talents towards it, it was but reasonable that she should be allowed to accompany the person for whose sake she was at so great an expence. Besides, *Canidius* represented, that her departure would discourage the *Egyptians*, who made up the bulk of his maritime forces, that *Cleopatra* was not inferior in prudence or capacity to any

<sup>w</sup> *DIO. CASS. l. 1. p. 421.*



of the princes in the army, and that *Antony* might, with great safety, depend upon and follow her advice in the most important and difficult affairs. *Antony* was easily persuaded, that *Cleopatra's* presence was necessary; and therefore repaired with her from *Ephesus* to *Smyrna*, whence he sailed to *Athens*; and in both these places lived after his usual manner; spending great part of the year in luxury, pomp, and voluptuousness \*. As *Antony* was well acquainted with *Cleopatra's* character, during their stay at *Athens*, he began to suspect, notwithstanding the passion she professed for him, that she had a mind to poison him, and therefore would not touch any dish at their banquets till it had been tasted by others. The queen being apprised of his fears, in order to cure him of them, and at the same time convince him, that, if she harboured designs of that nature, no precaution could guard him against them, caused the flowers to be dipt in poison, of which the garlands, used according to the custom of those times in public feasts, were composed. When *Antony* began to be warm with wine, *Cleopatra* proposed drinking the flowers of their garlands, and *Antony* in the height of his gaiety falling in with that frolick, threw some of them into his cup, and was on the point of swallowing them with his wine; when the queen, taking hold of his arm, told him that the flowers were poisoned; and that she, against whom he took such mighty precautions, had prepared the poison; adding, that if she could possibly live without him, she could, in spite of all his care, find means to get rid of him. She then commanded a criminal, already condemned, to be brought in, and to drink the wine in *Antony's* cup, which immediately put an end to his life †. This fully convinced him that his fears were ill-grounded, and made him thenceforth repose an intire confidence in her.

In the mean time *Antony*, being informed that *Octavianus* was stirring up the people of *Rome* against him, called together the chief men of his party, and by their advice declared war against his adversary, and at the same time sent a bill of divorce to *Octavia*, with messengers to drive her by force out of his house at *Rome*. *Antony's* preparations for the war were so far advanced, that if he had attacked his rival without loss of time, the advantage must have been unavoidably on his side, *Octavianus* not being then in a condition to make head against him, either by sea or land. But *Antony* to gratify his luxury put off taking the field to the next year, and

\* PLUT. *ibid.* DIO. CASS. l. xlix. p. 416.  
xxi. c. 3.

† PLIN. l.



continued to banquet and revel at *Athens* with *Cleopatra*, as in the most peaceable times. He never appeared in public without her; even when he administered justice on his tribunal in the forum, *Cleopatra* was to be placed on a throne by him; when he spoke to her he gave her no other title but that of queen and sovereign, and often followed her on foot among the eunuchs, while she was drawn in a sumptuous and stately chariot. The ascendant she had gained over him inspired her with hopes of becoming one day queen of *Rome*; for we are told, that her usual oath was, *As I hope to give law in the capitol*<sup>2</sup>.

WHILE *Antony* was thus trifling away his time at *Athens*, *Octavianus*, having got ready a considerable fleet and army, no longer delayed declaring war, but caused it to be decreed only against *Cleopatra*, to avoid offending *Antony*'s friends, who were very numerous and powerful at *Rome*. What chiefly provoked *Octavianus* was *Antony*'s declaring *Cleopatra* to have been married to *Julius Cæsar*, and consequently *Cæsarion*, whom she had by him, to be his lawful son; which tended to deprive *Octavianus* of the inheritance of *Julius Cæsar*, since he held it only as his adopted son. War being declared, as soon as the season would permit, the two armies took the field, and the fleets put to sea. After several encounters both by sea and land, *Antony* was, at last prevailed upon by *Cleopatra*, contrary to the advice of *Canidius*, who had the chief command of the army, to put the whole to the issue of a sea-fight. This was the worst counsel that could be given him, his land-forces being far superior both in number and bravery to the enemy's; whereas he had been obliged to burn many of his ships for want of rowers and mariners, and the rest were but very indifferently manned. But *Cleopatra*, being well apprised that, in case *Antony* should be defeated, she might with greater ease and safety make her escape by sea than by land, persuaded him to engage the enemy's fleet. This memorable battle was fought on the fourth of the nones of *September* at the mouth of the *Ambracian* gulph near the small city of *Actium*, in sight of both armies, the one being drawn up on the north, and the other on the south, side of the streights, there to wait the event of the action, which continued doubtful, till *Cleopatra*, frightened with the noise of the battle, which appeared very dreadful to her, betook herself to flight before she was in any danger, and drew after her the whole *Egyptian* squadron, consisting of sixty large ships. *Antony* seeing her fly, made after her,

<sup>2</sup> DIO. CASS. p. 421, 422. EUTROP. l. 7.



as if he had been quite destitute of his understanding, and by his flight yielded the victory to *Octavius*, which till then he had disputed with great vigor and resolution. The particulars of this memorable battle we shall relate more at length in the history of *Rome*, contenting ourselves at present to touch upon such circumstances only as concern the affairs of *Egypt*.

THE next day *Octavianus* detached a squadron of his best sailors in pursuit of *Antony* and *Cleopatra*; but they, despairing to overtake them, soon returned to the fleet. In the mean time, the two fugitives, steering their course towards *Peloponnesus*, got safe to *Tænarus* in *Laconia*. *Antony* had been by *Cleopatra's* orders taken on board her ship as soon as he came up with it, but had not seen her during this whole voyage. On his first entering her ship he sat down in the prow; and there leaning his elbows on his knees, and his head on both his hands, he continued in that posture reflecting with profound melancholy on his ill conduct, and the misfortunes he had brought on himself, till he got to *Tænarus*, where, by the interposition of *Cleopatra's* women, being brought together again, they conversed and lived as usual. For *Antony* was so bewitched to this woman, that he still continued his fondness to her even at this time, when he had all the reason in the world to abhor and detest her, as having been the cause of his ruin in the manner we have related <sup>a</sup>.

FROM *Tænarus* *Cleopatra* sailed to *Alexandria*, and *Antony* to *Libya*, where he had left *Pinarius Scarpus*, with a considerable body of troops, to guard the frontiers of *Egypt* on that side. But on his landing he found, that *Scarpus*, with all the troops under his command, had revolted to *Octavianus*; which unexpected disappointment threw him into such despair, that he was with much ado prevented by his friends from putting an end to his unhappy life. The only resolution therefore he could now take was to follow *Cleopatra* to *Alexandria*, where she was arrived a little before <sup>b</sup>. That crafty princess, fearing she might not be received by her subjects, were her misfortunes known, entered the harbour with crowns on the prows of her ships, as if she had obtained some signal victory. By this means being admitted into her metropolis, she put all those to death, who were any ways averse to her, to prevent the tumults which she feared they might raise, when the true state of her affairs should be

<sup>a</sup> PLUT. in Anton. DIO. CASS. ibid.  
EUTROP. l. vi.

<sup>b</sup> PLUT. ibid.



known<sup>c</sup>. *Antony*, on his arrival in *Egypt*, found her engaged in a very extraordinary undertaking. To avoid falling into the hands of *Octavianus*, who, she foresaw, would follow her into *Egypt*, she undertook the carrying of her ships in the *Mediterranean* into the *Red-Sea*, over the isthmus of seventy miles which lay between them. These ships he designed to join to those she then had in the *Red-Sea*, and, putting all her treasures on board of them, to go in quest of some other place to settle in, out of the enemy's reach. But the *Arabians*, who inhabited that coast, having, at the instigation of *Q. Didius*, who had seized on *Syria* for *Octavianus*, burnt all the ships that were carried over, and the others she had there before, she was forced to drop this enterprize<sup>d</sup>. *Antony*, on his arrival at *Alexandria*, declined seeing *Cleopatra*, and shut himself up in a house, which he caused to be built on the shore, sequestering himself from the company and conversation of all men. For, being forsaken by those he most confided in, he pretended to act the part of *Timon the misanthropist*, or *manhater*; and therefore called this house his *Timonium*; there spending his time in solitude, and detesting all men for the sake of those who had abandoned him, as if his misfortunes had been owing to them, and not to his own ill conduct and folly<sup>e</sup>. But he did not long relish this way of living; his passion for *Cleopatra* soon revived, and drew him from his retirement to the queen's palace, where he spent the remaining part of his life in his usual excesses of luxury, voluptuousness, and folly.

IN the mean time, *Octavianus*, having settled the affairs of *Greece* and *Asia Minor*, repaired to *Samos*; and there took up his winter-quarters. Early in the spring from *Samos* he passed over to *Rhodes*; where *Herod* king of *Judea* came to offer him his assistance against *Antony* and *Cleopatra*. That prince had been greatly attached to the interest of *Antony*, had assisted him to the utmost of his power, and continued faithful to him, till his case was grown absolutely desperate. On his return into *Egypt* he had sent a special messenger to him, with the best advice the state of his affairs was then capable of; this was, to kill *Cleopatra*, seize her kingdom; and with her treasures raise a new army for the carrying on of the war. In case he followed his advice, he promised to stand by him to the utmost, and venture both his life and kingdom in his cause. But when he found that *Antony* would not hearken

<sup>c</sup> DION. CASS. l. li. p. 446.

CASS. l. li. p. 447.

<sup>d</sup> PLUT. *ibid.* DIO.

<sup>e</sup> PLUT. *ibid.* STRABO, l. xvii. p.



to his counsels, nor by any means be prevailed upon to abandon *Cleopatra*, he thought it high time to take care of himself, and endeavour to make up matters with *Octavianus* on the best terms he could<sup>f</sup>. From *Rhodes* *Octavianus* passed through *Asia Minor* into *Syria*, with a design to invade *Egypt* on that side, while *Cornelius Gallus*, the famous poet, whom he had appointed to succeed *Scarpus* in *Libya* and *Cyrene*, entered it on the other. In the mean time *Antony* and *Cleopatra* tried, but without success, to appease *Octavianus*. They sent three different embassies to him, and even went so far as to offer themselves ready to resign all, and live a private life in *Athens*, or any other place which he should appoint; the only thing they desired was, that the kingdom of *Egypt* might be given to *Cleopatra's* children. Though *Cleopatra* joined her ambassadors with *Antony's*, yet she gave them instructions to treat separately for herself, and sent privately by them to *Octavianus* a sceptre, a crown, and chair of gold, resigning, as it were, all her power and authority to him. *Octavianus* accepted *Cleopatra's* presents, and in public returned her ambassadors the following answer, viz. that if the queen of *Egypt* would lay down her arms, and resign her kingdom, he should then consider, whether she ought to be treated with rigour or mercy, but privately he promised her impunity, and even her kingdom, in case she would put *Antony* to death<sup>g</sup>. As for *Antony's* ambassadors, he would not so much as see them, though they delivered up to him, as a present from their master, *Q. Turullius*, a senator, one of *Cæsar's* murderers, and *Antony's* intimate friends. On the third embassy *Antony* sent his own son with a great sum of money; which *Octavianus* took, but sent him back his son without any answer, though *Antony* had, among other things, offered to kill himself, provided *Octavianus* would engage his word, that the kingdom of *Egypt* should be given to *Cleopatra's* children<sup>h</sup>. As *Octavianus* was desirous of having *Cleopatra's* person and treasures in his power, the former for the adorning of his triumph, and the latter for the discharging of the debts he had contracted on account of this war, he sent her several kind messages, promising to treat her with great kindness, provided she would render herself worthy of his favour, by killing *Antony*, who was the author of all her misfortunes. This she could not be prevailed upon to do; but she promised to deliver both him and her kingdom into his hands. Agreeable to this promise the strong

<sup>f</sup> JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xv. c. 10. & de Bell. Judaic. l. i. c. 15.

<sup>g</sup> DIO CASS. l. li. p. 447.

<sup>h</sup> Idem, ibid. p. 448.



and important city of *Pelusium* was, by her private orders, betrayed to *Octavianus*, though in a condition to hold out a long siege. *Antony*, not apprehending any danger on that side, the place being well fortified and garisoned, was gone to lay siege to *Peritonium* the key of *Egypt* on the western side. As *Cornelius Gallus*, who held that place for *Octavianus*, had no other forces with him but those that had formerly served under *Antony*, he hoped that, on his appearing before the town, they would again return to their former master, and deliver up the place to him. But when he approached the wall with a design to exhort them to return to their duty, *Gallus* caused all the trumpets to sound, so that not one word was heard of what he said. After this *Gallus* made a vigorous sally, repulsed his land-forces, and, having by a stratagem hemmed in all his ships in the port, destroyed his whole fleet, not one of them having been able to escape<sup>1</sup>. *Antony* hearing after this defeat that *Pelusium* was taken, and that *Octavianus* was advancing towards *Alexandria*, hastened thither to defend the capital. On his arrival, *Cleopatra*, the better to conceal her treachery, caused her jewels and most valuable effects to be removed from the palace to a monument of an extraordinary height and wonderful structure, which she had formerly caused to be built near the temple of *Isis*. Thither likewise she conveyed a great quantity of perfumes, aromatic wood, flax, &c. giving out, that, should the town be taken, she would raise there a funeral pile, and consume herself and her treasures in the flames, to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands. This she did, that *Antony* might not distrust her as being of intelligence with *Octavianus*; but the latter, not knowing her real intentions, was greatly alarmed; and, apprehending that despair might induce her to lay violent hands on herself, and destroy her treasures, sent daily kind messages to her, giving her great hopes of a friendly and generous treatment, and in the mean time advanced with great marches towards the city<sup>2</sup>. On his arrival he encamped in the hippodromus, hoping to make himself soon master of the city, by means of the intelligence he held with *Cleopatra*, on which he relied more than on his troops. *Antony*, not mistrusting *Cleopatra* in the least, having made the necessary preparations for a vigorous defence, sallied out upon the enemy's horse, before they had time to refresh themselves after their march; and, having intirely defeated them, returned victorious into the city, and, among

<sup>1</sup> PLUT. & DIO. CASS. *ibid.*<sup>2</sup> PLUT. *ibid.* & DIO. p.



the loud acclamations of the *Alexandrians*, threw himself, armed as he was, at *Cleopatra's* feet, and kissed her hand, recommending to her one of his soldiers, who on that occasion had distinguished himself in a very eminent manner. The queen immediately sent for the soldier, and, in the presence of the whole people, presented him with an armour and helmet of pure gold; which he accepting, with great protestations of gratitude and loyalty, deserted that very night to the enemy<sup>1</sup>. After this *Antony* made another sally, but was repulsed with great loss, the *Egyptians* having, by *Cleopatra's* private orders, abandoned him in the heat of the engagement. Hereupon his friends, who had watched more narrowly *Cleopatra's* conduct, told him in plain terms, that she betrayed him, and maintained a correspondence with the enemy. This *Antony* was so far from believing, that he expressed great wrath against those who seemed to suspect her, telling them, that he might put a speedy end to the war, if those, who affected to be his friends, proved as faithful to him as his dear *Cleopatra*. Early next morning he went down to the harbour, and having drawn up his ships, he sailed out with a design to attack the enemy's fleet. But the signal was no sooner given for the engagement, than *Cleopatra's* admiral, followed by all the *Egyptian* ships in compliance with her orders, went over to *Octavianus*. Hereupon *Antony* hastened back to his land-army, which he had drawn up on some eminences within the city; but was greatly surprized, when he found that they had all to a man, both horse and foot, deserted to the enemy. This opened *Antony's* eyes, and made him give credit to what his friends had told him of the queen's perfidy. In this extremity not knowing whom to confide in, and having no forces to oppose the enemy, he sent to challenge *Octavianus* to a single combat; but he, smiling at this new proposal, answered, that if *Antony* was tired of his life, there were not wanting halters and daggers enow in *Alexandria*. The brave *Romans* looked upon such challenges as the effects of despair, and not of valour. *Antony*, seeing himself thus ridiculed by his enemy, abandoned by his friends, and, what most of all grieved him, betrayed by his beloved *Cleopatra*, flew full of rage and despair to the palace, with a design to kill the perfidious queen. But she, by a timely flight, escaped his fury, retiring to the above-mentioned monument, with two of her maids, and one of her eunuchs. There she shut herself up, and caused it to be given out, that she had killed herself, to avoid falling in-

<sup>1</sup> PLUT. *ibid.* DIO. 450.



to the enemy's hands. *Antony*, too credulous, did not allow himself time to examine a piece of news, which he ought not to have easily credited after *Cleopatra's* late behaviour; but, passing from an excess of rage to the most violent transports of grief, thought of nothing but following her, by putting a speedy end to his unhappy life <sup>m</sup>.

HAVING taken this desperate resolution, he shut himself up in his apartment with a faithful slave called *Eros*, who had long before promised to kill him, when the desperate state of his affairs should require that mournful office at his hands. Taking therefore his armour off, he put *Eros* in mind of his promise, and, turning his back to him, commanded him to run him through with the sword he put into his hand. But the slave, full of affection, respect, and fidelity for his master, stabbed himself with it, and fell dead at his feet. *Antony*, encouraged by his example, fell upon his sword, and gave himself the wound, of which he afterwards died. But as he did not expire immediately, he begged some of his friends, who had broke into his apartment, to give him the last instance of their friendship and affection, by completing what he had begun. But they all fled out of the room, leaving him wallowing in his blood. *Dercetæus*, one of *Antony's* guards, concealing under his garment the sword, with which he had given himself the mortal wound, hastened to *Octavianus*, and shewing him the sword covered all over with blood, acquainted him the first with the death of his rival. *Octavianus* at the sight of the sword withdrew, without uttering a single word, to the innermost parts of his tent, and there, with many tears, lamented the unhappy fate of his colleague and relation. Having thus given, or pretended to give, vent to his grief, he called in his friends, and read to them the imperious and threatening letters which *Antony* had wrote to him. He then sent *Proculeius* into the city, ordering him to use his utmost endeavours to get *Cleopatra* alive into his power <sup>n</sup>.

IN the mean time the tumult and noise, which the news of *Antony's* death occasioned all over the city, alarming *Cleopatra*, she looked out from the top of the monument, and hearing that *Antony* had wounded himself, but was not yet dead, she commanded *Diomedes* her secretary to bring him to her into the monument. *Diomedes* entering his room,

<sup>m</sup> PLUT. & DIO ibid. <sup>n</sup> DIO. CASS. p. 449, 450. LIV. l. cxxxiii. FLOR. l. iv. c. ii. VELLEI. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 87. STRAB. l. xvii. p. 793. SUTTON. in Octav. c. 17. EUTROP. l. vii. OROS. l. vi. c. 19.



found him lying by the dead slave in a torrent of blood ; but he no sooner pronounced the name of *Cleopatra*, than he opened his dying eyes ; and being informed that she was still alive, and desired to see him, he suffered his wound to be dressed, and caused himself to be carried by the hands of his slaves to the gate of the monument, which *Cleopatra* would not suffer to be opened for fear of some surprize. However, she ordered her servants below to fasten him to the ropes, which hung from the top of the monument, and were made use of to pull up stones, that part not being yet finished. They obeyed her orders, and *Antony* being made fast to the ropes, *Cleopatra*, assisted by her two women, with much ado, drew him up, her servants below raising him till he was out of their reach. Never was there a more moving sight. *Antony*, all bathed in his blood, with death painted in his face, was dragged up in the manner we have related, turning his eyes, and extending his arms to *Cleopatra*, as if he conjured her to receive his last breath ; while she, bathed in tears, underwent a fatigue she had never been used to ; for the poor satisfaction of taking her last farewell of him, and seeing him die in her arms. As soon as she had taken him in, she laid him on a bed ; and there, after having expressed her grief and concern in the most tender and affecting terms, she cut off his hair, according to the superstition of the pagans, who looked upon this as a relief to those who died of a violent death. *Antony*, seeing *Cleopatra's* affliction, called for some wine, and having by that means somewhat raised his drooping spirits, he endeavoured to comfort her in the best manner he could ; he told her, that he thought himself happy as he died in her arms ; that as to his defeat, he was not ashamed of it, since it was no dishonour for a *Roman* to be overcome by a *Roman* ; he advised her to consult her own interest, to save her life and kingdom, provided she could do it with honour ; and lastly, to trust none of the friends of *Octavianus*, except *Proculeius*. With these words he expired, and the same moment *Proculeius* arrived from *Octavianus's* camp. But the queen kept in the monument, refusing to surrender herself to him, unless he would promise her, in the name of *Octavianus*, both the kingdom of *Egypt* and her liberty. These were terms which *Proculeius* could not grant ; for *Octavianus*, having a great desire to carry her in triumph, had warned him not to promise her any thing, that could prevent him from treating her as a captive. However, they had a long conference, *Cleopatra* standing within, and *Proculeius* close to the gate without. In this conference she begged the kingdom of *Egypt* for her children, and in-



sisted on having her liberty granted to her ; on these two conditions she offered to deliver into his hands both her person and her treasures. But *Proculeius* exhorting her only in general terms to confide in *Octavianus*, and refer all things to his generosity and good-nature, she broke off the conference and retired. *Proculeius* made his report to *Octavianus*, who immediately sent *Cornelius Gallus*, a man of great learning and eloquence, to confer with her, being greatly afraid lest she should be driven by despair to lay violent hands on herself, and to destroy her treasures. While *Gallus* amused her with fine speeches at the gate of the monument, *Proculeius* having caused a ladder to be brought, scaled the wall, and, entering with two servants at the same place where *Antony* had been taken in, hastened down to the gate, where she was conferring with *Gallus*. When *Cleopatra* saw him unexpectedly appear, she drew a dagger, which she always carried about her, with a design to stab herself. But *Proculeius* flying to her took her in his arms, and forced the dagger out of her hands, before she could make use of it. He afterwards searched her, and shook her robes, lest she should have any weapon or poison concealed in them ; and having exhorted her to be of good cheer, and to confide in the goodness and clemency of the conqueror, he sent one to acquaint *Octavianus*, that the queen of *Egypt* was his prisoner. *Octavianus*, overjoyed at this news, sent *Epaphroditus* one of his freedmen to guard her carefully, and prevent her from making any attempt upon her own life, injoining him strictly at the same time to treat her with all possible complaisance and respect °.

In the mean time, *Octavianus* leaving his camp drew near the city of *Alexandria*, and finding the gates open entered it, talking with *Arius*, a native of the place, who had been his preceptor, and leaning upon him with an air of familiarity, that his countrymen might honour him the more, in seeing him thus honoured and favoured by their conqueror. He went directly to the gymnasium, and having ascended a tribunal, which he had caused to be erected there, he first commanded the inhabitants, who had fallen prostrate on the ground before him, to rise ; and then in an elegant harangue told the multitude, that he freely pardoned them in regard of their god *Serapis*, on account of the beauty and greatness

° *Plut. ibid.* *Dio. l. li. p. 450, 451.*



of their city, and for the sake of *Arius* their fellow-citizen, for whom he had a great value and esteem<sup>P</sup>.

*Octavianus*, being now in possession of *Alexandria*, sent *Proculeius* to comfort the queen, and ask her in his name, whether she had any request to make him? *Cleopatra* received him with great kindness, and, after returning many thanks to *Octavianus*, said, that she had but one favour to beg of him, which was, that he would give her leave to bury *Antony*. This he willingly granted, allowing her to perform the funeral obsequies with all possible splendor, and to spend on that occasion what sums she pleased. And indeed she spared no cost to render the interment magnificent, according to the *Egyptian* custom; she caused his body to be embalmed with the best perfumes of the east, and placed it in the burying-place of the kings of *Egypt*<sup>Q</sup>. As this mournful ceremony renewed her grief, she was seized with a fever, which she with great joy laid hold of as a pretence to abstain from all food, and by that means put an end to her life. This her design she imparted to *Olympus* her physician, who approved of it, and promised to bring her soon into a consumption. But *Octavianus*, being informed of her indisposition, sent physicians to her, whom he could confide in, and, by uttering threats against her children, prevailed upon her to follow their prescriptions. When she was pretty well recovered, *Octavianus* sent *Proculeius* to acquaint her, that he should be glad to wait upon her, provided she gave him leave; for he treated her with the utmost complaisance, the better to conceal his design, which was to adorn his triumph with so noble and famous a captive. Though she was greatly disfigured by her illness and grief, yet she did not despair of inspiring the young conqueror with sentiments of tenderness and love, as she had formerly done *Cæsar* and *Antony*. She was therefore overjoyed to hear, that he intended to pay her a visit, and as soon as he entered her room, she threw herself at his feet, and afterwards, in laying before him the state of her affairs, exerted all her charms, in hopes of conquering her conqueror. But whether her charms had no longer the same power, or that ambition was *Octavianus's* ruling passion, he was not affected either with her person or conversation; the whole time she spoke he kept his eyes fixed on the ground; and when she had done speaking, he returned her the following *Laconic* answer:

<sup>P</sup> PLUT. in Anton. DIO. ibid. p. 454. JULIAN. epist. 51. ad Alexand. SUTTON. in Octav. c. 89. SENECA. in lib. de clement. OROS. l. vi. c. 19. <sup>Q</sup> PLUT. & OROS. ibid.




*Woman, be of good cheer ; you shall have no harm done you* <sup>r</sup>. She was far from being insensible of this coldness and indifference, which she looked upon as no good omen ; but, however, dissembling her concern, she thanked him for the honour he had done her, and told him, that in token of her gratitude she designed to deliver up to him all the treasures of the kings of *Egypt*. Accordingly she put an inventory into his hands of all her moveables, jewels, and revenues. *Seleucus*, one of her treasurers then present, accused her to *Octavianus*, of having concealed part of her most valuable effects ; which she looking upon as an affront not to be bore, flew at him in a violent passion, and, taking hold of him by the hair, gave him several blows in the face ; then turning to *Octavianus*, who could not help smiling, Is it not very hard, said she, since you have been so good as to visit me in my present condition, that one of my own servants should thus insult me in your presence ? I have, 'tis true, reserved some jewels, not to adorn my own person, but to make a present of them to your sister *Octavia* and your wife *Livia*, that by their intercession you may treat an unfortunate princess with more favour and kindness. *Octavianus* was overjoyed to hear her talk in this manner, not doubting but she had laid aside all thoughts of destroying herself. He gave her leave to dispose of the jewels she had reserved, to whom and in what manner she pleased ; and having assured her, that she should be treated with more generosity and kindness than she expected, he withdrew, imagining he had deceived her, whereas he was deceived himself <sup>r</sup>. For *Cleopatra*, not doubting but *Octavianus* intended to make her serve as an ornament to his triumph, was firmly determined to avoid that shame by a voluntary death, and had no other thoughts than how to put her design in execution. She was narrowly watched by *Epaphroditus*, who never suffered her to go out of his sight. In hopes therefore of finding some opportunity to deceive him, she sent one of her domestics to *Octavianus*, desiring his permission to pay her last duty at the tomb of *Antony*, and take her leave of him. *Octavianus* willingly complying with her request, she bathed the tomb with her tears, covered it with flowers, and with many sighs and lamentations performed such ceremonies as were practised among the *Egyptians* on like occasions. But *Epaphroditus* keeping close to her the whole time, under colour of attending her, she returned to

<sup>r</sup> PLUT. *ibid.* DIO. l. v. p. 451. FLOR. l. iv. c. 11. <sup>r</sup> PLUT. *ibid.*



her apartment, without having had an opportunity of attempting any thing on her own life. On her return she was accosted by a messenger from *Cornelius Dolabella*, who told her, that her time was short, *Octavianus*, who was to march by land through *Syria*, having given orders, that she and her children should, within three days, be put on board a vessel which was ready in the harbour, and be conveyed by sea to *Rome*. *Cornelius Dolabella* was one of *Octavianus*'s intimate friends ; but as he was in love with *Cleopatra*, he had promised to give her timely notice of all his designs with relation to her person. Upon this message *Cleopatra*, the better to amuse *Epaphroditus*, commanded a noble entertainment to be prepared, and having invited to it some of her friends, she shewed a more than usual chearfulness during the feast. In the height of the mirth she rose from table, and having wrote a letter to *Octavianus*, she gave it sealed up to *Epaphroditus*, begging he would deliver it himself into his own hands, since it contained matters of the utmost consequence. This was only a pretence to send *Epaphroditus*, who kept a watchful eye over her, out of the way. When he was gone, she withdrew to her room attended by *Nairas* and *Charmion*, two of her women ; and having there dressed herself in her royal robes, she lay down on her bed, and asked for a basket of figs, which one of her faithful servants had brought her in the disguise of a peasant. Among the figs was concealed an asp, a kind of serpent peculiar to *Egypt* and *Libya*, and of a very venomous nature ; for those who were bit by it fell immediately into a kind of lethargy, and died without any pain or uneasiness. This venomous insect *Cleopatra* applied to her left arm, and that very instant falling, as it were, asleep, expired in the arms of her two maids <sup>u</sup>. Other writers tell us, that *Cleopatra* having made a deep wound in her arm with her teeth, poured the poison of the asp, which she had prepared beforehand, into it, and gently expired <sup>w</sup>. In the mean time, *Octavianus* having received from *Epaphroditus* and read *Cleopatra*'s letter, found from the contents of it that she designed to lay violent hands on herself, since the whole subject of it was to beg, that he would suffer her to be buried in the same tomb with *Antony*. He therefore immediately dispatched some of his friends to see what had happened, and to prevent her, if still alive, from attempting any thing on her own life.

*Cleopatra's death.*  
Year of  
the Flood,  
2990.  
Before  
Christ,  
9.



<sup>u</sup> FLOR. l. iv. c. ii. VELLEIUS PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 87. DIO. l. li. p. 457. EUTROP. l. vii. OROS. l. vi. c. 19. <sup>w</sup> PLUT. in Anton. GALEN. in lib. de theriac STRAB. l. xvii. p. 795 DIO. 452, 453.



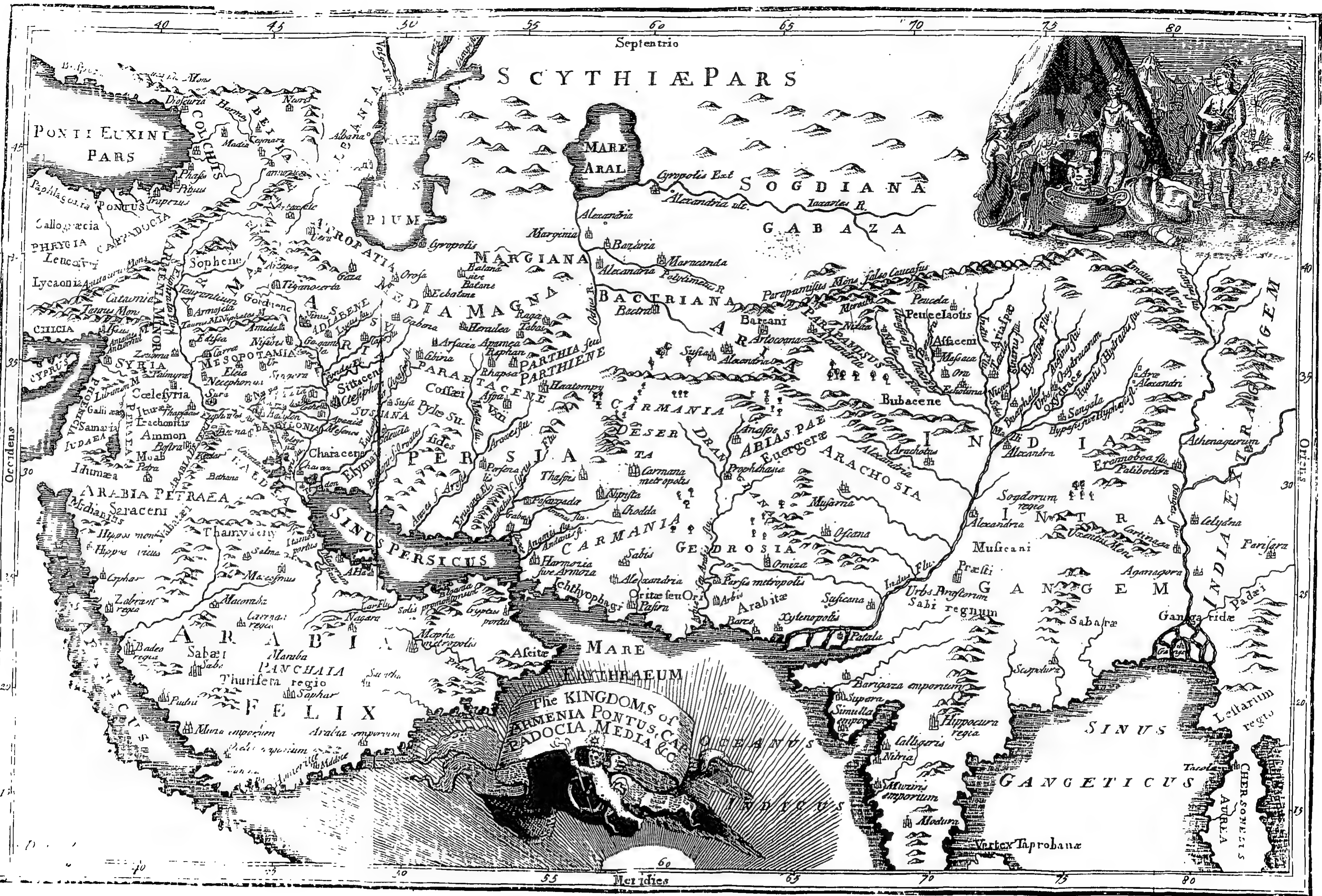
These found the guards standing at the gate, and mistrusting nothing; but when they entered her apartment, they to their great surprize saw her lying dead, on a golden bed, in her royal robes, one of her maids likewise dead at her feet, and the other ready to expire. They immediately acquainted *Octavianus* with what had happened, who hastened to the queen's apartment, saw her body, and, not believing she was dead, tried all possible means to recover her. But finding that all his endeavours were to no purpose, though he was very much grieved to see himself thus deprived of the chief glory and ornament of his triumph, yet he granted her last petition, and commanded her body to be buried with all possible pomp, and laid in the same tomb with *Antony* \*. Thus died *Cleopatra*, after she had reigned from the death of her father twenty two years, and lived thirty nine. She was a woman of extraordinary parts, for she is said to have been thoroughly skilled in *Greek* and *Latin*, and besides to have spoke with great ease and readiness many other languages, conversing with the *Ethiopians*, *Troglodites*, *Jews*, *Arabians*, *Syrians*, *Medes*, and *Persians* without an interpreter, and always giving to such of those nations as had occasion to address her an answer in their own language. She retained in the midst of her pleasures a taste for polite learning, and erected in the place where the famous library stood a new one, no-ways inferior to the former, enriching it with the two hundred thousand volumes of the library of *Pergamus*, which *Antony* had presented her with †. In her ended the family of *Ptolemy Lagus* the founder of the *Egyptian* monarchy, after it had ruled over *Egypt* from the death of *Alexander* two hundred and ninety four years, or, as others will have it, two hundred and ninety three and three months. For from this time *Egypt* was reduced to a *Roman* province, and governed by a prætor sent thither from *Rome*. The first on whom *Octavianus* conferred that dignity, was *Cornelius Gallus*, the famous poet, who is the subject of *Virgil's* tenth eclogue. *Cæsarion*, *Cleopatra's* son by *Julius Cæsar*, the conqueror caused to be put to death, because he pretended to be the lawful heir, which the adopted son could not bear. Her children by *Antony* he treated with great kindness, as he did all her friends and servants. All the statues of *Antony* he caused to be thrown down and broke to pieces, but left those

\* *DIO. ibid.* *SUETON.* in *Octav.* c. 17. *OROS.* *ibid.* *PLUT.* in *Anton.* † *PROL.* in *Can.* *PLUT.* *ibid.* *EUSEB.* in *Chron.* *PORPHYR.* in *GRÆC.* *EUSEB.* *SCALIGER.* *CLEMENS ALEXANDRIN.* *STROM.* l. i.



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of *Cleopatra* standing, having been prevailed upon by one *Archibilius*, who had been long in her service and made him a present of a thousand talents, to spare them. *Octavianus*, having thus reduced *Egypt*, returned to *Rome*, and in his triumph carried her image, since he could not her person, with an asp fixed to her arm <sup>a</sup>. From this conquest of *Egypt* began the æra of the *Actiac* victory, by which the *Egyptians* afterwards computed their time; the *Philippic* æra, which commenced from the death of *Alexander*, and the beginning of the reign of *Philippus Aridæus* his successor, having been in use among them till the reduction of their country by *Octavianus*. Though this æra had its name from the *Actiac* victory, yet it did not begin till near a full year after it, that is, till *Egypt* was entirely reduced; for the *Actiac* victory was gained on the second of *September*, and the æra of that victory commenced on the twenty ninth of the ensuing *August*, which was then the first day of the *Egyptian* month. As this month was the first of their year, from whence they began all their calculations, they thought it the most proper time to begin such alterations in their year and æra, as the *Romans* on the conquest of their country took upon them to make in both. This æra ought, properly speaking, to have been called the æra of the *Egyptian* conquest, since it had its beginning from that conquest. But the *Egyptians*, to avoid the shame of thus owning themselves conquered, chose rather to call it the æra of the *Actiac* victory, it being in their power, since this æra was used only in *Egypt*, to call it by what name they pleased <sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> PLUT. DIO. FLOR. *ibid.*  
12. & DIO. CASS. l. li. p. 457.

<sup>a</sup> Vide MACROB. *Saturnal.* i. c.



## C H A P. III.

### *The History of the ARMENIANS.*

#### S E C T. I.

##### *The description of ARMENIA.*

Name.

**W**HENCE the tract we commonly call *Armenia* borrowed its name is not determined. The *Greeks* will have it so called from one *Armenus*, who, after attending *Jason* in the *Argonautic* expedition, settled in this country. Others, transforming *Armenia* into *Aramia*, derive its name from *Aram* the son of *Shem*, or from one of the kings of *Armenia* bearing that name <sup>a</sup>. *Bochart* <sup>b</sup> takes *Armenia* to be a contraction or compound of *Aar*, signifying in *Hebrew* a mountain, and *Mini* the name of a province in this country mentioned by *Jeremy* <sup>c</sup>, and placed by that prophet between *Ararat* and *Achbenaz*. This opinion seems to be supported by the *Chaldee* interpreters, who, both on this, and a like passage in *Amos* <sup>d</sup>, instead of *Mini*, read *Armenia*; so that *Armenia* signifies the mountain or mountainous part of *Mini*, or *Mynias*, as *Nicolas* of *Damascus* calls it. The name of *Mini*, *Menni*, and *Mynias*, or *Mylias*, was at first peculiar to one province; but in process of time became common to the whole country. As to the word *Mini* or *Menni*, it is thought to be originally derived from an *Hebrew* word, signifying *metal*, seeing *Armenia* abounded with mines, as is plain from *Procopius* <sup>e</sup>.

Division.

*Armenia* was antiently divided into the *Greater* and *Lesser*, or *Armenia Major* and *Minor*. *Armenia Major*, which we shall treat of in the first place, was, according to *Strabo* <sup>f</sup>, bounded on the south by mount *Taurus*, separating it from *Mesopotamia*; on the east by both *Medias*, viz. the *Great Media*, and that which was known under the name of *Atropatia*; on the north by *Iberia* and *Albania*, or rather that part

<sup>a</sup> MOSES CHAREN. Hist. Armen. p. 49.    <sup>b</sup> BOCHART. Phaleg. l. i. c. 3.    <sup>c</sup> JEREM. li. 27.    <sup>d</sup> AMOS iv. 3.    <sup>e</sup> PROCOP. l. i. de Bell. Persic.    <sup>f</sup> STRAB. l. xi. p. 363.



of the *Caucasus* which surrounds them both ; on the west by *Armenia Minor*, or the mountain *Paryadres*, by some *Pontic* nations, and the *Euphrates*. *Ptolemy* divides all *Armenia* into three districts, as we may call them ; the first comprehending that part which lies between the *Cyrus* and the *Araxes* ; the second those provinces which extend westward to the bending of the *Euphrates* ; and the third all the country lying between the springs of the *Tigris*, and that part of the *Euphrates*, which separates *Commagene* from *Armenia Major*. *Ptolemy* enumerates in his first division the following provinces ; *Catarzene* towards the *Moschick* mountains, probably the same as *Strabo's* *Chorzene* ; *Offarene* and *Motene*, both on the banks of the *Cyrus* ; *Colthene* on the banks of the *Araxes* ; *Soducene*, *Sibacene*, and *Sacapene* ; these two last provinces extend to the mountain *Paryadres*. The second division comprehends the following provinces ; *Basilissene*, *Bolbene*, *Arseta*, *Acilissene*, *Austanitis*, and *Sophene*. In the third division *Ptolemy* places *Azetene*, *Thospitis*, *Corinea*, *Bagrauandene*, *Gordene*, called also *Gorduene*, *Gordycene*, and *Corduene*, from the *Gordyæan* mountains. To these we may add *Gorgodylene*, which *Strabo*<sup>g</sup> mentions as lying under the mountain *Niphates* ; *Cholobetena* mentioned by *Stephanus* and *Bochart*<sup>h</sup>, who conjectures it to have been so called from *Chul*, the son of *Aram*, and *Shem's* grandson ; *Taurantium*, mentioned by *Tacitus*<sup>i</sup> and other antient writers, &c.

*Ptolemy* enumerates a great many cities in *Armenia*, which *Cities.* we find mentioned by no other geographer or historian, and therefore shall take no notice of them here, but describe such only as we can give some tolerable account of. Among these the following are the most considerable ; *Artaxata*, the metropolis of all *Armenia*, and from its foundation the residence of the *Armenian* kings. This city, as *Strabo* informs us<sup>k</sup>, was built upon a plan which *Hannibal* gave to king *Artaxas* or *Artaxias*, who made it the capital of *Armenia*. It was situated upon an elbow of the river *Araxes*, which forms a kind of peninsula, and surrounded the town like a wall, except on the side of the isthmus ; but the isthmus was secured by a rampart and a broad ditch. This is the account *Strabo* gives us of that strong town. But *Cornelius Nepos*, in his life of *Hannibal*, does not mention his journey into *Armenia* ; he only says, that after the defeat of *Antiochus* he withdrew first to *Crete*, and from thence to *Bithynia*, where he died.

<sup>g</sup> STRAB. l. xi. p. 363. <sup>h</sup> BOCHART. Phaleg. l. xi. c. 9. <sup>i</sup> TACIT. l. xiv. c. 23. <sup>k</sup> STRAB. l. xi. p. 363, 364.



*Plutarch*, however <sup>1</sup>, seems to confirm what *Strabo* advances, saying, that *Hannibal*, after the overthrow of *Antiochus* by *Scipio Asiaticus*, fled into *Armenia*, where he assisted king *Artaxas* with his advice, and persuaded him to build the city of *Artaxata* in a very advantageous situation. *Lucullus*, after having defeated the *Armenians*, under the command of their king *Tigranes*, in two battles, would not venture, notwithstanding the enemies were not able to keep the field, to lay siege to *Artaxata*, which he looked upon as impregnable. But *Pompey*, who succeeded him in the command of the army, pressed *Tigranes* so hard, that he was obliged to deliver up his capital without striking a blow. *Pompey* spared both the city and the inhabitants; but in *Nero's* reign, *Corbulo*, the commander in chief of the *Roman* forces in the east, having forced *Tiridates* to yield up *Artaxata*, levelled it with the ground. *Tiridates*, having thus lost his metropolis, and with it his kingdom, went to *Rome* to throw himself at *Nero's* feet; who not only restored him the diadem, but also gave him leave to take workmen with him to assist him in rebuilding *Artaxata*, which by way of acknowledgment he called *Neronia*, from the name of his benefactor. The ruins of this city, according to the tradition of the *Armenians*, are still to be seen at a place called *Ardachat*. The inhabitants of this place, says a late traveller <sup>m</sup>, call the town *Ardachat*, from the name of *Artaxias*, whom in the east they call *Ardechier*. There are here some remains of a stately palace, which the *Armenians* take to be the palace of *Tiridates*, who reigned in the time of *Constantine the Great*; one front of this building is but half ruined, a great many pillars of black marble, and of an extraordinary size, are still standing, and many other fine antiquities, which the inhabitants call *Taët-Tardat*, that is, the throne of *Tiridates*. *Tavernier* also <sup>\*</sup> mentions the ruins of *Artaxata*, between *Erivan* and mount *Ararat*, but does not specify them. The ancient geographers mention another city bearing the same name, and likewise situated on the *Araxes*, but in the northern part of *Media*, known among the ancients by the name of *Atropatia*. This some moderns have confounded with the metropolis of *Armenia*.

THE other cities of note in ancient times, were, *Sebastia*, seated on the banks of the *Euphrates*, not far from the mountain *Taurus*, so called from *Augustus*, whom the Greeks styled *Sebastos*. *Armosata*, or *Arsamosata*, once a very considerable city, and of the greatest note after *Artaxata*. It was situated between the *Tigris* and the *Euphrates*, which has made

<sup>1</sup> PLUTARCH. in Lucullo.  
VERNIER voyage au Levant.

<sup>m</sup> CHARDIN. voyag.

<sup>\*</sup> TA-



some place it in *Mesopotamia* <sup>a</sup>, though *Pliny*, *Polybins*, and *Tacitus* call it in express words a city of *Armenia*. *Tigranocerta* built by *Tigranes* in the time of the *Mithridatic* war, and so named from its founder, the word *Certa* in the *Parthian*, *Armenian*, and *Syriac* languages, signifying a city. It was seated in the southern part of *Armenia*, on the top of a steep hill, between the springs of the *Tigris* and the mountain *Taurus*. This city *Tigranes* peopled with the inhabitants of divers nations which he had conquered, and enriched, we may say, with the wealth of all *Armenia*; for there was not one *Armenian* from the highest to the lowest that did not contribute towards the embellishing of it. *Lucullus* took it without great resistance, the inhabitants, as being of different nations, not agreeing among themselves; and found in it, besides an immense quantity of other valuable things, no less than eight thousand talents in ready money. *Artagera*, where the emperor *Caius* received the wound of which he died <sup>o</sup>. *Carchabiscerta* called by *Strabo* <sup>p</sup> the metropolis of *Sophene*, which province is washed by the *Euphrates*, but placed by *Pliny* <sup>q</sup> near the *Tigris*. *Colonia* the strongest place of all *Armenia*, when possessed by the *Romans*. In latter ages *Theodosiopolis*, built by the emperor *Theodosius*, of whom it borrowed its name. It was a great and wealthy city, and in those days accounted impregnable (A). *Chorfa* placed by *Ptolemy*

<sup>a</sup> *LUCAS HOLSTENIUS* in annot. ad *Ortelium*. <sup>o</sup> *VELLIUS PATERCUL.* l. ii. c. 102. *ZONARAS*, Tom. 2. p. 167.  
<sup>p</sup> *STRAB.* l. xi. p. 363. <sup>q</sup> *PLIN.* l. vi. c. 9.

(A) 'Tis generally believed, that *Erzeron* is the antient city of *Theodosiopolis*, which a late judicious traveller (1) does not think improbable, provided we suppose, that the inhabitants of *Artze* retired to *Theodosiopolis* after the demolition of their own city, which supposition is not ill-grounded. For *Cedrenus* informs us, that in the reign of *Constantine Monomachus*, who died about the middle of the eleventh century, *Artze* was a great and wealthy borough, inhabited by the merchants of different nations, who, confiding in their numbers and strength, would not retire with their effects to *Theodosiopolis*, during the wars between that emperor and the *Mohammedans*. By these the place was besieged, and the inhabitants made such a vigorous defence, that the general of the *Mohammedans* apprehending the town might be relieved, caused it to be set on fire on all sides, sacrificing the booty to his reputation. *Cedrenus* tells us, that an hundred and forty thousand souls perished

(1) *Tournefort. Voyage au Levant.*



*Ptolemy* on the banks of the *Euphrates*, and taken by some for the present city of *Cars*, which made *Sanfon* place the city of *Cars* on the *Euphrates*, though that river runs at a great distance from it (B).

Rivers.

As to the rivers of this country, *Strabo* enumerates six of great note among the antients, viz. the *Lycus*, and *Phasis* falling into the *Pontus*; the *Cyrus* and *Araxes* discharging themselves into the *Caspian* sea; and the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, which disembogue themselves into the *Persian* gulf. The *Lycus*, the *Phasis*, and the *Cyrus*, though they rise in *Armenia*, yet are more properly reckoned by most of the antient geographers rivers of *Pontus*, *Colchis*, and *Albania*, since the two former wash but the skirts of *Armenia*, and the latter springs from the hills of *Iberia*, which separate that country from *Armenia*, whence it is by some accounted a river of *Iberia*, but by the generality of geographers after *Ptolemy* of *Albania*; where, being increased with several others, it be-

in the siege by fire or sword. The husbands, says he, leaped into the flames with their wives and children in their arms. The conqueror found abundance of gold arms, which the fire could not consume. As the town was reduced to ashes, it is not unlikely, that the few inhabitants, who out-lived the destruction of their country, retired with the foreign merchants to *Theodosiopolis*, which, according to *Cedrenus*, was situated close by it. The *Turks*, thinking perhaps *Theodosiopolis* too long and troublesome a name, gave it that of *Artzerum*; that is, *Artze* of the *Greeks* or *Christians*; from *Artzerom* comes *Erzeron*. We must not confound this city of *Theodosiopolis* with another of the same name on the river *Abborras* in *Mesopotamia*, which the emperor *Anastasius*, as *Procopius* informs us, fortified with strong walls. 'Tis commonly believed, that *Orthogul*, father of the famous *Othoman*, the first emperor of the *Turks*, took *Erzeron*; but it is certain, that the *Armenians* had a king of their own, even in the reign of *Selim* the first. Some writers, misled by the similitude of names, take *Erzeron* to be the city of *Aziris* placed by *Ptolemy* in *Armenia Minor*.

(B) *Cars* is the last town ... *Turky* towards the frontiers of *Persia*. It is built on a rising ground, exposed to the south-south-east. It is defended by a castle built on a steep rock, and has behind it a deep valley watered by a river, which not far from thence disembogues itself into the *Arpagi*, without ever coming near the city of *Erzeron*, contrary to the description *Sanfon* has given us of it. These two rivers joined together are known by the name of *Arpagi*, and serve as a frontier to the two empires. *Sanfon* places *Cars* at the conflux of the two imaginary branches of the *Euphrates*, which according to him, form a considerable river that waters *Erzeron*. The *Arpagi* falls into *Araxes*, or *Aras*, as the *Turks* and *Persians* call it.



comes a very considerable stream. The *Araxes*, or, as the *Turks* call it, the *Aras*, springs from the same mountain as the *Euphrates*. This mountain *Strabo*<sup>r</sup> calls *Abus*, and places it between the mountain *Niphates* and *Nibarus*; *Domitius Corbulo*, who had been upon the spot, gives it the name of *Aba*; *Nutianus*, who had also visited the country, calls it *Capotes*; and *Eustathius* with *Dionysius Periegetes* style it *Achos*. Springing from this mountain, which is part of mount *Taurus*, it continues its course eastward to the city of *Atropatene*; from thence bending its course north-westward, it flows close by *Azara* and *Artaxata*, and falls at length into the *Caspian* sea (C). It is too rapid to bear a bridge, and carried away those which the masters of the world built over it. On the banks of this river have appeared the most famous warriors of antiquity, *Xerxes*, *Alexander*, *Lucullus*, *Pompey*, *Mithridates*, &c. The modern geographers, who make this river flow from mount *Ararat*, must certainly mistake the river which runs near *Ascourlon* for the *Araxes*. The *Euphrates* springs from the same hill as the *Araxes*, and immediately divides itself into two branches, which the antient historians call the sources of the *Euphrates*. The first flows from east to south, and running between the mountains, at the foot of which the town of *Erzeron* is situated, continues its course southward to a little borough called *Mommacotum*. The other stream flows northward to the town of *Elijah*, and thence bending westward along the road to *Tocat*, is obliged by the disposition of the ground to turn southward at *Mommacotum*, where it joins the other branch, which is far more considerable. The town of *Erzeron* is not seated on the banks of the *Euphrates*, as the modern geographers place it, but in a peninsula formed by the two branches of the *Euphrates*, the first of which runs a day's journey distance from *Erzeron*, and the other a day and a half, or rather two days jour-

<sup>r</sup> STRAB. l. xi. p. 363.

(C) *Strabo* and many others (2) say, that the *Araxes* falls into the *Caspian* sea near the mouth of the *Cyrus*; but *Pliny* 3<sup>1</sup>, *Plutarch* (4), and *Appianus* (5), make it discharge itself into the *Cyrus*. *Ptolemy* (6) divides the *Araxes* into two branches, and describes one joining the *Cyrus*, the other he makes fall into the *Caspian* sea. All our modern maps make the *Araxes* disemboque itself into the *Cyrus*.

(2) *Strab.* l. xi. c. 346. (3) *Plin* l. vi. c. 9. (4) *Plutarch.* in *Pomp.* p. 634. (5) *Appian, Mithridat.* p. 401. (6) *Ptolem.* l. 5. c. 13.

ney.



ney. But we have already described the whole course of this river † (D). The *Tigris* according to *Strabo* †, rises on the south side of mount *Taurus*; according to *Pliny* †, in a great plain of *Armenia*, which he calls *Elegosme*, runs through the lake *Arcthusa*, and meeting with mount *Taurus* buries itself under-ground, and appears again on the other side of that mountain. This breaking out of the river *Strabo* evidently mistook for its first rise, for in all the rest he agrees with *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*. This river runs with an incredible rapidity, whence it had the name of *Tigris*, which in the language of the *Medes* signifies an arrow. It continues its course, after it has passed under the huge bulk of mount *Taurus*, washing the eastern skirts of *Mesopotamia*, which it divides from *Assyria*, till, mixing with its fellow-traveller the *Euphrates* at *Apamea* in *Chaldea*, it falls at length into the *Persian* gulf. Many writers take these four rivers, viz. the *Euphrates*, the *Tigris*, the *Phasis*, and the *Araxes* to be the four rivers mentioned by *Moses*, as coming out of the terrestrial paradise. They suppose the *Phasis* to be the *Pison*, and the *Araxes* or *Aras* the *Gihon*. But of this subject, and the various suppositions and opinions relating thereunto, we have treated elsewhere at large † (E). Besides these rivers there were several  
 † others

† Hist. Univers. l. iv. p. 230. † STRABO l. xi. p. 259. † PLIN. l. vi. c. 27. † Hist. Universal. Vol. I. p. 108 & seq.

(D) *Procopius* seems to have known nothing of the two branches of the *Euphrates*. For he calls one of the branches the *Tigris*, and the other the *Euphrates*. There is, says he, a mountain in *Armenia* five miles and a half from *Theodosiopolis*, whence issue two great rivers; that which flows to the right is called the *Euphrates*, the other the *Tigris*; whereas *Strabo* tells us in express words, that the springs of these two rivers are two hundred and fifty miles distant from each other. *Pompey*, as we are informed by *Florus*, was the first that built a bridge over this river, which he did in pursuing *Mithridates*. This bridge in all likelihood was built near the elbow, which this river makes, after its two branches are joined at *Mommacotum*. For our modern travellers seem to agree in this, that the battle between *Pompey* and *Mithridates* was fought in the plain of *Erzeron*, and *Mithridates* is said to have passed by the sources of the *Euphrates* on his retreat into *Colchis*, a few years before *Lucullus* had sacrificed a bull to this river in order to obtain a favourable passage.

(E) The commentators on the book of *Genesis*, even those who are most confined to the literal sense, do not think it necessary, in order to fix the situation of *Eden*, to find a river, which divides  
 itself



others of less note, namely, the *Musis* mentioned by *Pliny* <sup>a</sup>, as discharging itself into the *Araxes*; *Nicephorius* running according to *Tacitus* <sup>b</sup>, between *Tigranocerta* and *Artaxata*, and falling into the *Euphrates*; *Niphates* mentioned by *Lucan* <sup>c</sup>, and *Silius Italicus* <sup>d</sup>; and springing from a mountain of the same name.

The most considerable mountains of this country are the *Moschick* mountains, separating the western parts of *Armenia* from *Colchis*; some writers will have them so called from *Mesech* or *Mosoch* the son of *Japhet*. *Paryadræ* extending from the *Moschick* mountains to the borders of *Armenia Minor* and *Pontus*. *Masius* bounding the province of *Sophene* to the south, as *Antitaurus* does to the north. *Niphates* well known to the poets, and famous for the springs of the *Tigris*. *Abus* from which issues the *Euphrates*. The *Gordyæan* mountains, which separate, according to *Strabo* <sup>b</sup>, the province of *Sophene* and the rest of *Armenia* from *Mesopotamia*. Of the mountains of *Ararat*, whereon the ark rested, we have treated elsewhere <sup>c</sup>.

THIS country is very hilly and mountainous, but the hills are here and there interspersed with fruitful and most beautiful dales and valleys. All sorts of grain are but very indifferent in *Armenia*; in most places it yields but four-fold. If they had not the conveniency of watering their lands, they would be almost barren. What the country produces is almost intirely owing to the painful labour of the inhabitants, who either actually water it by hand, or dig trenches and other conveniencies of that kind, for the fecundation of their fields. The wine of this country is cried down by the generality of our modern travellers. One of these <sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> PLIN. l. vi. c. 9.

<sup>b</sup> TACIT. l. xv. c. 24.

<sup>c</sup> LU-

CAN. l. iii. v. 245.

<sup>d</sup> SILIUS ITALIC l. xiii. v. 765.

<sup>b</sup> STRAB. l. xi. p. 359.

<sup>c</sup> Hist. Univers. Vol. I. p. 230, &

seq. <sup>d</sup> TOURNEFORT. Voyage, lett. 7.

itself into four branches, considering the great alterations that may have been occasioned by the flood; but think it enough to shew the heads of the rivers mentioned by *Moses*, namely, the *Euphrates*, the *Tigris*, the *Pison* and *Gibon*. And thus, taking the *Phasis* for *Pison*, and the *Araxes* for *Gibon*, they come to place the terrestrial paradise in the beautiful vales of *Georgia*, and namely in the country of the *Three Churches* about sixty miles distant from the springs of the *Euphrates* and *Araxes*, and about as many from those of the *Phasis*. The extent of *Eden* must at least have reached to the springs of these rivers, and thus comprehended all *Media* and part of *Armenia* and *Iberia*.



has started an objection which tends to overthrow the tradition of the ark's resting on one of the mountains of *Armenia*: for the olive, says he, is not found thereabouts, nor in any part of *Asia* beyond *Aleppo*, except one single place near *Casbin* in *Persia*. However, it seems to have been otherwise antiently, for we are told by *Strabo*<sup>e</sup>, that the olive grew in *Gogarene*, a province of *Armenia*. The cold is so extraordinary here, that all kinds of fruit are more backward than in most of the northern countries. The hills are covered with snow the whole year round, and it sometimes falls even in the month of *June*. *Lucullus*, when appointed to command the *Roman* army in *Armenia*, was greatly surprized to find the whole country covered with snow at the autumnal equinox, to see most of the rivers frozen up, and vast numbers of the horses of his army dying every day by reason of the coldness of the waters. *Alexander Severus* was no better pleased with this country, having lost on his march through it great part of his army, the cold being then so excessive, that many of the soldiers, as *Zonaras* informs us, were frozen under their tents, and others lost their hands and feet, being obliged to encamp in the snow. A modern traveller tells us<sup>f</sup>, that even in the middle of *July* he often found ice about the springs before the rising of the sun, notwithstanding it was exceeding hot in the day-time; this cold keeps every thing so back, that the corn, as the same traveller observed, was not at that time of the year a foot high, and the other fruits of the earth scarce so forward as they are about *Paris* at the end of *April*. Their method of plowing the land is somewhat surprizing, for they usually put to one plow ten or twelve yoke of oxen, each yoke having a driver, and this to make deeper furrows, experience having taught them, that it was necessary to go very deep, either to mix the upper soil, which is too dry, with that which lies beneath and is less so, or to preserve the seed from the hard frosts; for were it not on some such consideration, they would not be at such an expence. Notwithstanding all this, we are told, that the corn would be quite burnt up were not the fields frequently watered either by hand, or by trenches dug for that purpose. Perhaps great plenty of water is necessary to dissolve the salt and nitre, wherewithal the soil in most parts of *Armenia* is impregnated, and which would burn up the roots, if the clods were not well moistened with a proportionable quantity of liquid.

<sup>e</sup> *STRAB.* l. xi. p. 800.

<sup>f</sup> *TOURNEFORT.* ubi supra.



As to the origin of the antient *Armenians*, *Herodotus*, *Antiquity.* and after him *Stephanus*, derives them from the *Phrygians* by reason of several *Phrygian* words that were crept into the antient language of the *Armenians*; but this may be ascribed to the communication they had, as merchants, with the *Phrygians*, as they likewise had with other neighbouring nations. And we are moreover told, that a colony of the *Ascanians*, who were *Phrygians*, settled in *Armenia*, which the prophet *Jeremy* seems to insinuate in joining *Ararat* (that is, *Armenia*, as it is agreed on all hands) with *Aschenaz*, who is generally believed to have been the founder of the *Phrygian* nation, and therefore is taken for the *Phrygians*, seeing the name of the founder is commonly used in scripture for the nation he founded. Other writers suppose *Hull* or *Chul* the son of *Aram*, and *Mesech* the son of *Japhet*, to have been the progenitors of the antient *Armenians*; which opinion has no better foundation than the small similitude we find between *Mesech* and *Moschick*, between *Chul* and *Cholna* the name of a town in *Armenia*. *Berosus* tells us, that the ark rested in *Armenia*, and that *Noah* going from thence left his mother, his wife, and several of his descendants to people the country, supposing thereby *Noah* to have remained many years after the flood in *Armenia*<sup>1</sup>. *Strabo* takes them to be originally *Syrians*, or rather considers the *Syrians* and *Armenians* as two tribes of one and the same nation. This opinion *Bochart* <sup>k</sup> looks upon as the most probable, finding a great agreement between these two nations both in manners and language. In process of time many foreigners settled among them, namely *Phrygians*, *Greeks*, and *Persians*, as *Strabo*<sup>l</sup> and *Ptolemy*<sup>m</sup> witness.

*Armenia* was advanced very early to the honour of a king- *Govern-*  
dom *Berosus* makes one by name *Scytha* the first king *ment.*  
thereof, and *Barzanes* his successor, which *Barzanes*, he informs us, was conquered and driven out by *Ninus*; wherein he is greatly mistaken; for besides that the word *Scytha* was never heard of till many ages after, as we shall shew in its proper place, *Barzanes* was not conquered by *Ninus*, as *Diodorus Siculus* informs us, but, having made a peace and alliance with him, joined his forces against the *Bactrians*. Some writers by *Scytha* understand *Hul*, and will have him succeeded by *Barzanes*: After the death of *Barzanes*, they tell us, that *Armenia* was divided into several

<sup>1</sup> BEROSUS, l. iii.<sup>k</sup> BOCHART. Phaleg. l. i. c. 9.<sup>l</sup> STRABO. l. 16.<sup>m</sup> PTOL. M. l. v. c. 13.



petty kingdoms, which is vouched also by *Pliny* <sup>n</sup>. *Plutarch* mentions one *Araxes* king of *Armenia* <sup>o</sup>, who in a war with the *Persians* being assured by an oracle that he should return home loaded with spoils, provided he sacrificed his two daughters, caused the two daughters of one *Miesalcus*, a nobleman of his court, to be sacrificed in their stead, flattering himself that he had thereby complied with the oracle. But *Miesalcus* did not fail to revenge the death of his daughters by that of the king's daughters, and pursued the prince himself so close, that he was drowned in endeavouring to save himself by swimming over the river then called *Helmus*, but ever after by the king's name *Araxes*. The *Armenians* were in process of time subdued by the *Medes*, to whom they were made, as we read in *Xenophon*, tributaries by *Astyages*. However, they continued to be ruled by kings of their own country; for *Tigranes* and *Sabaris*, in whom we are told the royal family of the *Armenian* kings was extinguished, were the sons of that king whom *Cyrus* afterwards subdued. We find no mention of kings, but only of prefects appointed by the kings of *Persia*, during the whole time they continued subject to that empire; whence we may conclude, that after the death of *Tigranes* and *Sabaris*, *Armenia* became a province of *Persia*. *Alexander the Great*, having possessed himself of *Armenia*, made *Mithrines* governor of both *Armenias*; *Mithrines* was succeeded by *Phrataphernes*, and he by *Orons*, both appointed by *Perdiccas*. After the death of *Orons* the *Armenians*, if we believe *Diodorus*, shook off the *Macedonian* yoke, and set up kings of their own; one of these, according to him, was *Ardoates*, who with a powerful army assisted *Ariarathes* III. king of *Cappadocia*; the same author mentions another king of *Armenia* contemporary with *Nicomedes* I. king of *Bithynia*. These two princes may, for aught we know, have seized on the crown of *Armenia*; but we are very sure, that the country was again brought under subjection by the *Macedonians*, there being nothing more certain, than that *Armenia* was held by *Antigonos*, and after him by *Seleucus* and his posterity to the time of *Antiochus the Great*; that is, to the sixth generation. During the minority of *Antiochus*, *Zadriades* and *Artaxias*, governors of *Armenia*, joining their forces together, seized on the country they had been set over, and adding some of the neighbouring provinces to it, while *Antiochus's* troops were employed elsewhere, erected not one, but two kingdoms, viz. that of

<sup>n</sup> PLIN. l. vi. c. 9.      <sup>o</sup> PLUTARCH. de fluviis.



*Armenia Major*, which *Artaxias* kept for himself ; the other of *Armenia Minor*, which fell to *Zadriades*. Of these two kingdoms only our intent is to write here, seeing whatever is said of the more antient kings of *Armenia* is altogether uncertain, and over-cast with such a mist, that it is impossible to give any tolerable account of them. The *Armenians* tell us of *Haikh*, *Amasia*, and a great many others, which as we find them mentioned by no authors of any credit, we hardly think it worth our while to take any notice of. What the primitive government of *Armenia* may have been we know not ; but under the latter kings it was absolute and arbitrary, their princes being, as appears from history, quite uncontrolled by the subject.

WE have no system of their laws, and scarce wherewithal *Laws and religion.* to form any particular idea of them ; but we are not so much at a loss for what concerns their religion ; for *Strabo* tells us, that the *Armenians*, *Medes*, and *Persians* worshipped the same deities, and of the religion of the antient *Persians* we have already given a very particular and distinct account. However, the chief deity of the *Armenians* seems to have been the goddess *Tanais*, or, as some stile her, *Anaitis*. To her several temples were erected all over *Armenia*, but more especially in the province of *Acilesina*, where she was worshipped in a particular manner. Here she had a most rich and magnificent temple, with a statue of solid gold and inestimable workmanship. This temple was plundered by the *Roman* soldiers in *Mark Antony's* wars with the *Persians* ; on which occasion it was reported, and universally believed, that the first, who laid sacrilegious hands on the treasure and sacred utensils, was struck blind by the deity of the place, and so terrified, that he died soon after. But many years after *Augustus* being entertained at *Bononia* by an old commander, who had served in the *Persian* war, and inquiring about the truth of this report, the officer frankly owned, that he was the man, and added, that the only evil that happened to him on that occasion, was a plentiful estate, which was altogether owing to that sacrilege. In honour of this goddess, and in her temple, the *Armenians* used to prostitute their daughters, it being a custom among the young women to consecrate their virginity to *Tanais*, that is, to her priests. *Baris* was another deity peculiar to the *Armenians*, and had a stately temple erected to him, as *Strabo* informs us ; but after what manner he was worshipped, we find no-where mentioned. *Juvenal*<sup>p</sup> charges them with foretelling future events, by exa-

<sup>p</sup> JUVENAL. Satir. 6.



mining the entrails of pigeons, of dogs, and sometimes of children. Others tell us, that they used human sacrifices, which seems to be in some degree confirmed by what we have related above out of *Plutarch*.

*Their  
learning  
and arts.*

WE can say nothing particular of their learning and arts, but what we have from writers of no great credit. *Berosus*<sup>9</sup> tells us, that *Noah* instructed here his posterity in all manner of human and divine sciences, and committed to writing many natural secrets, which the priests alone were allowed to learn, no body else being suffered to see those writings. He adds, that he left among the *Armenians* books of religious ceremonies, that he taught them astronomy, and the distinction of years and months, and that he was on this account stiled by them *Olybama* and *Arfa*, that is, *heaven and sun*; that they dedicated many cities to him, and even worshipped him under the name and title of *Jupiter Sagus*, accounting him the soul of the heavenly bodies. The *Armenians* tell us, that *Noah* taught them husbandry and the planting of vines, and shew to this day some vines which they pretend to be of *Noah's* planting; for they suppose him to have been their first king, and, in quitting *Armenia*, to have left behind him his mother, his wife, and several of his descendants, to people the country. These and many such-like fables are looked upon by the present *Armenians* as truths not to be called in question.

THE language of the antient *Armenians* was, according to *Strabo*, much the same with that of the *Syrians*; at least it is very plain from *Polyænus*<sup>r</sup>, that they used the *Syriac* characters. The modern *Armenians* use two languages, the vulgar and the learned; the latter, if we believe them, has no affinity with the other oriental languages, is very expressive, and enriched with all the terms of religion, and of arts and sciences; which, if true, shews that the *Armenians* were formerly men of much greater learning than they are at present. This language is to be found only in their antient manuscripts, and is used in divine service. To understand it well is reckoned a great accomplishment, and is all that is requisite to be admitted into the order of the *Vertabiets*, who make such a noise among the *Armenians*. The *Vertabiets* are doctors, and their province is to preach and instruct the people; when they once understand the learned language, and have got by heart a few sermons of *Gregory Altenasi*, a great

<sup>9</sup> BEROSUS, l. iii.

<sup>r</sup> POLYÆNUS, l. iv.



master of it, and, as we may call him, their chief classic, they are abundantly qualified for that eminent degree (F).

THOUGH the modern *Armenians* are perhaps the greatest *Their trade* traders on the earth, yet we find no mention of any commerce carried on by them in antient times. *Sha-Abbas the Great*, king of *Persia*, is said to have been the first, who, considering the œconomy and indefatigable industry of this people, put them upon trade, and settled a colony of *Armenians* at *Julfa*, the famous suburbs of *Ispahan*, described by most of our modern travellers. This place contains at present above thirty thousand inhabitants, all *Armenians* and merchants (G). Though none of the antients have mentioned

(F) The *Vertabiets* are ordained, but their proper function is to preach. Their sermons generally turn upon very ill contrived parables, upon passages of the scripture, ill understood and worse explained, and upon ridiculous traditions : however, they deliver themselves with a great deal of gravity, and these discourses procure them as much credit and authority as the patriarch himself has. They challenge the sole power of excommunicating. After exercising themselves for some time in the villages and boroughs, they are with abundance of ceremonies admitted to the degree of doctor by an old *Vertabiet*, who puts into their hands a pastoral staff, which they are allowed to hold while they preach, and also to sit ; whereas the bishops, who are not *Vertabiets*, are obliged to preach standing. They live on the gatherings that are made for them after their sermons, which, we are told, are very considerable, especially in places where the caravans stop. They observe celibacy, and fast very rigorously three quarters of the year, abstaining not only from meat, but also from fish, eggs, and milk.

(G) *Sha-Abbas*, by settling a numerous colony at *Julfa*, and other colonies of *Armenians* in divers other parts of the kingdom, had two things in view, namely to secure his dominions from being attacked by the *Turks*, and to enrich them by trade and commerce. As *Armenia* was the chief place where the *Turks* used to make their attempts to penetrate into *Persia*, he unpeopled it so as to make it impossible for them to maintain an army in that country. The inhabitants of *Julfa*, the most populous and greatest city of *Armenia*, were ordered to retire with their effects to *Ispahan*, from whence they were soon after removed to the other side of the river *Zonderou*, to separate them from the *Mohammedans*, who despised them on account of their religion. This new settlement they called *Julfa* in memory of their antient habitation, the ruins whereof are to be seen to this day on the banks of the *Araxes*, between *Eriwan* and *Tauris*. The inhabitants of *Nacsvan* also were dispersed into several parts of the kingdom, and above twenty thousand *Armenian* families transplanted into the single province of *Guilan*. The king, having



tioned the trade of the *Armenians* in former ages, yet the easy and safe navigation of the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, and the example of their next and most industrious neighbours the *Syrians*, may perhaps have induced them to carry on a trade, as well for their own growth as for foreign productions; neither do we see by what other means they could acquire the great wealth they enjoyed under some of their kings. But as we find no mention of their trade in antient history, we shall take no farther notice of it.

## S E C T. II.

### *The reigns of the kings of Armenia Major.*

Artaxias.

**O**UR intent is to write of those kings only that reigned in *Armenia* after that people had shaken off the *Macedonian* yoke, which happened in the beginning of the reign of *Antiochus the Great*, when *Zadriades* and *Artaxias*, whom he had appointed governors or prefects of *Armenia*, entering into a conspiracy, and uniting their forces, stirred up the *Armenians* to a revolt, and caused themselves to be proclaimed kings of the provinces which were under their jurisdiction. As *Antiochus* was then very young, and his troops employed against other rebels, their attempts were attended with success beyond expectation, which encouraged them to pursue their conquests, and extend the boundaries of their new, but small, kingdom. Accordingly, invading with a considerable army the neighbouring countries, they took from the *Medes* the provinces of *Caspiana*, *Phaunitis*, and *Basoropida*; from the *Iberians* *Chorzena* and *Gogarena* on the other side of the *Cyrus*; from the *Chalybes* and *Mossynæci*, *Pareneta* and *Xerxena*, which bordered on *Armenia Minor*. By these

having thus secured his frontiers, employed the *Armenians* in carrying on the silk trade, trusting them at first with a great many bales, to carry by caravans into foreign countries, on condition they should pay at their return for each bale a certain price settled by persons of judgment before their departure. For, their greater encouragement, he allowed them by way of reward for their pains and industry whatever they could get above the price agreed on, which was very reasonable. The success answered the hopes both of the king and the merchants, and silver and gold, which to that time had been very scarce in *Persia*, began to appear in great plenty at the return of the caravans. To that expedient the wealth of *Persia* is owing even to this day.

new



new acquisitions, *Armenia*, from a small province, became all on a sudden so considerable a kingdom, that *Justin*, in enumerating those of his time, gives it the preference in wealth, power, and extent, to any other, that of *Parthia* alone excepted. The conquerors, having thus enlarged their new territories, divided their conquests into two kingdoms; and on this occasion the division of *Armenia* into the *Greater* and *Lesser* was first introduced. *Zadriades* kept for himself that part which lay next to *Cilicia*, calling it the kingdom of *Armenia Minor*, and yielded the far greater part to *Artaxias*, which began to be known under the name of *Armenia Major*. *Antiochus* did not fail to lead a powerful army against them, but was not able to recover one single province of the many they had usurped. Wherefore, after many unsuccessful attempts, he at last concluded a peace with them, designing to fall upon them again after he had settled the affairs of his kingdom, which was then rent into several parties. But they in the mean time entering into an alliance with the *Romans*, secured to themselves and their posterity the provinces which they had usurped. *Artaxias* built the famous city of *Artaxata*, the metropolis of *Armenia*, and the seat of the kings of that country: Some say, as we have hinted above, that he followed therein the direction of *Hannibal*, whom they suppose to have fled into *Armenia*, after the defeat of *Antiochus* by *Scipio Asiaticus*. But it is not at all probable, that *Artaxias*, who owed, we may say, his crown to the *Romans*, and reigned under their protection, would entertain a sworn enemy of theirs. *Artaxias* enjoyed his kingdom peaceably to the reign of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, by whom his army was cut in pieces, and himself made prisoner, and put in irons<sup>r</sup>. We read of an embassy sent by him, four years after this misfortune, to *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*, soliciting that prince to put to death *Mithrobuzanes*, one of the two sons of *Zadriades*, who had fled to him for shelter, and to assist him in the recovering of his kingdom. But *Ariarathes* sharply rebuked the ambassadors, and was so far from complying with their request, that he restored *Mithrobuzanes* to his father's kingdom; and moreover declared, that he would give no manner of assistance to one who could think him capable of committing such an infamous piece of treachery.

By whom *Artaxias* was succeeded is uncertain, the *Armenian* history being interrupted here with a chasm of about seventy years, for so many passed between the defeat of

*Artaxias*  
defeated by  
*Antiochus*  
*Epipha-*  
*nes*.  
Year of  
the Flood,  
2834.  
Before  
Christ,  
165.

<sup>r</sup> APPIAN. Syriac. p. 117, & 131. PORPHYR. apud Hieronym. in Daniel. c. 11.



*Artaxias* and the reign of *Tigranes the Great* ; which interruption may perhaps be owing, not to the want of writers, but of any thing worth writing performed by the intermediate princes. All we know of this time is, that *Tigranes* was by his father delivered up to the *Parthians* as an hostage, whence it is plain, that the *Armenians* had warred with the *Parthians* to their disadvantage. The *Parthians* set *Tigranes* at liberty upon the news of his father's death, having first obliged him to yield up to them a considerable part of his kingdom by way of ransom<sup>c</sup>.

Tigranes.  
Year of  
the Flood,  
2974.  
Before  
Christ,  
95.



Invades  
Cappado-  
cia.

Tigranes  
is chosen  
king of  
Syria.

*Tigranes* being thus restored to his father's kingdom, was prevailed upon in the beginning of his reign by *Mithridates Eupator*, to enter into an alliance with him against the *Romans*, whose power began to give jealousy to all the princes of *Asia*. One of the articles of agreement between these two kings was, that *Mithridates* should have the conquered cities and countries, and *Tigranes* the captives and plunder. In virtue of this treaty, *Tigranes* was to invade *Cappadocia*, which *Mithridates* had been lately obliged by a decree of the senate of *Rome* to give up to *Ariobarzanes*. But before either of the princes took the field, a marriage was solemnized, with all possible pomp and magnificence, between *Tigranes* and *Cleopatra* daughter to *Mithridates*. As soon as the nuptial solemnities were over, *Mithridates* sent his elder brother *Socrates* to invade *Bithynia*, and drive from that throne *Nicomedes*, whom the *Romans* had appointed king ; and *Tigranes*, according to his engagement, ordered *Mithridates* and *Bagoas*, his two chief commanders, to fall upon *Cappadocia*, which they reduced without the least opposition ; *Ariobarzanes*, who was but a very mean-spirited prince, having abandoned his kingdom and fled to *Rome*, upon the first news of their march. *Tigranes* having thus got possession of *Cappadocia*, enriched himself with the booty, but yielded the country to *Ariarathes*, *Mithridates*'s son, whom he caused to be proclaimed with great pomp, and universal satisfaction of the people<sup>c</sup>. In the mean time the *Syrians*, being harassed with a long and intestine war of the *Seleucidæ*, who could not agree among themselves, invited *Tigranes* to take possession of their country, which he did accordingly, driving out the *Seleucidæ*, who were not in a condition to oppose him, and obliging *Antiochus Pius* not only to yield that part of *Syria* which he possessed, and extended from the *Euphrates* to the sea, but likewise great part of *Cilicia*. *Tigranes* must

<sup>c</sup> STRAB. l. xi. p. 537. JUSTIN. l. xlviii. c. 3. APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 118. JUSTIN. l. xxxviii. c. 3. APPIAN. in Mithridatic. p. 176.



have made peace with the *Romans* soon after his expedition into *Cappadocia*, and left *Mithridates* in the lurch; for in the council of the *Syrians*, after they had resolved to call in a foreign king, three princes being proposed, namely *Mithridates* king of *Pontus*, *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*, and *Tigranes* king of *Armenia*; the latter was unanimously chosen, and *Mithridates* rejected for no other reason but his being at war with the *Romans*<sup>u</sup>. *Tigranes* enjoyed *Syria*, without the least disturbance, for the space of eighteen years, till he was driven out by *Pompey*, and *Syria* reduced to the form of a *Roman* province. With this new addition of strength *Tigranes*, giving the reins to his aspiring and unbounded desire of power, invades *Armenia Minor*, kills king *Artanes*, who met him on the frontiers at the head of a considerable army, disperses his troops, and in one campaign reduces the whole kingdom. From *Armenia Minor* he marches his victorious army against the *Asiatic Greeks*, the *Adiabeni-ans*, and the *Gordians*, carrying all before him, and obliging the people, where-ever he came, to acknowledge him for their sovereign. From this second expedition he returned loaded with an immense booty, which he soon after increased with the spoils of *Cappadocia*, invading that kingdom the second time at the instigation of *Mithridates*, who had been obliged by the *Romans* to withdraw his forces from thence. From *Cappadocia* *Tigranes*, besides the other booty, brought back into *Armenia* no fewer than three hundred thousand captives, having surrounded the country with his numerous army in such manner that no one could escape him. These, together with the prisoners he had taken in his two first expeditions, he employed to build, and afterwards to people, a large and noble city, which he founded in the place, where the crown of *Armenia* had been first put upon his head, calling it from his own name *Tigranocerta*, that is, *the city of Tigranes*<sup>w</sup>. In the mean time *Mithridates*, who had concluded a peace with the *Romans*, but with no other design than to gain time and strengthen his party, sent a solemn embassy to *Tigranes* inviting him to enter into an alliance against the common enemy. *Metrodorus Scephsus* was at the head of this embassy, a man had in such respect and veneration by *Mithridates*, that he was commonly called the king's father: he was at first a philosopher of great note, and afterwards raised by the king to the dignity of a judge, with such an unbounded authority, that it was not lawful to appeal from

*Reduces Armenia Minor, and other countries.*

<sup>u</sup> JUSTIN. l. xl. c. 1, 2.      <sup>w</sup> APPIAN. in Mithridatic. p. 216. STRAB. l. xi. p. 532.



Sends supplies to Mithridates.

Reduces Mesopotamia.

his sentence to the king himself. So great was the opinion *Mithridates* had of his honesty. *Tigranes* before he returned any answer to this embassy, pressed *Metrodorus* to tell him honestly, whether he thought it adviseable for him to enter into a war with the *Romans*. *Metrodorus* at first declined giving any answer to such an unseasonable question, but being at last prevailed upon by the pressing instances of the king; replied, As I am an ambassador, I advise you to join your father-in-law against the *Romans*; as a counsellor, I am for your living in peace and amity with so powerful a people. *Tigranes* informed the king of what he had said, supposing he would not take it amiss, nor entertain a worse opinion of his ambassador on the score of his sincerity. But it fell out otherwise, as was commonly believed, *Metrodorus* dying on the road as he was returning home, not without suspicion of poison. *Tigranes*, who had betrayed him, to express his concern, caused his body to be interred with the utmost magnificence. This prince at first refused to join *Mithridates* against the *Romans*, but in the end was prevailed upon by the importunity of his wife *Cleopatra*, to send him considerable supplies\*, though he never came heartily into that war, not caring to provoke the *Romans*, who on their side kept fair with him, taking no notice, for the present, of the supplies he had sent to *Mithridates*. This unfortunate prince was soon after, upon the defeat of his army by *Lucullus*, forced to fly for shelter into *Armenia*, where he met with a very cold reception from his son-in-law, who would neither treat with him, nor see him, nor acknowledge him for his relation; however, he promised to protect his person, and allowed him, in one of his castles, a princely retinue, and a table suitable to his former condition†. This total overthrow of *Mithridates* might well have made *Tigranes* open his eyes, and oppose with all his might the growing power of so formidable an enemy. But instead of that, leaving the *Romans* to pursue their conquests, he marches at the head of a very numerous army against the *Parthians*, with a design to recover the seventy vallies which the *Parthians* had extorted from him before they set him at liberty. Those he easily retook, and not satisfied with what had formerly belonged to the crown of *Armenia*; added to them all *Mesopotamia*, the countries that lay about *Ninus* and *Arbela*, and the fruitful province of *Mysdonia*, with the great and strong city of

\* STRAB. l. xiii. p. 609, 610.  
APPIAN. *ibid*.

† MEMNON. c. 48.

*Nisibis*,



*Nisibis*, called by the Greeks *Antiochia Migdonica*, the *Parthians*, though at that time a mighty people, flying everywhere before him <sup>a</sup>. From *Mesopotamia* he took his march towards *Syria*, to quell a rebellion which had been raised there by *Cleopatra*, surnamed *Selene*, who, after the death of her husband *Antiochus Pius*, reigned jointly with her sons in that part of *Syria* which *Tigranes* had not seized on. The malecontents were quickly reduced, that part of *Syria* which *Cleopatra* possessed, brought under subjection, and the queen herself taken prisoner, and confined to the castle of *Seleucia*, where she was soon after put to death by *Tigranes's* order <sup>a</sup>. From *Syria* he passed into *Phœnice*, Phœnice. which he subdued either intirely, or in great part, spreading far and wide the terror of his arms; insomuch, that all the princes of *Asia*, except those that were joined in alliance with the *Romans*, either in person, or by their deputies, submitted and paid homage to the conqueror. Among the others, *Alexandria* queen of *Judæa*, upon a report that *Tigranes* with an army of five hundred thousand men was ready to fall upon her kingdom, dispatched ambassadors, loaded with rich presents, to assure him, that she and the whole nation of the *Jews* coveted nothing more than the friendship of so powerful a prince, which they were willing to cultivate by all the good offices that lay in their power. The king, who was then employed in the siege of *Ptolemais*, which city not long after surrendered, commended them for undertaking so long a journey to do him homage, and bidding them be of good cheer, And all sent them back into *Judæa* <sup>b</sup>. Syria to *Appian* tells us, that *Tigranes* over-ran all the *Syrian* nations on this side of the *Euphrates* to the borders of *Egypt* <sup>c</sup>; and *Lucullus* in *Plutarch's* the bor- *Plutarch* expressly says, that he made himself master of *Palestine*. Egypt. But on the other hand, *Eutropius* <sup>d</sup> and *Josephus* <sup>e</sup> write, that he stopt in *Phœnice*, and was master but of part of that country. And now *Tigranes*, elated with a long and uninterrupted series of victories and prosperous events, began to look upon himself as invincible, and far above the level of other crowned heads: he assumed the haughty title of *king of kings*, and had many kings waiting upon him in the nature of menial servants: he never appeared on horseback without the attendance of four kings running by his horse in livery: and when he gave answers to the nations that applied

<sup>a</sup> PLUTARCH in Lucullo. STRAB. l. xi. p. 532. JOSEPH. l. xiii. c. 24. OROS. l. vi. c. 3. <sup>b</sup> STRAB. l. xvi. p. 749. <sup>c</sup> JOSEPH. Antiquitat l. xiii. c. 24. <sup>d</sup> APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 118

<sup>e</sup> EUTROP. l. vi. <sup>f</sup> JOSEPH. ubi supra.



themselves to him, they stood on either side of the throne with their hands clasped together, that attitude of all others being accounted then among the orientals the greatest acknowledgment of vassalage and servitude †.

Lucullus  
sends Ap-  
pius Clau-  
dius to de-  
mand of  
him Mi-  
thridates.

By this time *Lucullus*, having intirely reduced the kingdom of *Pontus*, and wanting a pretence to fall upon *Tigranes*, sent *Appius Claudius*, his wife's brother, with the character of embassador, to demand of him *Mithridates*, who, as we have hinted before, had retired into *Armenia*, and lived there under the protection of his son-in-law *Tigranes*. *Appius* on his journey persuaded several princes, and among the others *Zarbienus*, king of the *Gordians*, to side with the *Romans* in case of a rupture between them and *Tigranes*. The embassador not finding the king at *Epidaphne*, or *Antioch*, he being gone from thence a few days before his arrival to reduce some cities of *Phœnice*, and being ordered to wait there till he returned, employed that time in soliciting the neighbouring cities to shake off the *Armenian* yoke, and join the *Romans* as soon as their army should appear in those parts, which they did accordingly. *Tigranes* being at last returned to *Antioch*, *Appius* in the audience which he had, told him abruptly, that he was come to demand *Mithridates*, as belonging to *Lucullus's* triumph; and, in case he did not readily comply with his demand; to proclaim war against him. *Tigranes*, though no ways accustomed to such freedom of speech, answered with a great deal of temper, that he had not himself approved of *Mithridates's* proceedings; but yet could not help having some regard for a man so nearly related to him; that all the world would condemn him, if he delivered his father-in-law into the hands of his sworn enemies; he was therefore unalterably resolved to stand by him, and protect him in his adverse fortune, and if the *Romans* should on that score make war upon him, or invade his dominions, he was in a condition to pay them back in their own coin. He was greatly offended that *Lucullus* in his letter did not give him the title of *king of kings*, and therefore in his answer would not so much as give him the title of *general*. He offered great presents to *Appius*, both for himself and *Lucullus*; but he accepted only of a gold cup, fearing the king might take it amiss, if he rejected them all<sup>c</sup>. In the mean time *Tigranes* being informed that *Zarbienus* king of the *Gordians* had entered into a private alliance with the *Romans*, put him, his wife

Whom he  
refuses to  
deliver up.

† PLUT. in Lucull.

<sup>c</sup> STRAB. l. xvi. p. 749. MEMNON.



and children to death ; and returning into *Armenia*, received with the greatest pomp and magnificence imaginable, his father-in-law *Mithridates*, whom to that time he had not admitted to his presence, though the unhappy prince had resided a year and eight months in his dominions ; they held several private conferences, and in the end *Mithridates* was sent back into *Pontus* with ten thousand horse to make a diversion by raising there what disturbances he could †.

ON the other hand *Lucullus*, hearing of the king's resolution, performed at *Ephesus* the vows which it was customary for the *Roman* generals to perform after having subdued a powerful enemy ; so confident was he of success. From *Ephesus* he marched back into *Pontus*, and from thence, after reducing the strong city of *Sinope* he began his march to *Armenia* *Lucullus* with two legions only and three thousand horse, having left *marches* *Sornatius* in *Pontus* with six thousand men to keep that king- into Ar-  
dom in awe, and defeat the designs of *Mithridates*‡. He menia.  
took his rout through *Cappadocia*, where his army was abundantly supplied with all manner of provisions by *Ariobarzanes*, whom he had lately restored to that kingdom, and arrived in a few days at the *Euphrates*, which he passed without the least opposition, where it separates *Cappadocia* from *Armenia* (H). Having now entered the enemy's country, he detached two parties, one to besiege a city, wherein he was informed that *Tigranes's* concubines and great part of his treasures were kept ; the other under the command of *Sextilius* to block up *Tigranocerta*, in hopes of drawing the king to a battle. But *Tigranes*, after having put to death the scout that brought him the first intelligence of the *Romans* arrival,

† MEMNON. c. 57 & PLUT. in Lucul. § SALLUST. histor. l. iv. apud Nonium. MEMNON. c. 58. PLUT. APPIAN. ibid.

(H) *Plutarch* informs us (7). That the *Euphrates*, being at that time swelled to an extraordinary height by reason of the winter rains, upon the arrival of *Lucullus* began to abate, insomuch that the waters being reduced by the next morning within their banks, afforded him an easy and safe passage. Whereupon the inhabitants began to look upon him as a god, and were confirmed in their opinion by what they reckoned a great prodigy ; for no sooner had he passed the river, but one of the oxen consecrated to the *Parian Diana*, though wild, and never caught without great difficulty by the barbarians, came of its own accord to offer itself to *Lucullus* for a sacrifice. He offered also a bull to the deity of the river in thanksgiving for his safe passage.

(7) *Plutarch. in Lucull.*



made towards mount *Taurus*, which he had appointed for the place of the general rendezvous<sup>b</sup>. *Lucullus* dispatched *Muriæna* in pursuit of the king, who having overtaken and engaged him in a narrow pass, put the *Armenians* to flight, and, besides all the king's baggage and carriages, carried back with him a great many prisoners, the king having fled in the beginning of the skirmish. *Sextilius* was attended with the like success against a large body of *Arabians*, which he fell in with, as they were marching to join the king; for *Lucullus* had sent out several parties to scour the country, and prevent the innumerable forces that were in full march on all sides, from drawing into one body. But notwithstanding all the diligence *Lucullus* could use, the king's army daily increased to a great degree, the *Gordians*, *Medes*, *Arabians*, *Adiabeniensians*, *Albans*, *Iberians*, and most of the inhabitants of the neighbouring kingdoms, flocking to him in great bodies, not so much out of any affection to the king, as upon a strong persuasion, that the *Romans* were come into those quarters with a design to ransack the country, and plunder their wealthy temples: this opinion, which was industriously spread abroad by *Tigranes*, armed, we may say, all *Asia* against *Lucullus*<sup>c</sup>. With these supplies the king's army, before he left mount *Taurus*, consisted according to *Plutarch's* <sup>d</sup> computation, of twenty thousand archers and slingers, fifty five thousand horse, and a hundred and fifty thousand foot, all armed cap-a-pee, besides thirty five thousand pioneers. But *Lucullus* was so far from being under any apprehension on account of the enemies numbers, that on the contrary the only thing he feared was, that *Tigranes* should follow *Mitbridates's* advice, which was not to engage the *Romans*, but by ravaging the country, distress them for want of provisions, a lesson he had learnt the year before at his own expence, since *Lucullus* by that means had made his army moulder away; and then carried several strong places without striking a blow. To divert the king from this resolution, *Lucullus* determined to decamp, and joining *Sextilius* at *Tigranocerta*, to carry on the siege of that place in good earnest, persuading himself, that *Tigranes* at the head of so numerous an army would never sit still, and suffer his wealthy metropolis to be taken and plundered under his eyes. As *Lucullus* imagined, so it fell out; for *Tigranes* having summoned a council of war, it was there unanimously resolved

<sup>b</sup> PLUT. in Lucull. APPIAN. ubi supra.  
ubi supra. CIC. in orat. pro lege Manilia.

<sup>c</sup> PLUTARCH.  
<sup>d</sup> PLUT. ubi supra.





to attack the *Romans*, and relieve the place, before the enemy could receive any new supplies; and *Taxiles*, whom *Mithridates* had sent to dissuade the king from venturing a battle, was in danger of losing his head for disapproving their resolution. Pursuant to this determination, while the *Romans* were busied in carrying on their attacks before *Tigranocerta*, the king's army all on a sudden appeared on the tops of the neighbouring hills, and was welcomed with loud shouts and acclamations by those who were in the city, the hills and dales echoing on all sides, *victory, victory*. The *Armenians* within the town flocking to the walls, menaced from thence the *Romans*, shewing them the king's forces on the hills. *Lucullus* finding by the enemies motions that they were resolved to come to an engagement, left *Muraena* with six thousand foot to continue the siege, and marched himself with ten thousand foot only and about a thousand horse, to meet the king, who upon a view of the *Roman* camp, turning to those who attended him, *If these men*, said he, *come as ambassadors, there is enow of them; but if they come as enemies they make but a very indifferent appearance*. As *Lucullus* was drawing up his forces to pass a river which parted the two camps, and to attack the enemy, one of his officers suggested to him, that that day was marked in the kalendar as unlucky, the *Romans* under the conduct of *Cepion* having been defeated on that very day by the *Cimbrians*: the general replied calmly, *It is therefore incumbent upon us to behave ourselves with more gallantry, that so dismal a day may henceforth become a day of joy and mirth for the people of Rome*<sup>m</sup>. The *Armenians* suffered *Lucullus* to ford the river without the least molestation, which he had no sooner done, than charging the enemy in person at the head of his small army; to encourage his men, who were under no small apprehension, he forced the right wing to give ground, and with great slaughter of the enemies penetrated to the very centre. The *Romans*, thus encouraged by the example of their general, plied the *Armenians* so warmly with their javelins, that the whole army began to give way, and soon after betook themselves to a precipitous flight. The *Romans* pursued them a hundred and twenty furlongs, trampling all the way on heaps of dead bodies, till night coming on, obliged them to give over the dreadful carnage<sup>n</sup>. In this battle *Lucullus* performed the duty both of an experienced commander, and a gallant soldier; whereas

*Tigranes*  
*defeated by*  
*Lucullus.*

<sup>l</sup> MEMNON. c. 59. PLUT. ubi supra. APPIAN. XIPHILIN. ex Dione.

<sup>m</sup> PLUT. ubi supra, & in Camill. & in Apophthegmat.

<sup>n</sup> MEMNON. c. 59. APPIAN. in Mithridatic.



*Tigranes* behaved himself in a most cowardly manner, having quitted the field in the very beginning of the engagement, and, attended only by a hundred and fifty horse, saved himself in one of his castles <sup>o</sup>. *Plutarch* informs us <sup>p</sup>, that on the enemies side there fell a hundred thousand of the foot, and that but few of the cavalry escaped; whereas of the *Romans* five men only were killed, and a hundred wounded. *Antiochus* the philosopher, mentioning this fight <sup>q</sup>, says, that the sun never beheld the like; and *Livy*, that the *Romans* never fought at such a disadvantage as to numbers, the conquerors not equalling the twentieth part of the conquered (I). *Tigranes* on his flight meeting his son in as forlorn a condition as himself, resigned to him, not without many tears, his diadem and royal robes, bidding him shift for himself, and save those royal ensigns; the young prince delivered them to a trusty friend, who, being taken by the *Romans*, consigned them to *Lucullus* <sup>r</sup>.

IN the mean time *Mithridates*, having levied a considerable army, was marching to join *Tigranes*; when he received the dismal account of his overthrow, and soon after met the king himself quite disheartened, and in a great dread of being taken by the *Romans*. *Mithridates* no sooner saw him, but, dismounting from his horse, he tenderly embraced him, and, condoling his misfortune, resigned to him his own retinue, and royal apparel. Having by this friendly treatment cheered him up, he encouraged him, instead of bewailing unfruitfully his present disaster, to rally his troops, raise new supplies, and with fresh vigour renew the war, not questioning but by a prudent conduct he might easily repair, in another campaign, all the losses he had suffered in that. *Tigranes* was so taken with this obliging deportment, that he not only promised to follow *Mithridates's* advice, but moreover committed the

<sup>o</sup> MEMNON & PLUTARCH. ubi supra. OROS. l. vi. c. 3 & XI-PHILIN. in epitome Dionis. <sup>p</sup> PLUT. ubi supra. <sup>q</sup> AN-TIOCH. Philosoph. in comment. de diis. <sup>r</sup> MEMNON. PLUT. OROS. XI-PHILIN. ubi supra.

(I) *Phlegon* says, that of the *Armenians* five thousand only were slain, and a great many made prisoners. *Orosius*, on the other hand, writes (8), that thirty thousand were slain in the battle, and a great many in the flight. *Plutarch's* account seems to be greatly exaggerated, considering that the *Romans* were but eleven thousand, or at most according to the computation of *Entropius*, *Sextus Rufus*, and *Jornandes*, eighteen thousand.

(8) *Oros* l. xvi. c. 3.



whole management of the war to his conduct, owning him fitter to deal with the *Romans* than himself. This conference was no sooner over, but *Tigranes* dispatched messengers to all his prefects, enjoining them to raise what forces they could: *Magdates*, who had been governor of *Syria* for the space of fourteen years together, was ordered to abandon that kingdom, and hasten with his army to the king's assistance: ambassadors were sent in the joint names of *Mithridates* and *Tigranes* to the neighbouring princes, particularly to *Arfaces* king of *Parthia*, soliciting them to rise up in arms against the common enemy, whose unbounded ambition aimed at nothing less than the empire of all *Asia*: (K).

WHILE the confederate kings were thus preparing to renew the war with more vigour than ever, *Lucullus* was employed in reducing the strong holds of *Armenia*. From the field of battle he marched back to *Tigranocerta*, which town was a few days after delivered up to him by the Greek mer-

*Tigranocerta taken by Lucullus.*

PLUT. ubi supra. MEMNON. c. 59.  
Syriac. p. 118, 119. 133.

APPIAN. in

(K) Among the remains of the fourth book of *Sallust's* history, we read the entire letter of *Mithridates* to *Arfaces* on this occasion; he extenuates the late victory, ascribing it rather to the rash and imprudent conduct of *Tigranes*, who engaged the enemy in narrow places, than to the *Roman* valour. Then addressing *Arfaces*, "But you, says he, who are lord of the great city of *Seleucia*, and the powerful kingdom of *Persia*, who possess immense riches, and are one of the greatest potentates of *Asia*, can you think the *Romans* will ever suffer you quietly to enjoy what the gods have liberally bestowed upon you? They are at war with all mankind, but exert their cruelty chiefly on those who have wherewithal to glut their avarice. They pillage kingdoms, sell the inhabitants for slaves, plunder the temples of the gods, acknowledging no other law but their own arbitrary will and pleasure. However, we are still in a condition, with your assistance, to defeat their impious designs. By shutting up the passes which lead from *Armenia* into *Mesopotamia*, you may easily make their army moulder away for want of provisions, and thereby gain to yourself the glory of suppressing great robbers, and relieving great kings. And this is what I earnestly intreat you to do, unless you had rather increase one day with the addition of our own kingdom the power of the common enemy, than by your friendship become a conqueror yourself." However *Arfaces*, or rather *Pacorus*, (for *Arfaces* was a name common to all the *Parthian* kings) could not be prevailed upon to come into *Mithridates's* measures, having promised to the ambassadors of *Lucullus* a strict neutrality.



cenaries that were there in garison. These *Manæus*, governor of the place, distrusting their loyalty, had not only disarmed, but was moreover going to seize them; which the *Greeks* suspecting, provided themselves with cudgels, and, wrapping their garments about their arms instead of bucklers, fell upon the *Armenians*; and, stripping those they knocked down, enabled themselves with their armour to attack and gain some of the forts, which they immediately delivered up to the *Romans*, and thereby put them in possession of the town (L). From *Tigranocerta* *Lucullus* marched into the small kingdom of *Gordyene*, where he celebrated, with the utmost pomp and magnificence, the obsequies of king *Zarbienus*, whom *Tigranes* had put to death for entering into a private alliance with the *Romans*. *Lucullus* himself, after a short speech in commendation of the deceased, put fire to the funeral pile, which was the most stately and sumptuous that ever had been seen in *Asia*, being adorned with all the ensigns of royalty, and the richest spoils that were found in *Tigranocerta*. In this kingdom *Lucullus* found, besides immense sums of gold and silver, such store of provisions, as enabled

(L) So *Plutarch* and *Appian* (9), who agree in each particular. But *Dio* (10) informs us, that the inhabitants, mostly *Cilicians*, upon a difference that arose between them and the *Armenians*, let the *Romans* into the town by night. *Memnon* says (11), that *Tigranes's* commanders, having no hopes of relief, procured good conditions for themselves, and surrendered the town to *Lucullus*, who, besides many other things of great value, found in the king's coffers eight thousand talents in ready money: he allowed the soldiers to plunder the city, and moreover gave to each of them eight hundred drachmas; having found many players, gathered together from all parts by *Tigranes*, who was about to dedicate a new theatre, he employed them in interludes, which he exhibited for the diversion of the soldiery (12): the wives of the chief officers he sent back untouched to their husbands, and by that means gained them over to his side: the *Greeks* he sent to their own country, giving them wherewithal to defray the expences of their journey: he gave also leave to the *Cappadocians*, *Cilicians*, *Iberians*, &c. who had been transplanted thither against their will, to return to their respective homes: and thus by the ruin of one, many cities, recovering their inhabitants, were restored to their antient splendor, and ever afterwards looked upon *Lucullus* as their founder.

(9) *Plutarch. in Lucull. & Appian. in Mithridatic.* (10) *Dio, l. xxxv.* (11) *Memnon. c. 59.* (12) *Plutarch. ubi supra.*



him to pursue the war without putting the republic to any manner of charges †.

In the mean time the two confederate kings, having levied new forces, were taking the field, and had appointed their troops to rendezvous in the spacious plains on the other side of mount *Taurus*: Whereupon *Lucullus*, leaving *Gorayene*, began his march, and passing the *Taurus*, encamped close by the enemy. There happened several skirmishes between the parties that were sent out to forage, without any considerable advantage on either side; but *Lucullus* could by no means draw them to a general engagement. Whereupon he resolved to decamp and lay siege to *Artaxata*, where *Tigranes* had left his wife and children with the greater part of his treasures. But he had scarce formed his camp when the enemy appeared, and sat down close by him, with the small river of *Arsmia* between the two camps. *Lucullus* did not allow them time to fortify their camp, but immediately drawing out his forces, and Mi- passed the river, and charged the *Mardian* and *Iberian* horse, thrirates in whom *Tigranes* chiefly confided, with such vigour, that defeated after a faint resistance they betook themselves to flight; and by Lucul- put the whole army in confusion. The *Romans* pursued them lus. all night with great slaughter, took the chief officers prisoners, and returned the next day to the siege loaded with an immense booty. In this battle there fell on the enemy's side more officers and persons of distinction than in the former, though the slaughter was not near so great. *Mithridates* being under great apprehension of falling into the *Romans* hands, fled in the very beginning of the battle, and his example was soon followed by *Tigranes*, who withdrew into the most remote parts of his dominions. The *Romans*, however, could not prevail upon the governor of *Artaxata*, either by threats or promises, to surrender the city; and in the mean time great quantity of snow falling, and the cold growing very severe, though it was no later in the year than the autumnal equinox, the soldiers requested *Lucullus* by their tribunes to break up the siege, and allow them to retire into winter quarters; which he rejecting with indignation, the whole army The Ro- having caused the retreat to be sounded, retired in the dead man sol- of the night from before the city, and abandoned the enter- diers muti- prize, notwithstanding all *Lucullus* could say or do to put ny against them in mind of their duty. However, he prevailed upon Lucullus. some of the legions to follow him into *Mygdonia*, a warm and fruitful country, and there in hopes of a great

† *PIUTARCH. ubi supra.*



Nisibis  
taken by  
the Ro-  
mans.

booty to lay siege to *Nisibis* or *Antiochia Mygdonica* <sup>v</sup>. This city was built by the *Macedonians*, as *Josephus* informs us <sup>w</sup>, and had been taken some years before from the *Parthians* by *Tigranes*, who had placed there many things of great value. It was very strong of itself, and defended by a numerous body of chosen troops commanded by *Guras* brother to *Tigranes*, having under him *Callimachus*, who was famed for his skill in fortification, and had lately defended the city of *Amisus* with incredible bravery. The *Romans* met with a warmer reception than they expected, but nevertheless after some months carried the place, having by the favour of a dark and stormy night, which had obliged the centinels to abandon their posts, got over the ditch, and scaled the wall, without being perceived by the enemy. Those who fled into the castle, surrendered upon terms, among whom *Guras*, who was treated very generously by *Lucullus*; but *Callimachus* he loaded with chains for having set on fire the city of *Amisus* after the *Romans* had got possession of it, and thereby deprived him of an opportunity of obliging the *Greeks* by preserving it, as he intended to do. *Callimachus* promised to discover great sums of gold which lay hid under ground, provided he would give him his liberty; but could not by any means appease his resentment <sup>x</sup>. Here *Lucullus* passed the winter to the great satisfaction of the soldiery; but as he was preparing early in the spring to take the field, and march out against *Mithridates* and *Tigranes*, who had again invaded *Cappadocia*, the legions refused to follow him, nor could he bring them to a sense of their duty, though he went in person from tent to tent, embracing the most refractory, and entreating them with tears in his eyes to serve but one campaign more, which he assured them would put an end to the war, and enrich the conquerors with the spoils of two wealthy kingdoms. But all was to no purpose; the mutineers, throwing their empty purses at his feet, replied, that as he had enriched himself alone, so he should carry on the war by himself. Thus was that great commander forced to sit still, and suffer the enemy to plunder before his eyes the allies of the *Roman* people, and recover in great part the countries which he had taken from them. This sedition was stirred up and fomented by *P. Clodius*, brother to *Lucullus*'s wife, a man of a restless and mutinous temper, and whom *Lucullus* for his base behaviour had turned

<sup>v</sup> PLUTARCH. ubi supra.  
TARCH. ubi supra, & DIO.

<sup>w</sup> JOSEPH. l. xx. c. 2.

<sup>x</sup> PLU-



out of a commission, which he himself had given him. *Clodius* was supported by *Pompey's* party at *Rome*, where *Lucullus* was charged with spinning out the war, in order to be continued in the command of the army, which he employed, said his enemies, not in subduing kings, but in plundering their countries, and enriching himself with the booty. The charge perhaps was not ill-grounded; for had *Lucullus* after the first or second battle pursued *Tigranes*, he might very easily have prevented his raising a new army, and thereby have put an end to the war; but the hopes of booty made him after both battles abandon the enemy, and attack those places in which he had heard the king's treasures were kept; and truly the riches, which he heaped up in this and the *Mithridatic* war, are almost inconceivable. This gave his enemies a plausible pretence to stir up the people against him, having employed the forces of the republic in carrying on a war for his own private ends. Whereupon a law was at last published by *C. Manlius*, tribune of the people, whereby *Lucullus* was enjoined to resign to *Pompey* the legions and provinces under his command, together with the whole management of the war against *Mithridates* and *Tigranes*. This law was greatly opposed, but to no effect, by the nobility, who, though they did not approve of *Lucullus's* conduct, yet could not help thinking him highly injured by the people; since *Pompey* was sent rather to take possession of the spoils of a conquered enemy, than to carry on a war, and to triumph rather than to fight <sup>1</sup>. *Lucullus* met *Pompey* at the castle of *Danala* in *Galatia*, and endeavoured to persuade him to return, since *Pontus* and *Armenia* were already as good as conquered, and the kings not in a condition to oppose the *Roman* forces; but *Pompey* answering that he could not do otherwise than obey the orders of the republic, a quarrel arose between them, *Lucullus* upbraiding *Pompey* with an unbounded ambition, and *Pompey* *Lucullus* with an insatiable avarice; and neither could be said, as *Velleius Paterculus* observes, to lay any thing to the other's charge that was not true <sup>2</sup>. At last *Pompey* removed his camp, forbidding under severe penalties any one to come near *Lucullus*, or obey him; and *Lucullus* set out on his journey to *Rome*, where he was received by the senate with all the possible marks of honour and esteem. He brought along with him great store of valuable books, with

*Pompey sent to succeed Lucullus in the command of the army.*

<sup>1</sup> PLUTARCH. ubi supra.  
PLUT in Pompeio.

<sup>2</sup> VELLEIUS PATER. l. ii. c. 33.



which he furnished his library, that<sup>a</sup> was always open to men of learning<sup>a</sup>.

*The son of Tigranes takes up arms against his father.*

IN the mean time *Mithridates* and *Tigranes* had over-run *Cappadocia*, and recovered all *Armenia*, with great part of *Pontus*, and would have gained greater advantages, had not *Tigranes's* son, by name also *Tigranes*, taking up arms against his father, obliged him to divide his troops. The father and son coming to a pitched battle, the latter was put to flight; and forced to save himself in *Parthia*, where being joined by the discontented *Armenians*, he persuaded *Phrahates* king of the *Parthians* to declare war against his father, and invade *Armenia*; which he did at the head of a very numerous army, laying siege to *Artaxata*, and obliging *Tigranes* the elder to hide himself in the mountainous parts of his kingdom<sup>b</sup>. *Phrahates*, finding the city in a condition to stand a long siege, left part of his forces with *Tigranes* the younger, and returned home; which *Tigranes* the father hearing, he immediately abandoned the fastnesses of the mountains, and falling upon his son at the siege of *Artaxata*, dispersed the rebels with great slaughter, and entered his metropolis in triumph. *Tigranes* the son fled first to *Mithridates*, but finding him reduced to great straits, having been overcome a few days before by *Pompey* with the loss of forty thousand men, he went over to the *Romans*, and led them into *Armenia* against his father, as an ally of *Mithridates*. By his advice *Pompey* marched against *Artaxata*, where the king then resided, who hearing of his march, dispatched deputies to him; offering to surrender the city upon certain conditions, which *Pompey* rejected at the instigation of *Tigranes* the younger; though the deputies brought along with them in chains the ambassadors that *Mithridates* had sent to solicit succours against the *Romans*. Hereupon the king being quite dispirited, and not in a condition, after the revolt of his son, to withstand the enemy, took a resolution to go and meet *Pompey* in person, and as he had a great opinion of his clemency and good nature, to put himself, without any reserve, into his hands, and acquiesce to such conditions as he should think fit to grant him. Accordingly he set out for the camp, which was within fourteen miles of the city, and was met at some distance by a party of *Roman* horse detached from the army to escort him. As he entered the

*And leads Pompey into Armenia.*

<sup>a</sup> ISIDOR. Origin. l. vi. c. 3. & PLUTARCH. in Pompeio & Lucullo.

<sup>b</sup> LIV. l. c. APPIAN. p. 242. DIO, l. xxxvi.



works, two lictors sent by *Pompey* desired him to dismount, *Tigranes* no-body being allowed to come into the *Roman* camp on puts him-horseback. The king readily obeyed, and, unbuckling his self into sword, delivered it into their hands. As soon as *Pompey*, Pompey's who went on foot to meet him, appeared, pulling off his dia-bands. dem, he threw himself at his feet; but *Pompey* embracing him, raised him up, and with his own hand put the diadem again on his head. He afterwards conducted him to his tent, and there gave him audience, sitting between him and his son, who did not so much as rise up when his father came in, nor take any notice of him<sup>c</sup>. The king expatiated in commendation of *Pompey*, saying, that he was come not to propose, but to accept whatever conditions he should think fit to offer him; that he did not look upon it as any disparagement to his royal dignity to own himself conquered by one whom fortune had raised above the rest of mankind, and that he had such an opinion of his justice, honour, and generosity, as to think himself safer in his camp, than he could be in his own metropolis. *Pompey* afterwards invited them both to supper; but the son absented himself, which was the first thing that made *Pompey* conceive some jealousy of him<sup>d</sup>. The next day *Pompey*, after hearing both parties, (for *Tigranes* had appealed to him for justice against his son) restored the kingdom of *Armenia* to the father, with the greatest and Who re- best part of *Mesopotamia*; but set a fine upon him of six stores him thousand talents for making war upon the people of *Rome* to the without cause. To the son he gave the government of the kingdom of provinces of *Gordyene* and *Sophene*; but the treasures that Armenia. were kept in the latter, he adjudged to the father, because, without them, he could not pay the fine. The son being thus disappointed, endeavoured first to make his escape, and afterwards, by private messengers, solicited the inhabitants of *Sophene* not to deliver the treasures to his father; which *Pompey* taking very much amiss, caused him to be kept in irons, and even then he found means to stir up *Phraates* king of the *Parthians*, whose daughter he had married, against the *Romans*, and to form a conspiracy against his father's life; whereupon *Pompey* sent him in chains to *Rome*, where he was kept in the house of *L. Flavius* a senator; till the tribuneship of *P. Clodius*, who, being bribed with a large sum of money, set him at liberty in spite of *Pompey* and the

<sup>c</sup> CICERO pro SEXTIO. EUTROP. l. vi. DIO, APPIAN. ubi supra. PIER. in Pomp & Lucull. <sup>d</sup> VET. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 37. & DIO, ubi supra.



Tigranes  
dies.

Artuafdes.  
Year of  
the Flood,  
2962.  
Before  
Christ,  
37.

senate<sup>c</sup>. The father willingly yielded to the *Romans Cappadocia, Cilicia, Syria*, and that part of *Phœnice* which he possessed, contenting himself with his paternal kingdom, and not only paid the fine laid upon him, but moreover made large presents to *Pompey*, and to all the officers and soldiers of his army, which gained him the title of a friend and ally of the *Roman* people<sup>f</sup>. He afterwards waged war with *Phrabates* II. king of the *Parthians*, by whom he was overcome, and would have been driven out of his kingdom, had not a peace been soon concluded between them by the mediation of *Pompey*<sup>g</sup>. He ever afterwards cultivated a strict friendship and amity with the *Romans*; insomuch that he not only refused to receive *Mithridates*, who fled to him after he had been routed by *Pompey* near mount *Stella*, but even offered a reward of one hundred talents to any one that should put him to death. His second son also, by name *Sariafer*, took up arms against him; but, by the assistance of the *Romans*, that rebellion was soon quelled. He died in the eighty fifth year of his age, and was succeeded by his son *Artuafdes*, called by *Josephus*<sup>h</sup> *Artabazes*, by *Orosius*<sup>i</sup> *Artabanes*, and by others *Artoadistes*.

*Artuafdes* I. out of a private grudge he bore to *Artavasdes* king of *Media*, advised *Marc Antony*, as he was marching at the head of a powerful army against the *Parthians*, to invade *Media*, offering to serve him in person as a guide, and to assist him with all his forces. *Marc Antony* followed his advice; but in the mean time *Artuafdes* being privately reconciled to the king of *Media*, he led the *Roman* army a long way about, over mountains, and through roads that were almost impracticable; insomuch that they were obliged to leave behind them most part of their baggage, and all their warlike engines. At last he brought them into the province of *Atropatene*, where *Statianus*, who commanded a body of twenty thousand *Romans*, being set upon by the *Medes* and *Parthians*, while his men were tired with their long and tedious march, was killed, and his whole army cut in pieces. *Polemo* king of *Pontus*, who had joined the *Romans*, was taken prisoner, and with him a great many commanders of distinction, who were come to serve in the *Roman* army; but of the *Romans* themselves not one out-lived that battle.

<sup>c</sup> PLUT. & DIO, ubi supra. CIC. in orat. pro domo sua.

<sup>f</sup> PLUT ubi supra. STRABO, l. xi. p. 530. VEL. PATER. l. ii. c. 37.

<sup>g</sup> DIO, l. xxxvii. PLUT. ubi supra. & APPIAN. p. 244.

<sup>h</sup> JOSEPH. l. i. bell. Judaic. c. 13. & l. xv. c. 5.

<sup>i</sup> OROS. l. xvi. c. 19.

After



After this overthrow *Artuasdes* marched back with his forces into *Armenia*, leaving *Marc Antony* at the siege of *Phrahata* in *Media Atropatena*, which he was soon after obliged to raise, and make a precipitate retreat into *Armenia*, being closely pursued the whole way by the joint forces of *Parthians* and *Medes*. After twenty seven days march he passed the *Araxes*, which divides *Media Atropatena* from *Armenia*; and having here mustered his army, found that he had lost in that expedition twenty thousand foot, and four thousand horse, with all the military engines and baggage of the army <sup>k</sup>. He was met on the frontiers of *Armenia* by *Artuasdes*, whom he was so far from upbraiding with his treachery, that, on the contrary, he received him with greater demonstrations of friendship and kindness than ever he had done before. Thus he dissembled his resentment for the present (and no-body was a greater master of the art of dissembling than he) for fear of provoking the king, who had a powerful army on foot; whereas the *Romans* were in extreme want of all things, and no-ways in a condition either to face an enemy or pursue their march. He prevailed upon *Artuasdes*, what by promises, what by his obliging behaviour, to allow his troops winter-quarters in *Armenia*; which being granted, he hastened to the castle of *Leucocome*, between *Berytus* and *Sidon*, where he had appointed *Cleopatra* to meet him. During his stay here he invited *Artuasdes* into *Egypt*, pretending to have some affairs of great moment to impart to him; but the king, suspecting his real design, excused himself, as though the affairs of his kingdom required his presence. *Antony* suspecting that the king mistrusted him, to remove all jealousy, sent *Q. Dellius* to him, with the character of ambassador, to propose a match between the king's daughter and his son *Alexander*, whom he had by *Cleopatra*; and then removed, as it was now the beginning of the spring, to the city of *Nicopolis* in *Armenia Minor*. From *Nicopolis* he dispatched messengers to *Artuasdes*, inviting him, as an ally of the *Roman* people, and a friend in whom he reposed an intire confidence, to come and assist him with his advice in the war which he was about to undertake against the *Parthians*. The king *Artuasdes* again excused himself at first, but was in the end prevailed *treacherously* upon, partly by his friends, partly by *Antony's* promises and repeated expressions of friendship and kindness, to wait upon him in his camp, where he was immediately seized, and, by *Antony's* order, loaded with chains, and forced, through fear *taken, and put in irons by Marc Antony.*

<sup>k</sup> DIO p. 407. VEL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 8. PLUT. in *Antony*.  
LIV. l. cxxx.



of a more severe treatment, to discover his treasures, which *Antony* appropriated to himself. The *Armenians*, upon the news of the king's captivity, placed his eldest son *Artaxias* on the throne, who, having ventured a battle with the *Romans*, was defeated, and obliged to shelter himself among the *Parthians*, leaving his new kingdom a prey to the insatiable avarice of *Antony*, who, returning into *Egypt* with a great booty, entered *Alexandria* in triumph, *Artuasdes*, with his wife and children, being led by his chariot in golden chains. He afterwards presented them to *Cleopatra* sitting in a chair of gold; but neither the king, nor any of the *Armenian* captives, could be induced to give her the title of queen, though *Antony* had commanded her to be honoured by all with the title of *queen of kings*. *Antony* bestowed the kingdom of *Armenia* on *Alexander* his son by *Cleopatra*, whom he married to *Jotape* the daughter of *Artavasdes* king of the *Medes*. As for *Artuasdes* king of *Armenia*, he was, not long after, put to death by *Antony's* orders, and his head sent as a present to his rival the king of *Media*<sup>1</sup>.

Is put to  
death.

Artaxias  
II.

Year of  
the  
Flood,  
2967.  
Before  
Christ,  
32.



Tigranes  
II.

*Artaxias*, the eldest son of *Artuasdes*, was by the *Armenians* proclaimed king upon the first news of his father's captivity; but being overcome by the *Romans*, as we have mentioned above, was obliged to abandon his kingdom, and fly into *Parthia*, from whence he soon returned at the head of a numerous army of *Parthians* and *Armenians*, and, having defeated the *Medes* who were joined in alliance with *Alexander*, recovered his paternal kingdom; but did not long enjoy it, being strangled, as *Tacitus* informs us<sup>m</sup>, by the treachery of his nearest friends, or driven from the throne, as we read in *Josephus*<sup>n</sup>, by *Archelaus* king of *Cappadocia*, and *Claudius Tiberius Nero*, afterwards emperor.

*Artaxias* II. being put to death, or, as others will have it, driven from the throne, the kingdom of *Armenia* was by *Tiberius* whom *Augustus* had sent to settle the affairs of the east, bestowed on his younger brother *Tigranes*. *Tiberius* himself put the crown on his head, honouring him with the title of a friend and ally of the *Roman* people<sup>o</sup>. *Tigranes*, after a short reign, was, by *Tiberius's* orders, put to death, without any regard to the intimate friendship that had once passed between them, for keeping a private correspondence with the enemies of *Rome*. He was succeeded, if we believe

<sup>1</sup> DIO, l. xlix. p. 475. JOSEPH. l. xv. c. 5. OROS. l. vi. c. 11. PLUT. in Antonio. <sup>m</sup> TACIT. l. ii. Annal. c. 3. <sup>n</sup> JOSEPH. l. xv. c. 5. <sup>o</sup> SUTTON. in Octav. c. 9. DIO. l. liv. p. 526.

*Tacitus,*



*Tacitus*, by his sons<sup>p</sup>, who performed nothing worth mentioning, the *Armenian* kings being now mere deputies of the *Roman* officers who governed the eastern provinces.

AFTER the death of *Tigranes* and his sons, the kingdom of *Armenia* was given by *Augustus* to *Artuasdes*, whom some will have to have been the son of *Artaxias* II. but the *Armenians*, already tired with the *Roman* yoke, drove him out, and called in *Phrabates* king of *Parthia*, chusing to live in subjection to the *Parthians* rather than to the *Romans*<sup>q</sup>. This revolt gave great uneasiness to *Augustus*, who, as he was now stricken in years, could neither head the army in person, nor had he any one whom he could trust with the command of it, *Tiberius* having withdrawn himself from all public affairs. At last he pitched upon *Caius*, whom he had not long before adopted, a youth of no experience, and quite unfit for such an expedition, being then only in the nineteenth year of his age; however, at the approach of the *Roman* army, which was commanded, under *Caius*, by *Marcus Lollius*, whose daughter, or niece, *Caius* had married, *Phrabates* withdrew his army from *Armenia*, and sued for peace, which *Caius* readily granted him, on condition that he should give no manner of assistance to *Tigranes*, who, on the retreat of the *Parthians*, had caused himself to be proclaimed king<sup>r</sup>. *Caius* having now to deal with *Tigranes* alone, drove him in a few days out of *Armenia*; from whence, the war being ended there, and *Artuasdes* restored to the throne, he marched into *Syria*. In the mean time *Artuasdes*, or, as some stile him, *Artabazes*, being dead, *Tigranes* sent embassadors to *Augustus* with rich presents, begging of him the kingdom of *Armenia*. As in his letter to *Augustus* he did not write himself king, the emperor accepted the presents, and in his answer enjoined him, not without giving him hopes of obtaining his request, to wait upon *Caius*, who was at that time in *Syria*<sup>s</sup>; but *Tigranes* trusting more to his sword than the emperor's fair words, having raised a considerable body of *Armenians*, made himself master of several strong holds, and thereby got possession of great part of *Armenia*. This obliged *Caius* to quit *Syria*, and march his army back into the countries which he had left a few months before as quite settled. On his ar-

<sup>p</sup> *TACITUS*, ubi supra. <sup>q</sup> *FLOR.* l. iv. c. 12. *VELL. PATERCUL.* l. ii. c. 100. *TACIT.* *Annal.* l. ii. c. 3. *DIO*, in *Zonara* & excerpt. a *Fulv. Ursino*. *SEXT. RUF.* in *breviario*. <sup>r</sup> *DIO*, *legat.* 39. in excerpt. ab *Ursin* edit. <sup>s</sup> *DIO*, in excerpt. *legat.* a *Fulv. Ursin*. edit. *SEXTUS RUF.* in *brev.*



rival, having put to flight and dispersed *Tigranes's* army, which was not in a condition to make head against him, he sat down before the castle of *Artagera*. The governor of the place, not at all daunted at the sight of so powerful an army, invited *Caius* to a private conference, as if he designed to betray the castle; and having insensibly drawn the unwary prince close to the wall, dangerously wounded him, and got safe into the city. This treachery incensed the *Romans* to such a degree, that betaking themselves to their arms, they carried the place by assault, and levelled it with the ground, after having put all the garison to the sword (M). The other cities of *Armenia* submitted to the conqueror, and *Tigranes* being again driven out, *Ariobarzanes*, a *Mede* by birth, was, at the request of the *Armenians*, placed by *Caius* on the throne <sup>c</sup>. After the reduction of *Armenia*, *Caius* falling into a lingering distemper, occasioned by his wound, resigned the command of the army, and begged *Augustus* to give him leave to lead a private life in some remote corner of the earth, and not oblige him to shew himself at *Rome*, since the indisposition of his body had, in no small degree, likewise affected his mind. *Augustus* intreated him to return at least into *Italy*; and he, with great reluctancy, undertook the journey, but died at *Limyra*, a city of *Lycia* <sup>u</sup>.

Ariobar-  
zanes.  
Vonones.

*Ariobarzanes* did nothing worth mentioning. He was succeeded by *Vonones*, whom the *Armenians* chose for their king,

<sup>c</sup> TACIT. Annal. l. i.      <sup>u</sup> VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 102.  
ZONAR. ex DION. TACIT. Annal. l. i. c. 3. SUETON. in Oc-  
tavio.

(M) *Florus* relates the fact thus (13): *Domitius*, whom *Tigranes* had made governor of *Artaxata*, feigning a revolt, fell upon *Caius* while he was perusing a paper which he had given him, as containing an account of the treasures lodged in the city. He was wounded, adds *Florus*, but soon recovered. The *Romans*, having carried the place by assault, set fire to it, into which the governor, who was wounded, throwing himself, gave, with his death, satisfaction to *Cæsar*, who outlived him. *Sextus Rufus*, in his breviary, follows *Florus*; but as this had been transacted in *Parthia*, and not in *Armenia*, subjoins, that the *Parthians*, to atone for such a piece of treachery, did then, for the first time, give hostages to *Octavianus Cæsar*, and restored the ensigns which they had taken in the *Cassian* war. He confounds what *Suetonius* (14) wrote of the *Parthians*, with what others relate of the *Armenians*, mistaking all along *Claudius* for *Caius*, which led *Jornandes* into the same mistake, and also *Georgius Syncellus* in his *Greek* chronicle.

(13) *Flor. l. iv. cap. ult.*      (14) *Sueton. in Octaviano, c. 21.*  
hc



he being driven by his own subjects from the kingdom of *Parthia*, which *Augustus* had bestowed upon him. *Vonones* was soon obliged to abandon his new kingdom by *Artabanus* king of the *Parthians* and *Medes*, who had turned him out of his own. In his room he placed his own son, by name *Orodes*, who was not long after overcome by *Germanicus*, and forced to yield the crown to *Zeno*, the son of *Polemo* king of *Pontus*, who, after his accession to the crown, was called *Artaxias*, from the city of *Artaxata*, where he received the crown from *Germanicus* w. *Artaxias* enjoyed the crown peaceably for the space of sixteen years, and was succeeded by *Arfaces*, whom his father *Artabanus* sent, upon the news of *Artaxias*'s death, to invade *Armenia*. *Arfaces*, with the assistance of the *Medes* and *Parthians*, without much trouble, got possession of that kingdom; but was treacherously murdered in the first year of his reign by his own servants, at the instigation of *Mithridates Iberus* and his brother *Pharasmenes* king of *Iberia*, whom *Tiberius* had stirred up against him. *Artabanus* hearing of his son's death, sent back his other son *Orodes* into *Armenia*, at the head of a numerous army, which was routed by *Pharasmenes*, who singling out *Orodes* himself, dangerously wounded him, and would have dispatched him, had not his guards come timely to his rescue. *Pharasmenes* being master of the field, took several cities by storm, and amongst others *Artaxata*, which he dismantled. The *Parthians* being thus again driven out of *Armenia*, that kingdom was given by *Tiberius* to *Mithridates Iberus* \*.

Orodes.

Artaxias  
III.

Arfaces.

In the beginning of his reign, *Artabanus*, having recovered his own kingdom, invaded *Armenia* the third time, and reduced great part of it, without any regard to the menaces of *Tiberius*; nay, in his answer to the emperor's letter, commanding him to withdraw his forces from *Armenia*, he upbraids him with his parricides, murders, cruelty, incontinence, and laziness; advises him to put an end to his scandalous and worthless life, and rid the world of such an abominable monster, by laying violent hands on himself; and adds, that as he had invaded *Armenia*, so he designed, after the reduction of that kingdom, to fall upon *Syria* †; but his design was prevented by the governor of *Syria*, who not only opposed his entering into that kingdom, but drove him out of *Armenia*. In the mean time *Caligula*, who had succeeded *Tiberius*, con-

Mithrida-  
tes Iberus.Year of  
the Flood,  
3027Of Christ,  
28

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w JOSEPH. l. xviii. c. 3. TACIT. Annal. l. iii. c. 4. SUEP. in Tiberio, c. 49. * TACIT. Annal. l. vi. c. 31 & 33. JOSEPH. l. xviii. c. 6. DIO, l. lviii. p. 638. † SUEP. in Tiber. c. 60. DIO, l. lxx. p. 661

Mithrida-
tes.

ceiving some jealousy of *Mithridates Iberus*, caused him to be sent in chains to *Rome*, where he was kept close prisoner till the reign of *Claudius*, by whom he was restored to his kingdom ². During his imprisonment at *Rome*, the *Parthians* had seized on most of the strong holds of *Armenia*, which he soon recovered with the assistance of his brother *Pharasmenes* and the *Roman* legions. The *Romans* reduced the forts and cities, while the *Iberians*, under the command of *Pharasmenes*, kept the field to make head against *Demonaxtes*, general of the malecontent *Armenians*, who, having ventured a battle, was slain, and his whole army cut in pieces. This victory put *Mithridates* in possession of all *Armenia* ³; but he did not long enjoy his kingdom, being taken off by a storm, which broke out from a quarter whence he least expected it. The fact is thus related by *Tacitus* ⁴; *Pharasmenes* had a son, by name *Rhadamistus*, a daring young man, of extraordinary parts, and no less beloved by his own countrymen for his obliging behaviour, than esteemed by the neighbouring nations, in regard of his military exploits. The uncommon affection which the *Iberians* of all ranks shewed him, joined to the eager desire which he had betrayed on several occasions of ascending the throne, gave his father, who was advanced in years, no small uneasiness. To divert him therefore from attempting any thing upon his own person or kingdom, he cunningly turned his thoughts upon *Armenia*, telling him, that that kingdom belonged of right not to *Mithridates*, but to himself, who had rescued it from the *Parthians*; and that the world might very justly condemn him as a mean-spirited prince, and an unkind father, should he suffer his brother to enjoy quietly a kingdom that was due to his own son. Having thus inflamed the young man's ambition, they both agreed, that the safest way to compass their design was, at first, to use policy; and that *Rhadamistus*, pretending to fall out with his father, should fly to his uncle *Mithridates*, as not being able to brook the ill treatment he met with at home from his father and step mother. *Mithridates* pitying his condition, received and entertained him as if he had been his own child; but this kindness did not prevent *Rhadamistus* from privately stirring up to sedition such of the chief men as he found disaffected to *Mithridates*; whom after he had gained and disposed for a revolt, feigning a reconciliation with his father, he returned home, and acquainted him to what pass he had brought matters by policy.

² DIO, l. lx. p. 670.

³ TACIT. Annal. l. xi. c. 8 & 9.

⁴ Idem, Annal. l. xii. c. 10.

Pharasmenes thinking it now necessary to employ force, under pretence that *Mithridates* had dissuaded the *Romans* from lending him any aid against the *Albanians*, sent his son at the head of a powerful army to invade *Armenia*, and take revenge of such an unnatural proceeding. This unexpected irruption, and the revolt of several chief lords of *Armenia*, obliged *Mithridates*, not knowing whom to trust, to shut himself up in the castle of *Garneas*, a place looked upon as impregnable, and defended by a *Roman* garison, *Cælius Pullio* being governor, and *Casperius*, a man of no less honesty than courage, his centurion. *Rhadamistus* having attempted in vain to reduce the place by force, and tired out his men without making any progress in the siege, had recourse to another method, which was to offer the governor, whom he knew to be venal, a large sum of gold, on condition he delivered *Mithridates* into his hands. *Pullio* shewed no disinclination to this proposal; but *Casperius* openly protested, that no bribes should ever prevail upon him to betray an ally of *Rome*, or suffer the kingdom of *Armenia*, a gift of the *Roman* people, to be shamefully sold; however, he agreed to a suspension of arms, with a design to try in the mean time, whether he could persuade *Pharasmenes* to call home his son, and in case of refusal, to acquaint *T. Venidius Quadratus*, governor of *Syria*, with the posture of affairs in *Armenia*. *Casperius* was scarce departed, when *Pullio*, lying now under no check, began openly to treat with the enemy, and, being gained with large sums, forced, rather than persuaded, *Mithridates* to consent to an interview with his nephew. The time and place being appointed for the conference, *Mithridates* went out of the castle, attended by a small guard, and was received with all the marks of friendship and respect by *Rhadamistus*, who falling down at his feet, embraced them, giving him, with great shew of tenderness, the title of father, and swearing by all the gods, that he should not receive any hurt at his hands, either by the sword, or by poison. Afterwards he invited him into a neighbouring grove, pretending he had caused a sacrifice to be got ready there, that the peace might be confirmed, and their antient friendship renewed in the presence of the gods. It was a custom among the orientals in those days, in concluding a peace, or striking an alliance, to join their right hands, and bind together the thumbs of the contracting parties with a running knot, which, by one of the company, was drawn so tight, as to make the blood start out at the least prick. This blood they mutually licked, deeming their friendship ever after sacred and inviolable, as being ratified by each other's blood. The person who was to perform

Mithrida-
tes trea-
cherously
murdered
by his ne-
phew Rha-
damistus.

Rhada-
mistus.

this ceremony between *Mithridates* and *Rhadamistus*, taking hold of *Mithridates* unawares, threw him down on the ground, and others running in, loaded him with chains, and hurried him away, his wife and little children filling the air with their cries, till they were also apprehended, and all thrust into covered waggons, where they were kept under a strong guard, till *Pharasmenes*'s pleasure was known. That wicked prince, without any regard to the ties of friendship or blood, ordered his brother and daughter, who was wife to *Mithridates*, to be put to death without delay ; which order was executed by his son, who, mindful of the oath he had taken not to hurt them by poison or the sword, caused them to be laid on the ground, and pressed to death. *Mithridates*'s children, who were very young, underwent the same fate, tho' *Rhadamistus* had received no such orders, because they bewailed their father's misfortune. The whole family of *Mithridates* being thus extinct, *Rhadamistus* took possession of the kingdom of *Armenia* ; which when *Quadratus* governor of *Syria* understood, he summoned a council of the chief officers, to advise with them about the measures that were to be taken on such an extraordinary emergency. He himself was for pursuing with fire and sword the authors of so cruel and treacherous an action ; but most of the counsellors were of opinion, that no notice should be taken of the death of *Mithridates*, alledging, that it was not their business to discountenance, but rather to promote, all manner of wickedness and treachery among the barbarians, that being odious to each other, and divided among themselves, they might the more easily be kept in awe and subjection to *Rome*. They added, that the *Roman* princes, being well apprised of this policy, had bestowed *Armenia* sometimes upon one, and sometimes upon another family, with no other view than to raise jealousies among the enemies of *Rome*, and set them together by the ears. This opinion prevailed ; but however, lest they should forego their right to the disposal of *Armenia*, they dispatched messengers to *Pharasmenes*, injoining him to withdraw his troops from that kingdom. In the mean time *Julius Pelignus*, governor of *Cappadocia*, a noted coward, and no less contemptible for his person than infamous for his vices, but highly in favour with the emperor *Claudius*, with whom he had formerly lived in great intimacy, having drawn together the auxiliaries of the provinces, as if he designed to recover *Armenia*, began to ravage and plunder the neighbouring provinces, without distinction of friend or foe. At last being abandoned by his own people, he had recourse to *Rhadamistus*, whom he encouraged, being gained by rich presents, to assume the title of king

king of *Armenia*; and assisted in person at his coronation; which when the governors of the neighbouring provinces heard, that the ignominy of such an infamous action might not redound upon them, they sent *Helvidius Priscus* with a legion into *Armenia*, to compose the unsettled state of affairs in that kingdom; but were obliged to recal him before he could execute his commission, being informed that *Tiridates*, at the head of a formidable army of *Parthians*; was already arrived on the frontiers, with a design to assert the antient right of his family to that crown:

Tiridates was brother to *Vologeses* king of *Parthia*; who, tho' he laid claim to the kingdom of *Armenia* as held by some of his ancestors, and had even named his younger brother *Tigranes* to that crown; as soon as he ascended the throne of *Parthia*, yet, as he did not care to engage in a war with the *Romans*, had kept quiet at home during the reign of *Mithridates Iberus*, whom they had placed on the throne; but when he heard that *Rhadamistus*, by the murder of that prince and destruction of his family, had usurped a crown to which he had no imaginable right or title, he then assembled all his forces, and heading them in person, marched into *Armenia*, to ascertain his claim by dint of arms: *Rhadamistus*, not daring to face so formidable an enemy, retired with his *Iberians* in proportion as the *Parthians* advanced. The cities of *Artaxata* and *Tigranocerta* voluntarily submitted, and the other strong holds were ready to follow their example; but in the mean time winter coming on, which proved very severe, and a great scarcity of provisions ensuing, such a mortality began to rage in the *Parthian* army, as obliged *Vologeses* to abandon the enterprize, and in all speed return home.

UPON their departure, *Rhadamistus* again invaded *Armenia*, now more outrageous and bloody than ever, as incensed against a people that had already abandoned him; and were still ready to revolt on the first occasion; insomuch, that the *Armenians*, tho' inured to slavery, could not brook his tyrannical government. Having therefore formed a conspiracy, they rose up in arms, secured the king's guards, and invested the palace, with a design to retaliate upon him his cruelty towards *Mithridates*; but both he and his wife *Zenobia* found means to make their escape on horse-back: *Zenobia*, who was big with child, being soon tired with the violence of the motion, and not able to keep up with her husband, begged him to deliver her by an honourable death from an ignominious captivity. At first he embraced her with great tenderness, and encouraged her to bear the fatigue of the flight a little longer; but at last, finding that she was ready to faint away,

Rhadamistus driven out by the Parthians.

Returns but is driven out again by the Armenians.

and being struck with fear, lest, if he left her, some other might possess her, he drew his scymetar, and having wounded her, dragged her to the banks of the *Araxes*, committing her body to the water. He himself pursued his flight full speed, till he reached *Iberia* the kingdom of his father. In the mean time some shepherds finding the body of *Zenobia* floating near the shore, with manifest signs of life, and gathering from her beautiful aspect that she was of no mean rank, bound up her wound, and carried her to *Artaxata*; from whence, her name and misfortune being known, she was conveyed, at the expence and care of that city, to *Tiridates*, who received and entertained her as a queen ^b.

Tiridates. NOT long after *Rhadamistus* returned again into *Armenia*, at the head of a powerful army of *Iberians*; but was anew driven out by the *Parthians*, who being soon obliged, by their intestine broils, to return home, that unhappy kingdom was the fourth time invaded by *Rhadamistus*; and he the same year forced by the *Parthians*, after they had settled their own affairs, to abandon it. The *Armenians* being thus harassed, and their country near quite destroyed by the *Parthians* and *Iberians*, resolved to send a solemn embassy to *Rome*, to lay the state of their desolate nation before the emperor *Nero*, and beg him to give them a king that could deliver them from the unexpressible calamities they groaned under. Hereupon the emperor appointed *Domitius Corbulo* to settle the affairs of *Armenia*, and divided the forces of the east, so that part of the auxiliaries, with two legions, were to remain in *Syria*, under the command of *Numidius Quadratus*, governor of that province; and an equal number of allies and *Romans* was assigned to *Corbulo*, with an addition of the cohorts and other troops which wintered in *Cappadocia*. The confederate kings were ordered to make ready their forces, and obey either, according to the exigencies of the war. The legions were completed, and posted on the borders of *Armenia*; bridges were made on the *Euphrates*, and all things got ready to invade the *Parthian* territories; however, both *Corbulo* and *Quadratus* thought fit, before they began hostilities, to exhort *Vologeses* by messages to prefer peace to war, and, by the delivery of hostages, to maintain that reverence towards the *Roman* people which his ancestors were wont to pay. *Vologeses* to gain time, and to remove, under the name of hostages, such as might aspire to the crown, delivered up the most illustrious of the family of the *Arfacides*. They were

^b TACIT. Annal. l. xii. c. 10.

received by *Histeius* a centurion, whom *Quadratus* had dispatched to the king for this very end ; which *Corbulo* no sooner heard than he sent *Arrius Varus*, prefect of a cohort, to take them ; and hence a quarrel arose between the centurion and the prefect. The decision of the difference being referred to the hostages themselves and the deputies who conducted them, they preferred the pretensions of *Corbulo* * (N).

In the mean time, *Vologeses* having, with the utmost expedition, drawn together his troops, openly declared, that he would neither suffer his brother *Tiridates* to be driven from a kingdom which he himself had conferred upon him, nor to hold it as a gift from any other power. On the other side, *Corbulo* was resolved to recover what had been formerly gained by *Lucullus* and *Pompey* ; and moreover, the *Armenians* implored the protection both of the *Romans* and *Parthians*, though they were, generally speaking, more addicted to the latter, as being linked with them in marriages, and not unlike in manners. To *Corbulo* it proved a far greater labour to bring his troops under discipline than to subdue the enemy ; for the legions brought out of *Syria*, by a long peace grown lazy and idle, bore with much impatience the toils of war. There were many veterans among them that had never stood centry, nor had ever seen a camp or intrenchment, having fulfilled the time of their service in cities, where they gave themselves up to all manner of debauchery. *Corbulo* therefore, having discharged such as were unfit for military duties, caused levies to be made in *Cappadocia* and *Galatia*, and to these was added a legion from *Germany*, with some troops of horse, and a detachment from the cohorts. To inure the soldiery to hardships, he kept the army encamped in the open fields the whole winter, tho' the frost was so violent, that they could not, without much labour, break the ground, in order to pitch their tents. Many lost the use of their limbs by the cold ; and some, as they stood centry, were frozen to death. The fate of one soldier was very remark-

* TACIT. Annal. I xli. c. 2.

(N) This occasioned a misunderstanding between the generals : *Quadratus* complained, that he had been unjustly deprived of what he had compassed by his own counsels ; and *Corbulo*, on the contrary, maintained, that the king had shewn no inclination to deliver hostages, till he himself, being appointed general, had changed his hopes into fear. Nero, to put an end to their jarrings, ordered by an edict, that, for the successful conduct of *Quadratus* and *Corbulo*, the land should be annexed to their states.

able ;

able ; for his hands, as he carried a bundle of wood, mortified, and, as he still clasped the burden, dropped from his arms as if they had been cut off. *Corbulo* himself, in a thin habit, and bare-headed, whether they marched or worked, was continually encouraging them, more by his example than by speeches. As many, refusing to bear the rigour of the season, began to desert, he had recourse to severity ; for he did not proceed as in other armies, where the first, and also the second offence was forgiven ; but instantly put to death such as deserted their colours. *Corbulo* had posted his cohorts in convenient places, under the command of *Pactius Orphitus*, whom he warned not to engage the enemy under any pretence whatsoever, but to keep within his trenches, and wait for greater forces ; but he, upon the arrival of some few troops of horse, who rashly demanded battle, having engaged the enemy, contrary to the general's orders, was shamefully put to flight. This event gave great concern to *Corbulo*, who, after having bitterly reproached *Pactius*, and the other commanders, expelled them all from the camp, ordered them to lie without tents or defence, and kept them under this ignominious punishment, till they were released at the intercession of the whole army.

Corbulo, having thus brought his soldiers under good discipline, early in the spring invaded *Armenia* ; but could by no means draw *Tiridates* to a battle, tho' his army was superior in number to that of the *Romans*. Having therefore divided his forces, he ordered his several lieutenants to attack at once divers quarters ; and at the same time directed king *Antiochus* to fall upon that part of *Armenia* which bordered upon his dominions. *Pharasmenes* too, king of *Iberia*, having put to death his son *Rhadamistus*, and thereby freed himself from all apprehension of disturbances at home, ravaged those parts of *Armenia* which lay contiguous to his kingdom. The *Issechians*, a nation never before confederate with the *Romans*, being gained over by *Corbulo*, possessed themselves of several strong holds, and from thence infested, with continual incursions, such as adhered to the *Parthians*. *Tiridates*, being thus surrounded on all sides by enemies, dispatched ambassadors to *Corbulo*, to expostulate, in his own name, and that of the *Parthians*, upon what score it was, that, after he had so lately delivered hostages to the *Romans*, and renewed with them his former friendship, he must yet be driven out of *Armenia*, a kingdom so long enjoyed by his ancestors. He added, that his brother *Vologeses* had not as yet taken up arms, because they both desired to put an end to all differences by the way of accommodation, rather than by the sword ;

but

but if war were still to be obstinately pursued by the *Romans*, he hoped that the *Arfacides* would not find themselves forsaken by that courage and fortune, which their enemies had often tried to their cost. *Corbulo*, who was well informed, that not a desire of peace, but the revolt of *Hyrkania* was what kept *Vologeses* from assisting his brother in person, in his answer to this embassy, advised *Tiridates* to recur to the emperor, and acknowledge his sovereignty, by accepting the crown as a gift of the people of *Rome*, assuring him, that, by closing with the measures which he suggested, he should enjoy the kingdom of *Armenia*, without any disturbance from the *Romans*. Hereupon *Tiridates* proposed an interview with the *Tiridates Roman* general; for which the time and place being appointed, *Tiridates* declared, that he would come attended only by a guard of a thousand horse, but would not restrain *Corbulo* to any number of troops, provided they came disarmed, as a proof of their disposition to peace. From this proposal *Corbulo* was fully convinced, that nothing but snares could be intended; however, dissembling all his apprehensions, he returned answer, That matters which concerned the interest of both nations, would be more properly discussed in presence of both armies, and accordingly chose a place fit for drawing up his forces. On the day appointed, he advanced with his troops in battle array; but *Tiridates* did not appear till it was very late, and at such a distance that he could hardly be heard; so that *Corbulo* ordered his men to retire to their several camps; and soon afterwards, dividing them into three bodies, invaded *Armenia*, and reduced most of the strong holds held by *Tiridates*. He stormed in person the fort of *Volandum*, and put to the sword all that were arrived to full age, without the loss of one man. Equal success attended the other commanders, who, in one day, took three castles by storm; insomuch, that all the others voluntarily submitted. Such a series of good fortune encouraged the *Roman* general to attempt the siege of *Artaxata*; which *Tiridates* having in vain endeavoured to prevent, the citizens opening their gates, made an unreserved surrender; whereby their persons were saved, but the city was fired, and laid level with the ground, the walls being of such a wide circuit, that they could not be defended without a numerous garison, which *Corbulo* could not spare, and at the same time prosecute the war. After the demolition of *Artaxata*, he marched his army against *Tigranocerta*, which not only submitted to the conqueror, but moreover presented him with a golden crown, as a token of hospitality and friendly reception; whereupon the town was spared,

spared, and the inhabitants were left in the full enjoyment of their former privileges.

Tigranes. *Corbulo* having thus subdued all *Armenia*, *Tigranes* was preferred by *Nero* to that crown. He was the son of that *Alexander*, who was put to death by his father *Herod the Great*, and of *Glaphira*, daughter to *Archelaus* king of *Cappadocia*. Upon the new monarch *Nero* bestowed a guard of a thousand legionary soldiers, three cohorts, and two wings of horse, to support him in maintaining his new kingdom. As he had lived many years at *Rome* in the quality of a hostage, he was intirely addicted to the *Roman* interest, and assumed no more power than if he had been one of their deputies. Several parts of *Armenia* were subjected to the neighbouring kings, *Pharasmenes*, *Polemon*, *Aristobulus*, and *Antiochus*, by way of reward for their services against *Tiridates* and the *Parthians*. *Corbula*, having thus settled the affairs of *Armenia*, withdrew into *Syria*, which province was assigned to him upon the death of *Numidius Quadratus* the late governor. In the mean time *Vologeses*, hearing that his brother was driven from the throne, and a stranger established king of *Armenia*, raised two powerful armies, one of which he sent into *Armenia*, under the conduct of *Moneses*, an experienced officer; and the other he headed in person, with a design to make an inroad into the *Roman* provinces; but *Moneses* being obliged to raise the siege of *Tigranocerta*, and *Corbulo* having in time disposed his troops along the banks of the *Euphrates*, so as to obstruct the enemy's march into *Syria*, which province *Vologeses* intended to invade in person, the *Parthians* sued for peace, and, at the threats of *Corbulo*, withdrew their forces from *Armenia*; however, *Vologeses*, that he might not seem to give up his claim to that kingdom, sent ambassadors to *Rome*, to beg it of the emperor for his brother *Tiridates*; but the ambassadors returning unsuccessful, *Vologeses* concluded a peace with the *Hyrcanians*, and turned all his forces against the *Romans*, with a design to recover *Armenia*, and settle his brother on that throne at any rate. *Cassinius Pætus*, whom *Nero* had charged with the care of *Armenia*, having notice of his design, marched with two legions to the assistance of *Tigranes* (O); but was soon obliged to return for want of provisions.

111

(O) *Tacitus* informs us (15), that an unlucky omen accompanied his entrance into *Armenia*; for in passing over the *Euphrates*, which he crossed upon a bridge, the horse which carried the con-

(15) *Tacitus Annal. l. xv. c. 2*

He took indeed a few forts, but could not hold them, the *Parthians* having laid waste all that part of the country. In the mean time *Vologeses* having raised a formidable army, took his rout towards *Syria*, which province he designed to invade, and thereby oblige the *Romans* to withdraw their troops from *Armenia*; but finding the banks of the *Euphrates* carefully guarded by *Corbulo*, he gave over all thoughts of making an inroad into *Syria*, and turned all his hopes and efforts towards *Armenia*. Here he besieged *Pætus* in his winter quarters, who, not having courage enough to hold out till the arrival of *Corbulo*, who was in full march to join him, desired a conference with the king. *Vologeses* refused to come in person, but sent *Vasaces*, his general of horse, to hear what *Pætus* had to propose. In this interview, after a long debate, it was agreed between them, that the *Romans* should be released from the siege; that with all their forces they should depart the territories of *Armenia*, and deliver up all their fortresses and stores to the *Parthians*, who, after a complete performance of these articles, should have free privilege to send ambassadors to *Rome*. In the mean time *Pætus* laid a bridge over the river *Arsanias*, which flowed close to his camp, under colour of marching off that way; but it was in reality a work enjoined him by the *Parthians*, as a monument of their victory, for the *Romans* took a different rout. Before the *Roman* army decamped, the *Armenians*, in an insulting manner, entered their works, beset all the avenues, challenged and carried away whatever the *Romans* had got by plunder; nay, they even stripped the *Romans* of their cloaths, and seized their arms, the soldiers yielding whatever the enemy thought proper to take, to cut off all occasion of a quarrel. *Vologeses* raised a pompous heap of all the arms and bodies of the slain, as a monument of his victory; and *Pætus* withdrew into *Cappadocia*, marching forty miles a day, and every where dropping and forsaking his wounded, as if he had been close pursued by the enemy. On his return to *Rome*, *Nero* upbraided him with his shameful behaviour; but immediately added, that he freely forgave him, lest the apprehension of punishment, as he was of so fearful a temper,

The Romans under the command of Pætus, shamefully driven out of Armenia, by Vologeses king of Parthia.

sular ornaments took all on a sudden a fright, and fled back. Moreover, a victim which stood by the works as they were fortifying their quarters against winter, broke violently through, leaped quite over the pales, and fled. He adds, that the soldiers javelins took fire of themselves, which seemed the more ominous, because the *Parthians*, whom they were marching against, used no other weapons.

should throw him into some dangerous distemper *. *Vologeses*, after the defeat of *Pætus*, sent ambassadors to *Corbulo*, desiring him to withdraw his several garisons from beyond the *Euphrates*, and let the river remain, as formerly, the common boundary to both empires. *Corbulo* too insisted, that all the *Parthian* garisons should evacuate *Armenia*; which the king complying with, all the fortifications raised by *Corbulo* on the other side of the *Euphrates*, were demolished. Thus, both by the king and *Corbulo*, the *Armenians* were left to their own disposal; for *Tigranes* died soon after the invasion of the *Parthians*. In the mean time, the ambassadors of *Vologeses* arrived at *Rome*, desiring that the kingdom of *Armenia* might be bestowed upon *Tiridates*, and a peace concluded between the *Parthians* and *Romans*. They expatiated on the clemency and moderation which *Vologeses* had shewn to *Pætus* and the legions, in dismissing them free and unhurt, when it was in his power to have made them all slaves, or put them to the sword; and added, that *Tiridates* would not refuse coming to *Rome* to receive there the crown, but that, as he was a *Magian*, the religious laws of his priesthood with-held him. He was ready, however, to address himself to the *Roman* ensigns and the images of *Cæsar*; and there, in the presence of the legions, receive the investiture of the kingdom. The ambassadors being heard, it was unanimously resolved in a council of the chief men of the city, that war should be made upon the *Parthians*, and the whole management thereof committed to *Corbulo*, who, by the experience of so many years, knew both the soldiery and the enemy. The ambassadors were therefore dismissed without obtaining their suit, but loaded with rich presents, thence to give hopes, that, were *Tiridates* to ask in person, he would not ask in vain. The government of *Syria* was committed to *Sestius*, and to *Corbulo* were granted all the forces, which were increased by the fifteenth legion, led by *Marius Celsus* from *Pannonia*. Orders were also sent to the kings and tetrarchs in the east, and to all the governors and superintendants of the neighbouring provinces, to pay intire obedience to the orders of *Corbulo*, who was trusted with the same extensive and unlimited authority, which the *Roman* people had conferred upon *Pompey*, in his expedition against the pirates. *Corbulo* having, in the beginning of the spring, drawn together all his forces, entered *Armenia*, took and razed some castles, and with his very

Corbulo
invades
Armenia.

* TACITUS Annal. l. xv. c. 4.

name struck terror into the whole country; insomuch that *Tiridates* sent ambassadors to demand a cessation of arms, and to agree with him on a day and place for a conference; which being appointed, *Corbulo* sent one *Tiberius Alexander*, an illustrious *Roman* knight, and *Vivianus Annius*, his own son-in-law, to the camp of *Tiridates*, under colour of paying him a visit, but in reality to remove from him all apprehension of treachery or unfair dealings, which he could not well fear so long as he was possessed of such hostages^d. The king and *Corbulo* took each twenty horse, and advanced to the place of the interview. As soon as *Corbulo* appeared, the king leaped from his horse, and *Corbulo* returning the compliment, both on foot joined their right hands. The general commended the prudence and wisdom of *Tiridates* for preferring peace to war, and chusing rather to compose their differences by way of treaty than by dint of arms. The king at first expatiated on the nobility and splendor of his family; but pursued the rest of his discourse with a great deal of modesty and condescension, saying, that he would travel to *Rome*, and there present a new subject of glory to *Cæsar*, a prince of the *Ar-sacides* his suppliant, and that at a time when the *Parthians* were rather victorious, than daunted by any misfortune. It was then agreed, that he should resign the royal diadem before the image of *Cæsar*, never to resume it more except from the hand of *Nero*; and thus ended the conference. A few days after the two armies met with great parade and ostentation. On one side stood the *Parthian* horse, ranged into troops, and distinguished by the standards of their several nations. On the other were posted the legions with their ensigns displayed, and the figures of the deified emperors represented like deities in a temple. In the centre was placed a tribunal, which supported a chair of state with *Nero's* image. To this *Tiridates* approached, and having according to custom, offered sacrifices, pulled off his crown, and laid it at the feet of the statue. The ceremony being over, *Corbulo* entertained the king with a sumptuous banquet, who seemed to be greatly taken with the *Roman* customs. The next day he desired time to visit his brothers and his mother before he undertook so long a journey; and in the mean time left his daughter as an hostage, with letters of submission to be sent to *Nero*. Thus he departed, and found *Pacorus* his younger brother in *Media*, and his elder brother *Vologeses* at *Ecbatana*, who, not unmindful of *Tigranes's* concerns, had, by a special embassy, desired of *Corbulo*, that his brother might bear no

A conference between him and Tiridates.

^d *TACITUS Annal. l. xv c. 6, & -*

marks of slavery, nor be obliged to surrender his sword, nor be debarred from embracing the governors of provinces, nor stand waiting at their gates for admittance; and that in *Rome* the same honour should be paid him as was paid to the consuls^e. He was received at *Rome* by *Nero* with the utmost magnificence, and entertained during his stay in that city, at the expence of above six thousand pounds a day. On the day appointed for his inauguration, the emperor appeared at the *rostra*, sitting in a curule chair, attired with a triumphal habit, and surrounded by his guards and the cohorts, with their ensigns displayed, and their colours flying. *Tiridates* approaching his chair, fell down at his feet; but the emperor immediately raised him with his right hand, and honoured him with a kiss. Then *Tiridates* pronounced his speech, wherein he begged *Nero* to bestow upon him the kingdom of *Armenia*, which he should always acknowledge as a gift of *Rome*. Having ended his speech, which was interpreted to the vast crowd of spectators by a *Roman* of the pretorian rank, and pulled off his tiara, *Nero*, with his own hand, placed the diadem on his head. From the *rostra* they proceeded to the theatre, where the emperor placed *Tiridates*, after he had renewed his supplication, on his right hand. After he had been for some time entertained in *Rome* at an incredible expence, *Nero* dismissed him, and on his departure, presented him with a sum to the amount of near eight hundred thousand pounds to defray the expences of his journey^f. He not only allowed him to rebuild the city of *Artaxata*, which *Corbulo* had demolished; but moreover ordered such *Roman* builders and artificers, as the king desired, to attend him into *Armenia*. By the direction and assistance of these he restored that city to its former splendor, and by way of acknowledgment called it *Neronia*, from the name of his benefactor. He was ever after faithful to the *Romans*, who assisted him in recovering great part of his kingdom taken from him by the *Albani*, who, after having over-run *Media* and driven his brother *Pacorus* from that throne, had with a mighty army invaded *Armenia*. *Tiridates* met them on the frontiers, and having ventured a battle, his army was routed and himself narrowly escaped being taken prisoner. He reigned nine years after his return from *Rome*, and was succeeded by several kings, who held the crown as vassals of the *Roman* empire, being either appointed or confirmed by the emperors. In this state *Armenia* continued till *Trajan's* time, who, adding *Mesopotamia* to his dominions, reduced the antient kingdom of *Armenia* to the

^e TACITUS, ubi supra. ^f SUTTON. in Nerone.

form of a province, and made the *Tigris* the eastern boundary of the empire, which *Augustus* had thought fit to extend no farther than the banks of the *Euphrates*; but it soon recovered its liberty, and was again governed by its own kings in the reign of *Constantine the Great* and his successors, to whom the kings of *Armenia* were feudatories. In the reign of *Justinian II.* the *Saracens* subdued, and held it till the irruption of the *Turks*, who possessed themselves of this kingdom, and gave it the name of *Turcomania*. The *Turks*, after the reduction of *Armenia*, invaded *Persia*, and other countries subject to the emperors of the east, which gave the *Armenians* an opportunity of shaking off the *Turkish* yoke, and setting up kings of their own, by whom they were governed till the country was again subdued by *Occadan*, or, as some style him, *Heccata*, the son of *Cingis*, and first cham of the *Tartars*. Neither was the conquest of *Armenia* by the *Tartars* so absolute as to extirpate the race of their kings; seeing we read of *Haithon*, surnamed the *Armenian*, reigning some time after, and going in person to treat with *Mongo* the great cham of *Tartary*, of the concerns of his kingdom; and in our own chronicles we find mention made of *Leo* king of *Armenia*, who, in the reign of *Richard II.* came into *England* to sue for aid against the *Turks*, by whom he had been driven from his kingdom. In the year 1472 of the christian æra, *Ussan Cassanes* king of *Armenia*, succeeding to the crown of *Persia*, made *Armenia* a province of that empire; in which state it continued till the year 1522, when it was subdued by *Selim II.* and made a province of the *Turkish* empire. Some say, that *Selim I.* reduced it on his return from *Persia*, where he had gained a complete victory over the great sophi *Ismael*. But *Sansovin* assures us, that in the reign of *Selim I.* who died in 1520, both the *Lesser* and *Greater Armenia* had their own kings; and adds, that *Selim* caused the head of the king of the *Lesser Armenia* to be cut off and sent to *Venice*, as a mark of his victory. We read no where else of any kings of *Armenia* after it became a province of *Persia*. Be that as it will, the *Turkish* annals cited by *Calvisius* inform us, that *Selim II.* conquered *Armenia* in 1522, since which time it has ever continued subject to the *Turks*, except the eastern part, which the *Persians* are masters of to this day.

S E C T. III.

The history of ARMENIA MINOR.

ARMENIA Minor was bounded on the east by the *Euphrates*, parting it from *Armenia Major*; on the south by mount *Taurus*, separating it from *Cilicia*; on the west and north by a long chain of mountains, called in different places *Mons Scordiscus*, *Amanus*, and *Antitaurus*. By these mountains it is divided from *Cappadocia*. It is a very mountainous country; but the mountains are here and there interspersed with pleasant and fruitful vales, abounding with oil and wine no-ways inferior to the best of *Greece*. This country was a part of *Cappadocia* till the reign of *Antiochus the Great*, when *Zadriades* and *Artaxias*, seizing on *Armenia* and adding it to some of the neighbouring provinces, introduced the distinction of *Armenia the Greater* and *Lesser*. In the time of the *Romans* it was divided into these four provinces, *Laviana*, *Muriana*, *Aravena*, and *Melitene*, each of which had their several cities, all mentioned by *Ptolemy*; but those of chiefest note were, *Melitene*, situate in the province of that name, and the metropolis of *Armenia Minor*. It was afterwards called *Malaxia*, and now *Suur*. It is said by *Onuphrius* to be a colony of the *Romans*; and is celebrated by *Eusebius* and other ecclesiastic writers for the piety of the christian inhabitants during the time of persecution. *Nicopolis*, built by *Pompey* in memory of a signal victory obtained over *Tigranes the Great*, whence it is styled *Nicopolis Pompeii*. *Garnace*, a strong and well-fortified town, mentioned by *Tacitus*, and called *Gorneas*. *Aza*, placed by *Pliny* in *Armenia*, but by *Ptolemy* in *Pontus*. *Arabyssus*, *Dascusa*, *Zimara*, *Ladana*, and many others mentioned by *Ptolemy*, of which we know nothing but the mere names. As to the manners, customs, religion, &c. of the inhabitants of *Armenia Minor*, they were much the same with those of the inhabitants of *Armenia Major*, of which we have already taken notice.

*Kings of
Armenia
Minor.
Zadriades*

THE first that reigned in *Armenia Minor* was *Zadriades*, who, together with *Artaxias*, revolting from *Antiochus the Great*, seized on that part of his kingdom which was afterwards called *Armenia Minor*, as we have mentioned above. He entered into an alliance with the *Romans*, by whom he was maintained on the throne which he had usurped. His posterity

posterity held the kingdom of *Armenia* till the reign of *Tigranes* I. king of the *Greater Armenia*, by whom *Artanes*, Artanes. the last king of the *Zadriadan* race, was slain in battle. We find no mention of the intermediate kings, whence we may conclude, that they performed nothing worth mentioning. *Tigranes* having killed *Artanes*, and routed his army, possessed himself of *Armenia Minor*; but was soon driven out by *Pompey*, who bestowed it upon *Dejotarus*, king, or rather Dejotarus. tetrarch, of *Galatia*, for his remarkable affection to the people of *Rome*, and eminent services during the *Mithridatic* war, in which he obtained a complete victory over that king's generals. To *Armenia Minor* the same *Pompey* added great part of *Pontus*, and a large portion of *Colchis*, with some provinces of *Galatia*, which till his time had been subject to other princes. *Dejotarus* lived in great intimacy with *Sylla*, *Lucullus*, *Pompey*, *Murena*, *Cato*, *Cicero*, and *Brutus*, and was by the senate honoured with the title of friend and ally of the people of *Rome*, for whose interest he shewed on all occasions such zeal, that *Pompey* used to say, Of all the friends of *Rome* *Dejotarus* was the most hearty, of all their allies the most sincere, and the only one on whom they could entirely rely^s. He proved very serviceable to *Cicero* in the *Cilician* war, his troops being trained up after the *Roman* discipline. In the civil war he sided with *Pompey*, and distinguished himself in the battle of *Pharsalia*. During his absence *Pharnaces* king of *Pontus*, revolting from the *Romans*, invaded *Armenia Minor*, and having obtained a complete victory over the joint forces of *Dejotarus* and *Domitius Calvinus*, *Julius Cæsar's* lieutenant in *Asia*, got intire possession of that kingdom^h; but he was soon driven out by *Cæsar*, who restored *Armenia* to *Dejotarus*, whom he pardoned at the request of *Brutus*, obliging him to relinquish the tetrarchy of *Galatia*, and pay a large sum of money for joining *Pompey* in the civil war. Some writers say, that *Cæsar* restored the kingdom not to him, but to his son. Be that as it will, he retained the title of king, and either alone, or together with his son, governed the kingdom of *Armenia*. He was afterwards accused at *Rome* by *Cæsar* his daughter's son, as if he and his son had plotted against *Cæsar*, with a design to murder him during his stay in the tetrarchy of *Galatia*; but was cleared from that charge by *Cicero*, who, on this occasion, made the oration which is still extant, and pronounced it in *Cæsar's* house at *Rome*. *Dejotarus* revenged

^s STRABO, l. vii p. 547. CIC. Philip. II.
 APPIAN. l. ii. p. 484. & DIO. x'ii.

^h HIRTIVS cum

this calumny with the death of his daughter and her husband, and caused the castle where they resided to be levelled with the ground^l. After *Cæsar*'s death he recovered whatever he had forfeited for siding with *Pompey*, having by a bribe of one hundred thousand sesterces gained *Fulvia*, *Marc Antony*'s wife, who caused an edict to be fixed in the capitol, wherein all things were feigned to have been restored to him by *Cæsar* himself^k. New troubles arising at *Rome* upon the death of *Cæsar*, *Dejotarus* sent a body of troops to join *Brutus*; but *Amyntas*, who commanded them, went straight to *Antony*'s camp, as it he had been enjoined by *Dejotarus* to assist *Antony*, and not *Brutus*; whereupon, after the defeat of *Brutus*, *Dejotarus* was allowed to hold *Armenia*; and the tetrarchy of *Galatia*, after his death, was bestowed upon *Amyntas*. *Dejotarus* reigned to a very great age, and, as some say, outlived his son *Dejotarus*, whom *Cæsar* appointed king during his father's life-time.

Dejotarus
II.

Dejotarus II. reigned together with his father, and was no less addicted to the *Romans* than he, having been brought up by *Cato*, as *Plutarch* informs us^l. *Cicero* deemed him one of the best friends he had in the world, and even trusted his two sons to his care during the *Cilician* war^m. At his instigation *Dejotarus* joined *Cassius* in the civil war that broke out upon the death of *Cæsar*; but died before the domestic troubles of the republic were settled. As he left no issue, that part of *Galatia* which he held was bestowed upon *Amyntas* and *Castor* his sister's son. The family of *Dejotarus* being extinct, the kingdom of *Armenia Minor* was first given to *Artuafdes* king of *Media*, and afterwards by *Marc Antony* to *Polemon* king of *Pontus*. *Polemon* was succeeded by *Arche-laüs* the *Cappadocian*, and he by *Cetys* of *Bosphorus*. *Nero* bestowed this kingdom on *Aristobulus*, great-grandson to *Herod the Great*, upon whose death it fell to *Tigranes* his near relation, who dying without issue, *Armenia Minor* was by *Vespasian* made a province of the *Roman* empire, and continued so till the division of the empire, when it was subjected to the emperors of the east; and, on the decline of their power, subdued first by the *Persians*, and afterwards by the *Turks*, who gave it the name of *Genech*, and have held it ever since.

^l STRABO, l. xii, p. 568.
& Philip II.
epist. 17, 18.

^k CIC. l. xiv. ad Attic epist. 12.
^l PLUT. in Catone.

^m CIC. l. v. ad Attic.

C H A P. IV.

The History of the kingdom of PONTUS.

S E C T. I.

The description of PONTUS.

SOME derive the name of this country from the neighbouring sea, commonly called by the *Latins Pontus Euxinus*, or the *Euxine* sea; others from an antient king named *Pontus*, who imparted his name both to the country and the sea on which it lies. But *Bochart*^a makes it come from the *Phœnician* word *botno*, signifying a *filbert*, as if that kind of nut remarkably abounded here. The word *botno*, by transposing, changing, and adding of letters, he transforms into *Pontos*, in the same manner that he might have derived it from a thousand other words, bearing perhaps a nearer similitude to it in sound, which, in many etymologies, seems to be his chief, if not only rule. The country, adds he, gave its name to the neighbouring sea, and, in process of time, the appellation, which was peculiar to one, became common to all seas; but the common opinion, viz. that the country borrowed its name from the sea, seems by far the most probable. That sea was called by way of excellency the *pontus*, or the sea, being the greatest that was known to the antient inhabitants of that country; whence not only that tract which we are now speaking of, but the whole country extending along the coast, was formerly, as *Strabo* informs us, called *Pontus*. Name.

THE proper *Pontus*, as precisely as we can gather, lies between the forty first and forty third degrees of north latitude, and was bounded by the *Euxine* sea on the north, by *Armenia Minor* on the south, by *Colchis* on the east, and by the river *Halys* on the west. This country is divided by *Ptolemy* into three parts, viz. *Pontus Galaticus*, *Pontus Polemoniatus*, and

^a Phaleg l. i. c. 10.

Pontus Cappadocius. *Pontus Galaticus*, so named because added to *Galatia* in the time of the *Romans*, extended from the *Halys* to the river *Thermodon*. The chief cities in this tract were, *Amisus*, built by the *Milesians*, and peopled partly by them, and partly by a colony from *Athens*. It was at first a free city, like the other *Greek* cities in *Asia*; but afterwards subdued by *Pharnaces* king of *Pontus*, and made the metropolis of his kingdom. It was taken by *Lucullus* in the *Mithridatic* war, and restored to its antient liberty. *Eupatoria*, close to *Amisus*, so called from *Mithridates Eupator* its founder. This city was likewise taken by *Lucullus*, and levelled with the ground; but afterwards rebuilt by *Pompey*, who made it one city with *Amisus*, and gave it the name of *Pompeopolis*. It was taken, during the war between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, by *Pharnaces* king of *Pontus*, who put most part of the inhabitants to the sword; but *Cæsar*, having conquered *Pharnaces*, made it again a free city. *Amasia*, seated among mountains at three miles distance from the river *Iris*, now *Casalmach*; from whence there is a trench, as *Tavernier* informs us, cut out of a hard rock, to convey water to the town. It is still a large place, the capital of this country, and the seat of the governor or *beglerbeg*. The river which, about sixty miles below, falls into the *Euxine* sea, is so large, that ships of burden can come up to the town. It is so defended by craggy mountains, that it is inaccessible, except on one side. It has been customary for the eldest son of the *Grandsignior* to reside here till he is called to the throne. This city was antiently the seat of the kings of *Cappadocia*, and some marks of its former grandeur still appear in the ruins of very magnificent buildings. It gave birth to *Strabo* the geographer, and, in *Christian* times, was the see of an archbishop. *Themiscyra*, now *Fanagoria*, seated on a spacious plain on the sea-coast, sixty miles north-east of *Amasia*, antiently giving name to the adjoining province; and a city of no small note, being always numbered among the chief towns of this district; but at present a beggarly village. *Cabira*, memorable for the defeat of *Mithridates* by *Lucullus*, and afterwards called *Diospolis*. *Comana*, called *Pontica*, to distinguish it from two other cities bearing the same name, the one in *Cappadocia*, and the other in *Pisidia*. It was seated on the south borders of this province, about seventy miles from *Themiscyra*, and eighty from *Amasia*, and in antient times the second city of *Pontus Galaticus*; but now very inconsiderable.

Pontus Polemoniæus, so called by the *Romans* from *Polemon* king of this country, on whose death it fell to them, extended

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ed from the river *Thermodon* to the country of the *Chalybes*, or *Pontus Cappadocius*. The most considerable cities of this province are, *Neocæsarea*, the metropolis after it became a *Roman* province, and in former times a city of great renown. *Sebastia*, so called from *Augustus*, whom the *Greeks* stiled *Sebastos*. This was one of the first cities of *Asia* that made head against *Tamerlan*, in revenge whereof he caused twelve thousand of the inhabitants to be buried alive in pits dug for that purpose. Not far from this city is mount *Stella*, famous in the *Roman* history for the final overthrow of *Mitbridates* by *Pompey*. On the same spot, as some writers inform us, *Tamerlan*, with an army of eight hundred thousand *Tartars*, encountered *Bajazet* marching to the relief of *Sebastia* with an army of five hundred thousand *Turks*, cut two hundred thousand of his men in pieces, and took *Bajazet* himself prisoner. *Zela*, seated near the river *Lycus*, and famous for the defeat of *Triarius* by *Cæsar*. This city was enlarged by *Pompey*, and called *Megalopolis*. *Constantine the Great* added it to the province of *Helenopontus*. *Polemonium*, a famous town and harbour built by *Polemon*, whom *Marc Antony* created king of that country. From this town, if we believe *Ptolemy*, *Pontus Polemoniacus* had its name. This country is watered by the river *Thermodon*, and is supposed to have been the kingdom of the *Amazons*, who admitted no men among them, and yet were famous for warlike exploits. They are said, or rather feigned, to have been originally the wives of those *Scythians*, who, in the reign of *Sesostris* king of *Egypt*, broke into *Asia*. A party of these *Scythians* is said to have invaded this part of *Pontus*, under the conduct of *Plinus* and *Scalopythus*, two young men of a great family, who had been driven out of their own country by a contrary faction. They ruled this country for many years; but at last both they and their army being all to a man treacherously murdered, their wives, under the command of *Lampedo* and *Marpesia*, fell upon the conquerors, and not only overthrew them, but subdued the neighbouring nations, and erected a female monarchy, which they enjoyed for some ages. The names of their queens that occur in history, are, *Lampedo*, *Marpesia*, *Ortara*, *Antiopa*, whose sisters, *Hippolite* and *Menalyppe*, are feigned to have challenged *Hercules* and *Theseus* to single combat, and to have been conquered by them with great difficulty. *Penthesilea*, who came with a body of brave heroines to aid *Priam* king of *Troy*, and was slain by *Pyrrhus* son to *Achilles*; she is said to have invented the battle-ax. *Thalestris*, who, as *Justin* and others inform us, came to visit *Alexander the Great*, while he was in *Hyrcania*, and plainly told him,

that her errand was no other than to have a child by so great a hero. These warlike women suffered no man to live among them; if they brought forth any male children by the conversation they had twice a year with the men of the neighbouring countries, they either killed them, or sent them to their fathers; but the females they bred up to the use of arms. They are said to have extended their empire as far as *Ephesus*; but coming into *Europe*, they were defeated by the *Athenians*, under the conduct of *Theseus*, and driven back. But the whole story of the *Amazons* is deservedly looked upon as a mere fable, which perhaps had its rise from the custom which prevailed among the *Scythian* women, of accompanying their husbands in their wars.

Pontus Cappadocius, so called because it bordered on *Cappadocia*, and was added to that province by the *Romans*, extended from *Pontus Polemoniacus* to *Colchis*, having *Armenia Minor*, and the upper stream of the *Euphrates* for its southern bounds. The chief cities of this tract were, *Cerasus* built by the inhabitants of *Sinope* in *Paphlagonia*, to whom it paid, as *Xenophon* observes, a yearly tribute. From this town *Lucullus* first brought cherries into *Italy*, called therefore by the *Latins* *Cerasa*. *Tournefort* tells us, that the country here is very hilly, and that the hills are covered with woods, wherein cherry-trees grow naturally. *Tertullian* ironically expostulates with the *Gentiles* for not making *Lucullus* on this consideration a god, seeing they had bestowed divine honours on *Bacchus*, for transplanting the vine into the western countries. *Cerasus*, according to *Arrian*, was afterwards named *Pharnacia*; but *Strabo* and *Ptolemy* speak of *Cerasus* and *Pharnacia* as two distinct towns. It is still a pretty large town known by the name of *Cerasonte*, and seated on the sea-coast at the foot of a little hill between two very steep rocks, with a ruinous castle built by the emperors of *Trebisond* on the top of the rock, which is to the right as you enter the harbour. *Tripoli*, mentioned by *Arrian* and *Pliny* about three miles from the coast, but now reduced to a poor village. *Trapezus* or *Trebisond*, called now *Tarabosan*, a *Greek* city, having been founded by the inhabitants of *Sinope*, to whom it even paid tribute, as we are informed by *Xenophon*, who passed by *Trebisond* when he led back the remains of the ten thousand. It was situated on the sea-coast in a peninsula, and surrounded by steep mountains. The ancients speak of it as a city of great note. After the overthrow of *Mithridates*, who had seized it, the *Romans* restored it, as they did most of the *Greek* cities in *Asia*, to its former liberty and privileges. This city became famous in the middle
ages

ages for the court of the *Greek* emperors of the family of the *Comneni*, who resided here after the *Latins* had made themselves masters of *Constantinople* under the conduct of *Baldwin* earl of *Flanders*. *Alexis Comnenes* was the first who reigned here with the title of emperor, though *Vincent de Beauvais* gives him only the title of lord of *Trebisond*. He began his reign in 1204. and *David Comnenes*, the eleventh in succession, was overcome, and cruelly murdered with his seven sons, by *Mohammed the Great* in 1461, when *Trebisond* was taken by the *Turks*, and *Pontus*, *Paphlagonia*, and *Cappadocia*, which the emperors of *Trebisond* had held, submitted to the conqueror. It is still a very considerable city, and a place of great resort for the trade to *Constantinople*, *Cassa*, and other places on the *Pontus*, or *Black-sea*. It contains twenty thousand inhabitants, but having suffered a great deal in wars, especially in 1617, when it was burnt by the *Russians*, the buildings are very inconsiderable. The castle is pretty large, and built on a rock, out of which the ditches, that surround it, are cut. The inscription that is on the gate of the castle shews that the emperor *Justinian* repaired the edifices of the city. It is strange that *Procopius* should not mention this, seeing he employs three entire books in describing even the most inconsiderable buildings erected by that prince in every corner of his empire. That historian barely tells us, that *Justinian* caused an aqueduct to be built at *Trebisond*, and called it the aqueduct of *S. Eugenius* the martyr. The port of *Trebisond*, called *Platena*, is to the east of the town. The emperor *Adrian* caused it to be repaired, as we are informed by *Arrian*. The harbour which the *Genoese* are said to have made there is almost destroyed. This town was in former ages a place of great trade, as appears from several medals produced by *Tournefort*.

THE chief rivers of *Pontus* are, the *Halys*, which rising in the greater *Cappadocia*, divides *Pontus* from *Paphlagonia*, and not far from *Amisus* discharges itself into the *Euxine* sea. It flows towards the west, and then bends to the north, as *Strabo* describes it; but all our modern geographers make it come from the east, following therein *Herodotus*, whose mistake was long ago taken notice of, and corrected by *Arrian*, who surveyed these places by order of the emperor *Adrian*. It took its name, as *Strabo* informs us, from the salt-pits, in which great part of the country abounds through which it flows. The *Iris*, now *Cajalmac*, which has its rise in *Pontus*, and, receiving into its channel the *Lycus*, and the small river of *Themiscyra* falls into the *Euxine* sea not far from the *Halys*. The *Thermodon*, a river famous among the
antients

antients for watering the little empire of the *Amazons*. It had its rise near the small city of *Phanaræa* in *Pontus Polemoniacus*, and discharged itself, like the other rivers of *Pontus*, into the *Euxine* sea.

Soil and
climate.

THE air of this country is reckoned very wholesome, and the soil in many places fruitful; the hills are for the most part covered with olive or cherry-trees, and the plains abound with all sorts of grain, being plentifully watered with small rivers. The honey of this country is of a very particular nature; the effect it had on the army of the ten thousand is related by *Xenophon*: “As there were a great many bee-hives in the neighbourhood of *Trapezus* or *Trebisond*, says this author, our soldiers having eat greedily of it, were taken with violent evacuations upwards and downwards, attended with deliriums: such as were the least affected seemed to be drunk, and the others to have run quite distracted: the ground was strewn with bodies as after a battle; none, however, died of it, and the distemper ceased the next day about the same hour that it began. *Aristotle* was of opinion, that the bees gathered this honey from the box-trees, and adds, that it deprived those of their senses who were in health before eating it; and, on the contrary, cured such as were already mad. *Pliny* speaks of it thus: “In some years the honey is very dangerous about *Heraclæa* in *Pontus*; authors know not from what flowers the bees extract it. Here is what we have been able to learn of this matter: there is a plant in those parts called *Ægolethron*, whose leaves in a wet spring imbibe a very dangerous quality: the honey which the bees extract from them is more liquid than usual, more heavy and redder; its smell causes sneezing; those who eat of it, lie on the ground, sweat violently, and care for nothing but coolers. There is also found, on the same coast of the *Pontus*, another sort of honey called *Mænomemon*, because it makes those run mad who eat of it. ’Tis thought the bees collect it from the flower of the *Rhododendros*, which the forests there abound with. The people of those parts, tho’ they pay the *Romans* part of their tribute in wax, are very cautious how they offer them their honey.”

Their ori-
gins, arts,
sciences,
&c.

It is commonly believed, that the antient inhabitants of this country were the descendants of *Tubal*, but in process of time mixed with *Cappadocians*, *Paphlagonians*, and other foreign nations, not to mention the many *Greek* colonies which settled in these parts, and maintained themselves free till the time of the latter kings of *Pontus*, when most of them were reduced by *Mithridates the Great*, and *Pharnaces*. As for their arts and manufactures, all we know is, that the inhabitants of

Pontus

Pontus Cappadocius called *Chalybes*, are celebrated by the antients for their extraordinary skill in working of iron, and making of steel armour; whence they are said to have had their name; and truly they seem to have excelled much more in the labours of the hand, than in those of the head. They were very likely a trading people; having many convenient havens on the *Euxine* sea, and great store of timber proper for building of ships growing on the coast. Their language and religion were much the same with those of *Cappadocia*, of which hereafter. Their chief deities were, *Ceres*, *Jupiter*, and *Neptune*, to whom they offered burnt-sacrifices, pouring on the fire, honey, milk, oil and wine. In honour of *Neptune*, they used to drive into the sea chariots drawn by four white horses, which they drowned.

THIS country was originally a part of *Cappadocia*, ex-
tending from mount *Taurus* to the *Euxine* sea, and divided into several petty kingdoms, which, if we believe *Diodorus*, were first subdued by *Ninus*. The *Medes* and *Persians* were in their turns masters of this and all the countries bordering on the *Euxine* sea. The latter divided *Cappadocia* into two satrapies or governments, and bestowed that part or satrapy, which was afterwards by the *Macedonians* named *Pontus*, on one of the ancestors of *Mithridates*; as *Justin* informs us. This happened, as it is commonly believed, in the reign of *Darius* the son of *Hystaspes*, who conferred this new kingdom on one *Artabazus* of the royal family of *Persia*; so that *Pontus*, which to that time had been but a province of *Cappadocia*, began to be ruled by its own kings, and be a separate kingdom in the reign of *Darius Hystaspes*. However, they paid tribute to the *Persians*, and were in a manner their vassals till the reign of *Ariobarzanes*, who shook off the *Persian* yoke and greatly enlarged his small kingdom. In process of time the kings of *Pontus* became very considerable, having added to their dominions all *Cappadocia*, *Paphlagonia*, and great part of *Bithynia* to the west, and of *Colchis* to the south; insomuch, that *Mithridates VII.* surnamed *Eupator*, is looked upon as one of the most powerful princes that ever reigned in the east, having held out for forty years together against the *Romans*, though their armies were commanded by the greatest generals which *Rome* ever produced, namely by *Sylla*, *Lucullus*, and *Pompey*. The kingdom of *Pontus* was governed by princes descended from *Achæmenes* of the royal family of *Persia*, till the death of *Darius*, son to *Pharnaces II.* in whom the *Achæmenian* family ended. Upon the death

of *Darius*, which happened soon after the battle of *Philippi*, the kingdom of *Pontus* was bestowed by the *Romans* on *Zeno*, who was succeeded by his son *Polemon I.* and he by his son *Polemon II.* upon whose death the family of *Zeno* being extinct, the kingdom of *Pontus* was made a *Roman* province in the reign of the emperor *Claudius*.¹

S E C T. II.

The reigns of the kings of PONTUS.

Artabazes.

THE first king of *Pontus*; we find mentioned in history, is *Artabazes*, whom *Darius* the son of *Hystaspes* preferred to that crown^o. Some writers tell us, that he was one of the seven competitors to the kingdom of *Persia* upon the death of *Cambyfes*; and others, that he was descended from one of them, which seems more probable, seeing he is not named among them by *Herodotus*.

Rhodobates.

Rhodobates appears next; he is mentioned by *Laertius*^p, and said to have reigned in the time of *Darius Nothus*; whence it is plain, that he did not succeed *Artabazes*, who was contemporary with *Darius Hystaspes*, between whose reign and that of *Darius II.* surnamed *Nothus*, chronologers count above eighty years.

Mithridates I.

Rhodobates was succeeded by *Mithridates I.* who refusing to pay the usual tribute to *Artaxerxes Mnemon* king of *Persia*, was by him overcome in battle; but a peace was soon after concluded between them by the mediation of *Tissaphernes*. He entered into an alliance with *Clearchus*, afterwards tyrant of *Heraclea*, by whom he was betrayed and taken prisoner. For *Clearchus* having promised to deliver the city of *Heraclea* into his hands, *Mithridates* no sooner entered the town, but he and those that attended him were surrounded and disarmed. The king was detained prisoner till such time as he paid a large sum for his ransom, and then dismissed^q. This is all we read of him in history. *Xenophon* gives him only the title of governor of *Cappadocia*.

Ariobarzanes.

Mithridates was succeeded by *Ariobarzanes*, who, being appointed by *Artaxerxes* governor of *Lydia*, *Ionia*, and *Phrygia*, employed the forces that were under his command

^o FLORUS l. ii, c. 5. POLYB. l. 5.
^q DIODOR. l. vi.

^p LAERT. in Pla-

against his prince, and not only invaded the kingdom of *Pontus*, but added to it great part of the neighbouring provinces, which to that time had been subject to the *Persians*. *Autophradates*, sent by *Artaxerxes* to dispossess him of the provinces which he had seized, laid siege to *Assos*, and at the same time *Cotys* king of *Paphlagonia* sat down before *Sestus*; but were both obliged to withdraw by *Agésilas* and *Timotheus* the *Athenian*, whom *Ariobarzanes* had with great promises invited to his assistance. The king, being by their timely arrival delivered from the dangers that threatened him, rewarded *Agésilas* with a great sum of money, and bestowed on *Timotheus* the cities of *Erethion* and *Sestus*, which he had not long before taken from the *Persians*. He used his utmost endeavours, as *Demosthenes* informs us, to reconcile the *Lacedæmonians* and *Thebans*; but not being able to bring the *Thebans* to any reasonable terms, he assisted the *Lacedæmonians* with immense sums of money. The *Athenians*, as the same author acquaints us, shewed such an esteem for this prince, that they not only made him free of their city, but granted both him and his children whatever they asked of them. He was murdered, as we read in *Aristotle*^f, in the twenty eighth year of his reign by one *Mithridates*, whom some take to be his son. As the death of *Ariobarzanes* happened at the time that *Alexander the Great* invaded *Persia*, the kingdom of *Pontus* was seized on by the *Macedonians*, but recovered by *Mithridates* II. son to *Ariobarzanes*, in the reign of *Antigon*-*Mithridatus*, to whose share that country fell. This event is related thus by *Polybius*ⁱ, *Florus*^u, *Aurelius Victor*^w, and others: *Antigon* having dreamt that he had a field in which gold grew after the manner of corn, and that *Mithridates* cut it down and carried it into *Pontus*, began to entertain no small jealousy against him, and even gave private orders for the apprehending of him, with a design to put him to death. But *Mithridates*, having received from *Demetrius* timely notice of the king's intention, withdrew into *Paphlagonia*, attended only by six horsemen. Here, with the assistance of many others that joined him, he possessed himself of *Ciniatum*, a strong hold situated near mount *Olgasys*, and from thence, his army growing daily stronger, made an irruption into *Cappadocia*, and having driven the commanders

^f DEMOSTH. orat. contra Aristocrat. ⁱ ARISTOT. l. v. Polit. c. 10. ^u POLYB. l. v. p. 388. ^w FLOR. l. iii. c. 5. ^w AUREL. VICTOR. de vir. illustribus, c. 76 & STRABO, l. xii. p. 562.

of *Antigonus* from that part which borders on *Pontus*, he entered in triumph his paternal kingdom, which in spite of all the efforts of *Antigonus* he held for the space of twenty six years, and transmitted to his posterity. During his father's life-time he was highly in favour with *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, having, to gratify that prince, treacherously murdered *Datames*, governor of *Cappadocia*, who opposed his designs upon that country. He is said to have lived to the age of eighty four years *. *Diodorus* tells us, that he was put to death by *Antigonus* for siding with *Cassander*; he was succeeded by his son

Mithridates III. who added to the kingdom of *Pontus* all *Cappadocia*, and *Paphlagonia*, as *Diodorus* informs us †. He entered into an alliance with the inhabitants of *Heraclea*, after several unsuccessful attempts upon that city. He reigned thirty six years.

Ariobarzanes II. *Mithridates* III. was succeeded by his son *Ariobarzanes* II. who made war upon the *Galatians*; but with what success, we know not.

Mithridates IV. *Mithridates* IV. came to the crown on the death of his father *Ariobarzanes*; as he was then very young, the *Galatians* invaded his kingdom, and were attended with success; but all on a sudden turned their forces against the free city of *Heraclea*; but not being able to master it, they returned home, and suffered *Mithridates* to recover and peaceably enjoy what they had seized.

Mithridates V. *Mithridates* V. who succeeded his father *Mithridates* IV. made war upon the inhabitants of *Sinope*, a *Greek* city upon the coast of *Paphlagonia*; he made himself master of all the adjoining places; but finding the whole peninsula, on which *Sinope* itself stood, well fortified, and garrisoned, not only by the inhabitants, but also by their allies the *Rhodians*, he gave over the enterprize *. He afterwards proved a great friend to the *Rhodians*, and assisted them with money to repair the losses they had suffered by an earthquake. He entered into a strict alliance with *Antiochus the Great*, who married one of his daughters, named *Laodice*.

Pharnaces I. His son *Pharnaces* I. falling unexpectedly on the city of *Sinope*, took it by storm; whereupon the *Rhodians* sent ambassadors to *Rome* to complain of the violent proceedings of the king of *Pontus* against their allies; but *Pharnaces* was so far from being intimidated at the threats of the *Romans*,

* PLUTARCH. in Demet. APPIAN. in Mithridat. p. 176. & LUCIAN. in longævis. p. 176. † DIODOR. l. x. * POLYB. l. v, vii.

that on the contrary he invaded the territories of *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus*, a great friend and ally of the republic. *Eumenes* likewise dispatched embassadors to *Rome* to complain of *Pharnaces*, and in the mean time entering into an alliance with *Ariarathes*, king of *Cappadocia*, secured his dominions against any attempts of the enemy. *Pharnaces* finding himself thus disappointed, and not caring to engage in a war with the *Romans*, sent deputies to *Rome* to complain of *Eumenes* and *Ariarathes*, as if they had been the aggressors. Hereupon *Marcus* and other *Roman* citizens of great integrity were sent into *Asia* as umpires between the contending parties, and charged to compose, if possible, all differences in an amicable manner. *Marcus* found *Eumenes* and *Ariarathes* encamped with a considerable army in the plains of *Amisus*, but ready to lay down arms, and refer the whole matter to arbitration; whereupon he enjoined them to withdraw their forces from the enemy's country, which they did accordingly, ordering their troops the very next morning to march back into *Galatia*. But *Pharnaces* could by no means be prevailed upon to come to an interview with *Eumenes*, or assist at any conference where he should be present; with much ado they persuaded him to send embassadors with full power to treat of such matters as concerned both nations, and to agree to such articles as the arbitrators should judge equitable. The conference being opened, those, who were sent by *Pharnaces*, started so many difficulties, that nothing could be settled; wherefore *Marcus*, plainly perceiving that *Pharnaces* had no mind to come to an agreement, broke off the conference, and returned to *Rome*. Upon his departure *Eumenes* took the field again, and *Pharnaces* on his side sent *Leocritus*, his commander in chief, at the head of ten thousand men, to lay waste *Galatia*, at that time subject to *Eumenes*. *Leocritus* on his march besieged the city of *Teios*, or, as some call it, *Pius*, and having obliged the garison, which entirely consisted of mercenaries, to capitulate, he promised to convey them with their arms and effects to what place they should chuse; but having soon after their departure received express orders from *Pharnaces* to put them all to the sword, he pursued them, and slew them all to a man. In this war *Pharnaces* depended upon the assistance of *Seleucus* king of *Syria*, who was already come as far as mount *Taurus*, in order to join him; but being reminded by the *Roman* embassadors of the articles stipulated between his

* POLYB. Legat. 53 & DIODOR in excerpt Vales. p. 312.
H h 2 1achet

father *Antiochus* and the republic; he thought fit to march back, and leave *Pharnaces* to shift for himself⁷. The king of *Pontus* finding himself thus disappointed, and at the same time his dominions invaded by the confederate kings of *Pergamus* and *Cappadocia* supported by the *Romans*, condescended at last to sue for peace, which was granted him upon the following conditions: that he should forthwith withdraw his forces from *Galatia*, and disannul all engagements and alliances with the inhabitants of that country; that he should in like manner evacuate *Paphlagonia*, and send back to their respective homes with all their effects such as he had carried thence into slavery; that he should restore to *Ariarathes* all the places which he had taken during the war, the hostages of both kings, all their prisoners without ransom; and moreover deliver up to them such of their subjects; as from the first breaking out of the war had fled to him; that he should return to *Morzias*, a petty king in those parts, and to *Ariarathes* the nine hundred talents, which he had seized in the war, and pay down three hundred more to *Eumenes*, as a fine for invading his dominions without any provocation. *Mithridates* king of *Armenia*, having in this war joined *Pharnaces*, was by the articles of agreement obliged to pay three hundred talents to *Ariarathes* for having assisted his enemy, contrary to a treaty of peace and alliance at that time subsisting between them. In this treaty were comprized *Artaxias* king of *Armenia*, *Gatalus* king of *Sarmatia*, *Acusilochus* another petty king, and the free cities of *Heraclea*, *Mesembrya*, *Chersonesus*, and *Cyzicus*². The city of *Sinepe* remained to *Pharnaces*, and was held by his successors till the time of the *Mithridatic* war, when it was restored by *Lucullus* to its former liberty. The hostages for the performance of these articles were no sooner delivered, but the confederate kings disbanded their armies, and retired home. *Pharnaces* died soon after, and left to his son *Mithridates* the kingdom of *Pontus*, more weakened by this peace than by all his wars. *Pliny* tells us^b, that the herb centory had its name in *Greek* from this king, who is supposed to have applied himself to the study of botanics.

Mithridates VI.

Mithridates VI: was the first king of *Pontus* that entered into an alliance with the *Romans*, sending them a considerable supply of ships in their third war with the *Carthaginians*^c. He likewise proved a faithful ally to them in the war which they carried on, at first with great loss, against *Aristo-*

² DIODOR. ubi supra. ^a POLYN. legat. 59. ^b PLIN. l. xxv. c, 4. ^c APPIAN. in Mithridatic. p. 171.

nicus, who upon the death of *Attalus* laid claim to the kingdom of *Pergamus*. After the defeat of *P. Crassus* most of the princes of *Asia* either sided with *aristonicus*, or retired home; but *Mithridates* could by no offers or promises be prevailed upon to abandon the cause he had once espoused; on which consideration he was rewarded by the senate with *Phrygia Major*, and honoured with the title of friend and ally of the people of *Rome*^d. *Appian* tells us that *Phrygia* was bestowed on him, not by the senate, but by *Manius Aquilius*, who succeeded *M. Perperna* in the command of the *Roman* forces in *Asia*, being bribed thereunto by the king with a large sum of money^e. Be that as it will, it is certain, that the senate took *Phrygia* away from his son, during his minority, and declared it a free and independent state, as he himself complains in his speech related by *Trogus*^f. *Mithridates* after a long and prosperous reign was treacherously murdered by some of his intimate acquaintance. He left two sons, of which the elder named also *Mithridates*, succeeding him in the kingdom of *Pontus*, eclipsed all those who had reigned before him, and is generally counted one of the greatest princes that ever swayed a sceptre. He maintained a most bloody war with the *Romans* for the space of forty six years, and alone gave them more trouble, as their own writers witness, than *Pyrrhus*, *Hannibal*, and the powerful kings of *Syria* and *Macedon* had done altogether. He received many dreadful overthrows, his armies were often cut in pieces, his strong holds taken and levelled with the ground, and his whole kingdom laid waste; but still he returned more formidable than ever, as if he had received new strength from his very losses; and at last in spite of all the efforts of his powerful adversaries, died a voluntary death in his own kingdom, which he transmitted to his posterity. We shall give here a short, but distinct account of his war with the *Romans*, commonly called the *Mithridatic* war, it being one of the greatest and most expensive that the republic ever waged.

Mithridates VII. surnamed *the Great*, was according to *Mithridates* *Strabo*, eleven years old; according to *Eutropius*, twelve; and according to *Memnon*, thirteen, when he came to the throne. His future greatness was foretold, if *Trogus* may be credited^g, by two comets, one of which appeared at his birth, and the other the first year of his reign. Both these comets

Year of
the Flood,
2875.
Before
Christ,

124.

^d JUSTIN. l. xxxvii. c. 1. ^e APPIAN. in *Mithridatic*. p. 177. & 208. & l. i. bell. civil. p. 302, 303. ^f JUSTIN. ubi supra. ^g JUSTIN. l. xxxvii. c. 2, & 3.

were seen for seventy days and seventy nights together; their splendor was such as to eclipse the sun, and raise in people's minds the dread of a final conflagration. They covered the fourth part of the heaven, and in rising or setting took up the space of four hours (P).

Mithridates began his reign with most inhuman and unnatural acts of cruelty practised on his mother and nearest relations. His father by his last will appointed him and his mother joint heirs to the kingdom; but he claiming the whole, threw his mother into prison, where he kept her under close confinement, till through hard usage she ended her days^h. *Servius* says, that he poisoned her, that he might being then but a child lie under no checkⁱ. Those, to whom the care of his education was committed, observing him to be of a cruel and unruly temper, made various attempts on his life, but could never compass their design, he being always on his guard, and armed, even in so tender an age, against all manner of treachery, without ever shewing the least diffidence (Q).
In

^h MEMNON, in excerpt. Photii, c. 32. STRAB. l. x. p. 477. JUSTIN. l. xxxvii. c. 1. ⁱ SERVIUS, in Virgil. l. vi. Æneid.

(P) That which appeared at his birth must be the comet which *Seneca* mentions in the following words (16): “In the reign of king *Attalus* there appeared a comet, which being small at first, afterwards spread itself as far as the equinoctial circle, so that its extent equalled that region of the heaven which we call the milky way.” If this comet appeared, as *Seneca* affirms, in the reign of *Attalus*, we must allow *Mithridates*, with *Eutropius* (17), and *Orosius* (18), who usually follow *Livy*, seventy two years of life; for had he lived only sixty eight or sixty nine, as *Appian* insinuates (19), the comet had appeared after the death of *Attalus*, and not in his reign, as *Seneca* says.

(Q) *Justin* tells us (20), that his governors made him ride and perform his exercises on a wild and unmanageable horse, which he governed with such skill and dexterity, that his very enemies could not but admire and applaud him. They had afterwards recourse to poison; but he being apprised of their treacherous designs, armed himself against them with such antidotes and preservatives, that when he attempted in his old age to poison himself, the most exquisite poisons rather nourished than destroyed the constitution of his body. *Martial* (21) says, that he was from his in-

(16) *Seneca*, lib. vii. c. 15. (17) *Eutrop.* lib. vi. (18) *Oros.* lib. vi. c. 5. (19) *Appian* p. 249. (20) *Justin.* l. xxxvii. c. 2. (21) *Mart.* lib. v.

In his youth, to inure his body to hardships, he applied himself to the manly exercise of hunting, passing whole months in the open fields, and often taking his rest amidst the frozen snow. When he came of age, he married his own sister, by name *Laodice*, a thing frequently practised in those days by the eastern kings, and had by her a son named *Pharnaces*. Having now an heir to his kingdom, and aspiring to nothing less than the empire of all *Asia*, attended with a few friends, he undertook a progress thro' the various kingdoms of that great continent, with a design to observe the customs, laws, and manners of the inhabitants, to learn their different languages, whereof he is said to have spoke twenty two, to take an estimate of their strength, and above all, to view narrowly their strong holds, and fortified towns. In this journey he spent three years, during which time it being noised abroad that he was dead, his wife *Laodice* gave herself up to all manner of lewdness; and having brought forth a son by a criminal conversation with one of the lords of her court, to conceal her guilt, and avoid the just resentment of her provoked husband, welcomed him on his return with a poisoned potion, which had no other effect but to incense him more against her, and hasten her own destruction, which was soon effected by his order, all those being involved in the same punishment, who were any ways accessary to her incontinency and disloyalty ^k.

AND now thinking it time to put in execution his vast *Invades* designs, he invaded, and easily reduced the neighbouring Paphlagon- kingdom of *Paphlagonia*, which he divided with his friend ^{nia.} and ally *Nicomedes* king of *Bithynia*. As the *Romans* had not long before declared *Paphlagonia* a free state, they sent em-

^k JUSTIN. ubi supra.

fancy so accustomed to take poison, that in his old age no poison could hurt him.

*Profecit poto Mithridates sæpe veneno,
Toxica ne possent sæva nocere sibi.*

He was the inventor of *Mithridate*, which borrowed its name from him, as *Pliny*, *Paulus*, *Ægineta*, *Cornelius Celsus*, *Gellius*, *Galen* witness, and *Q. Sereus* in the following verses :

*Antidotus vero multis Mithridatica fertur
Confociata modis : sed magnus scrinia regis
Cum raperet victor, vilem deprendit in illis
Synthesin, & vulgata satis medicamina risit.*

bassadors

ambassadors to both kings, injoining them to withdraw their forces, and restore that nation to its former condition. *Mithridates* returned answer, that *Paphlagonia* had belonged to his father, and therefore was his by inheritance, adding, that he could not well understand why the *Romans*, without being appealed to, should trouble themselves about controversies arising among the princes of *Asia*. The ambassadors threatened him with war; but he was so far from being intimidated by their menaces, that from *Paphlagonia* he marched directly into *Galatia*, which he made himself master of, though it was at that time under the protection of the people of *Rome*. Having thus reduced *Paphlagonia* and *Galatia*, the next kingdom he cast his eyes upon was that of *Cappadocia*, held at that time by *Ariarathes*, who had married his sister, and with whom he had lived in great friendship. As *Ariarathes* was one of the most powerful princes in all *Asia*, and a great favourite of the *Romans*, in whose service his father had been killed, during their war with *Aristonicus*, *Mithridates* thought it safer to attempt the accomplishing of his designs by treachery, than by dint of arms, and accordingly bribed one *Gordius* privately to dispatch him. Upon his death *Nicomedes* king of *Bithynia* invaded *Cappadocia*, and having driven out the son of the deceased prince, married his widow, in hopes of establishing himself by that means on the throne. This gave *Mithridates* a plausible pretence of falling upon *Cappadocia*, and at the same time of weakening his former ally, but now rival, *Nicomedes*. For under pretence of restoring his nephew, he made war upon *Nicomedes*, and drove him quite out of *Cappadocia*. As this war gained him the reputation, not only of gallantry, but good-nature, (for no body imagined that he had any hand in the murder of *Ariarathes*) out of a certain regard to public fame he restored the kingdom of *Cappadocia* to its lawful owner, and marched his troops back into his own territories. But soon after repenting what he had done, and preferring power to fame, he began to seek some pretence of quarrelling with his nephew. With this view he pressed him to recal from banishment *Gordius*, who had assassinated his father; which the young prince highly resenting, and *Mithridates* threatening to bring him back by force of arms, matters were brought by degrees to that pass, that both princes took the field. *Mithridates* entered *Cappadocia* at the head of an army consisting of eighty thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and six hundred chariots armed with scythes, hoping with such a powerful army to carry all before him; but finding his nephew ready

*And Cap-
padocia.*

to receive him with a strength no-ways inferior to his own, he altered his design; and feigning a desire of reconciliation, invited him to a conference; which the young prince willingly agreeing to, *Mithridates* in sight of both armies stabbed him with a dagger, which he had concealed in the plaits of his garment (R). This barbarous and unexpected piece of treachery struck the *Cappadocians* with such terror and amazement, that they immediately threw down their arms, and suffered *Mithridates* without any molestation to seize on all the strong-holds of the kingdom; which he resigned to his son, a child but eight years old, calling him *Ariarathes*, a name peculiar to the kings of *Cappadocia*, and committing both him and the whole management of his affairs to the care of *Gordius*. But the *Cappadocians*, disdaining to be ruled by a public assassin, shook off the tyrannical yoke, and placed on the throne the brother of their late king, who to that time had kept himself concealed in some city of *Asia*. But his reign was short, being soon driven out by *Mithridates*, and the *Cappadocians* again brought under subjection. The unhappy prince seeing himself thus stript of his paternal kingdom, and reduced to the utmost misery, no body daring to entertain him through fear of *Mithridates*, died of grief in the very flower of his age; and in him was extinct the family of *Pharnaces*, which had ruled over *Cappadocia* from the time of *Cyrus the Great*.

UPON his death *Nicomedes* king of *Bithynia*, being jealous of the overgrown power of *Mithridates*, and fearing lest he should fall upon his dominions, if he were suffered to enjoy quietly the neighbouring kingdom of *Cappadocia*, suborned a youth of a comely and majestic aspect to pass himself upon the *Romans* for the son of *Ariarathes*, as if he had left three sons, and not two only, as was commonly believed. The youth being well instructed how to behave himself, and

(R) It was a custom in antient times among kings, as *Justin* informs us (22), to send persons of distinction to search each other before they met, lest any treacherous designs might be carried on under colour of a friendly conference. The person who was appointed to search *Mithridates*, being very busy in looking for some weapon under his belly, the king desired him to take heed, lest he should find there a weapon of a very different nature from that which he was so carefully looking for. This jest raised in the spectators a loud laughter, and made the searcher desist from any farther inquiries; by which means the dagger, which *Mithridates* had brought, was concealed.

(22) *Justin. lib. xxxviii. c. 1*

what he should say, set out for *Rome* ; and there presenting himself before the senate, complained with tears in his eyes of the monstrous and unnatural cruelty of his uncle *Mithridates*, bewailed the untimely death of his brothers, expatiated on the services of his grandfather, who had lost his life in the cause of the republic ; and concluded his speech by intreating them to convince the world of the tender regard they had for their friends, by restoring to his paternal kingdom the grandson of one, whom they had thought fit to honour with that glorious title. The senate was no less affected by his speech, than taken by his modesty, address, and graceful mien. Being ordered to withdraw, *Laodice*, the widow of *Ariarathes* and sister to *Mithridates*, who upon her husband's death had married *Nicomedes*, as we have hinted before, came in and deposed that she had three sons by her former husband *Ariarathes*, of which the petitioner was one. Whereupon the senate with many kind and grateful expressions promised to espouse his cause, and never forsake him, till he was reinstated in the kingdom of his forefathers. But in the mean time *Mithridates* receiving notice of the plot, dispatched *Gordius* to *Rome* to disclose it to the senate, and assure them, that the child, whom he had preferred to the crown, was the lawful son of *Ariarathes*. This unexpected embassy raised a strong suspicion of both kings in the minds of the senators, who thereupon examining more narrowly into the matter, and discovering the deceit, commanded *Mithridates* to relinquish *Cappadocia*, and *Nicomedes* *Paphlagonia*. Both these states were by a decree of the senate declared free ; but the *Cappadocians*, protesting that they could not live without a king, were allowed to chuse one of their own body. *Mithridates* used great interest in behalf of *Gordius* ; but he being excluded by the *Romans*, *Ariobarzanes* was preferred to the crown by the majority of votes, as *Strabo* informs us, or, as *Justin* has it, by appointment of the senate.

AND now the *Romans*, growing jealous of the power of *Mithridates*, and the sway which he bore among the princes of *Asia*, sent *L. Cornelius Sylla* into *Cappadocia* under appearance of an embassy, but in reality to disappoint the measures which he was pursuing, and the steps he was taking to grasp the empire of all *Asia*. *Sylla* with a handful of men defeated *Gordius*, cut in pieces his army composed of *Cappadocians* and *Armenians*, and settled, according to the decree of the senate, *Ariobarzanes* on the throne. But *Sylla* had no sooner set out for *Rome*, than *Mithridates*, who had suffered his son to be driven from the throne of *Cappadocia*, as if that war
no-ways

no-ways concerned him, stirred up *Tigranes* king of *Armenia* against *Ariobarzanes*, who, upon his approach, abandoning the kingdom, fled to *Rome*. *Tigranes*, having without the loss of one man possessed himself of *Cappadocia*, placed anew on the throne *Ariarathes*, son to *Mithridates*, and restored all things to the state they were in before the arrival of *Sylla*.

At the same time *Nicomedes Philopator*, king of *Bithynia*, dying, *Mithridates* invaded that kingdom, and drove out his natural son, named also *Nicomedes*, whom the *Romans* had appointed to succeed him, placing in his room his own brother

*Seizes on
Bithynia.*

Socrates, surnamed *Chrestus*, or *the Thrifty*. *Nicomedes* likewise fled to *Rome*, where it was decreed by the senate, that both he and *Ariobarzanes* should be restored to their kingdoms. In pursuance of which decree, *Manius Aquilius*, who had then ended the servile war in *Sicily*, and *Marcus Altinius*, being sent into *Asia* in quality of legates, and there joined by the forces of *Lucius Cassius* governor of *Asia Pergamena*, or *Asia Proper*, and by the auxiliaries of the allied kings, *Nicomedes* was reinstated in the kingdom of *Bithynia*, and *Ariobarzanes* in that of *Cappadocia*. The legates according to their instructions charged both kings to make frequent inroads into the neighbouring territories of *Mithridates*, and practise there whatever hostilities they could, assuring them of the powerful assistance of the *Romans*, in case he should resent the provocation. This the legates did to pick a quarrel with *Mithridates*, who, not thinking himself as yet a match for the *Romans*, had tamely suffered both his brother and his son to be driven out of the kingdoms which they had usurped. *Ariobarzanes* could by no means be induced to provoke so powerful a neighbour; but *Nicomedes*, being partly with promises, partly with menaces, prevailed upon to comply with the injunctions of the legates, entered *Pontus* in a hostile manner, and putting all to fire and sword, laid waste whole provinces, without meeting with the least opposition. For *Mithridates*, to justify in the eyes of the world the war which he had long designed against the *Romans*, had ordered his lieutenants to forbear returning any hostilities, till such time as he had laid his complaints before the legates. This he did soon after, sending one *Pelopidas* to expostulate with them about the proceedings of *Nicomedes*. But the legates returning answer, that he having being the first aggressor, *Nicomedes* had but paid him in his own coin, and that they would not suffer him to use any violence against their friend and ally, *Mithridates* thought it high time, having on foot a numerous and well-disciplined army, to enter upon action; and accordingly sent his son *Ariarathes* into *Cappadocia*,

who put to flight the united forces of *Ariobarzanes* and *Alti-nius* the *Roman* legate, and anew took possession of that kingdom. At the same time *Nicomedes* making new inroads into *Pontus*, *Mithridates*, to gain time, and make the *Romans* believe that he was still inclined to peace, dispatched ambassadors to *Rome* to beg of the senate, that, if *Nicomedes* was their friend, they would oblige him by their authority to forbear giving him any further molestation ; but if they accounted him an enemy, they would give him leave to do himself justice, and repel force by force. The senate, being well apprised of *Mithridates*'s views, replied, that *Nicomedes* had done nothing without just provocation, and therefore they saw no cause why they should lay any injunctions on him ; whereas they had many things to injoin *Mithridates*, but above all, to restore without further delay the kingdom of *Cappadocia* to its lawful owner, and conclude a speedy peace with their friend and ally *Nicomedes*, on pain of being accounted an enemy to *Rome*, and treated accordingly. With this answer the ambassadors were dismissed, and the same day ordered to depart the city ; but before their departure charged to acquaint their master, that the people of *Rome* would admit of no ambassadors from him, till such time as he had complied with these their commands ^k.

IN the mean time the legates in *Asia* drawing together what forces they could muster in *Bithynia*, *Cappadocia*, *Paphlagonia*, and *Galatia*, and being joined by *Cassius* governor of *Asia*, took the field without waiting for the determination of the senate. They divided their army into several small bodies : *Cassius* encamped on the confines of *Bithynia* and *Galatia* ; *Aquilius* with his body possessed himself of the avenues leading from *Pontus* into *Bithynia* ; *Q. Oppius* secured the entrance into *Cappadocia* ; and *Minutius Rufus* and *C. Popilius* admirals lay with a fleet of three hundred sail at *Byzantium*, to prevent the enemy from entering into the *Euxine* sea. Each of the generals had an army of forty thousand men under his command, besides a body of fifty thousand foot and six thousand horse, which *Nicomedes* brought to their assistance ^l.

ON the other side *Mithridates*, having inticed many of the neighbouring nations to join him against the *Romans*, found at the general rendezvous, that his whole strength consisted of two hundred and fifty thousand foot, fifty thousand horse,

^k LIV. l. lxxiv. APPIAN. Mithridatic. p. 177. & 179. DIO. legat. 71. ^l APPIAN. in Mithridatic. p. 179.

a hundred and thirty chariots armed with scythes, three hundred ships, and one hundred gallies. *Nicomedes*, as he was on his march to take possession of an important post, according to the direction of the *Roman* generals, happened to fall in with a numerous body of the enemies; whereupon a bloody battle ensued, the victory inclining some time to one side, and some time to another. The fight lasted many hours, both armies behaving themselves with the utmost gallantry and resolution. But at last the *Bithynians*, though far superior in number, being put in disorder by the armed chariots, which mowed down intire files, betook themselves to flight, leaving behind them their baggage, money, and provisions, which fell to the conqueror. *Nicomedes*, the greater part of his men being slain, with much ado got into *Paphlagonia*, and from thence marched with the remains of his scattered army to join *Cassius*. *Nicomedes* being thus driven out of the field, *Mithridates* detached part of his army, under the command of *Neoptolemus* and *Nemanus* an *Armenian*, to fall upon *Aquilius*, who guarded the passes leading into *Bithynia* with an army of forty thousand foot and four thousand horse. Upon their approach *Aquilius* withdrew his forces in good order, but being pursued close, and harassed on his march by the enemy, he resolved to venture a battle, which proved very unsuccessful, ten thousand of his men being killed on the spot, three hundred taken prisoners, and the rest quite dispersed. The legate himself, attended by a small body of horse, having the same night reached the river *Sangarius*, swam over, and arrived safe at *Pergamus*^m. Upon the news of this double overthrow, the other *Roman* generals abandoned their posts, and left *Mithridates* master of the field. The fleet also dispersed, and the greater part of the ships were either taken or sunk by the king's admirals. *Mithridates* resolved to improve the opportunity which now offered of accomplishing his designs; and, driving the *Romans* quite out of *Asia*, over-ran all *Phrygia*, *Mysia*, *Asia Proper*, *Caria*, *Lycia*, *Pamphylia*, *Paphlagonia*, *Bithynia*, and whatever other countries either belonged to, or had sided with, the *Romans*, as far as *Ionia*. He was received every-where with all possible demonstrations of joy, the inhabitants flocking to him in white garments, and calling him their father, their deliverer, their god, the great and sole lord of all *Asia*ⁿ. What thus gained him the affections of

Defeats
the Bithy-
nians.

Over-runs
the greatest
part of
Asia.

^m APPIAN. comparat. cum MEMNOR. & LIV. l. lxxvii. STRAB. l. xii. p. 562. ⁿ DIONOR SICUL. in excerpt. Valerii. p. 4. 1. ATHEN. l. v. c. 11. MEMNOR. c. 53. LIV. l. lxxvii. APPIAN p. 183.

the people, was his kind usage to the prisoners he had taken in the two engagements ; for he not only sent them all home without ransom, but furnished with good store of provisions, and even money to defray the expences of their journey. This piece of good nature was every-where so cried up by his friends, and had such an effect on the minds of his enemies, that all the nations of *Asia* shewed an ambition to live under the mild government of so clement a prince. Embassadors came flocking to him from all parts, and among others those of *Laodicea* on the *Lycus*, to whom the king promised his protection, on condition they delivered up to him *Q. Oppius*, governor of *Pamphylia*, who had retreated thither. The inhabitants readily complied with his desire, and sent *Oppius* to him in chains, ordering lictors to walk before him with their fasces, in derision of the *Roman* pride and ostentation. *Mithridates* was overjoyed to see a *Roman* general, and a proconsul, his prisoner ; and his joy was soon after encreased by the delivery of *Manius Aquilius*, whom the *Lesbians*, revolting from the *Romans*, sent to him in fetters, with many other *Romans* of distinction. As he had been the chief author and promoter of the war, *Mithridates* led him about with him, whithersoever he went, either bound on an ass, or on foot coupled to one *Bystries*, a public malefactor, forcing him to proclaim with his own mouth to the crowds flocking to see him, that he was *Manius Aquilius* the *Roman* legate.

Puts Ma- When he came to *Pergamus*, he caused him first to be publicly whipt, afterwards to be put upon the rack, and lastly
nius Aquili- melted gold to be poured down his throat, upbraiding thereby
lius to a the *Romans* in general, and him in particular, with avarice,
cruel death bribery, and corruption ^o.

Mithridates, after so many conquests, being now looked upon as invincible, all the free cities of *Asia* opened their gates to him ; he was received at *Magnesia*, *Mitylene*, and *Ephesus* with loud acclamations ; the latter, to ingratiate themselves with him, pulling down all the monuments which the *Romans* had erected. His generals too were attended with like success, the cities, where-ever they appeared, voluntarily submitting to them, and contributing large sums of money to defray the charges of the war. By this means he amassed such treasures as enabled him to maintain several numerous armies on foot for the space of five years, without levying any taxes or tributes on his subjects ^p.

^o Liv. l. lxxviii. Athenæus ubi supra. Appian. p. 184. Plin. l. xxviii. c. 3. Cicero in orat. pro lege Manil. & lib. v. Tullian. quest. ^p Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 3.

As most of the provinces subdued by *Mithridates*, were either subject or allied to *Rome*, many *Roman* citizens had settled in the chief cities, and were dispersed all over *Asia*. *Mithridates* considering these as so many spies, who would not fail to observe his motions, and acquaint the senate with his designs, took the most cruel and inhuman method of ridding himself of them, that had been heard of till his time, but has been practised in after-ages by other nations. He dispatched private letters to all the governors and magistrates of the cities where the *Romans* resided, injoining them, on pain of death, and utter destruction of their country, to cause all of the *Italian* race, women and children not excepted, to be murdered on the thirtieth day from the date of his letters, and to let their bodies lie unburied in the open fields. One moiety of their goods was to be forfeited to the king, and the other bestowed as a reward on the assassins. Whatever slave murdered his master, was to receive his liberty; and one half of the debt was to be remitted to the debtor that should kill his creditor. Whoever concealed any of the *Italian* race, under what pretence soever, was to be punished with immediate death (R). When the fatal day came, a day, as *Tully* calls it, of horror and confusion, the gates of the cities being shut, and all the outlets beset with soldiers, the king's orders were proclaimed; which caused an universal alarm and consternation, not in those only who were destined to die, but in such of the natives too as had the least spark of humanity, seeing themselves obliged, either to betray and barbarously murder their innocent guests, friends, and relations, or be liable themselves to a cruel death. However, as most of the *Asiatics* bore a mortal hatred to the *Romans*, and were moreover animated by the promise of an ample reward, the king's orders were without delay put in execution, and

Orders all
the Ro-
mans in
Asia to be
massacred.
Year of
the Flood,
2011.
Before
Christ,
88.

(R) *Theophanes* the *Asiatic*, who wrote the life of *Pompey*, tells us, that *P. Rutilius Rufus*, a man of proconsular dignity, who had been banished *Rome*, and lived at that time in *Asia*, put *Mithridates* upon this barbarous resolution; and adds, that *Pompey* found in the fort *Caino*, amongst many other valuable books, an oration composed by *Rutilius*, wherein he stirred up the king to this massacre (23). But *Tully* assures us (24), that *Rutilius* had no hand in it, having saved himself by disguising his condition with a philosopher's mantle, and in that garb making his escape, as some others did, out of *Asia*, undiscovered.

(23) *Plutarch*, in *Pomp.* (24) *Cic. pro C. Rabirio Posthum.*

all *Asia* in one day turned into a shambles ⁿ. The inhabitants of *Ephesus*, where *Mithridates* then resided, dragged such as had taken sanctuary in *Diana's* temple, from the very statue of the goddess, and put them to the sword. The *Per-gamenians* discharged showers of darts upon them, as they embraced the statues in the temple of *Esculapius*. At *Adramyttium* in *Mysia* many were murdered in the water, while they were attempting, with their children on their backs, to swim over to the island of *Lesbos*. The *Caunians*, who not long before had been delivered by the *Romans* from the yoke of the *Rhodians*, and restored to their antient privileges, excelled in cruelty all the rest; for, as if they had apostatized from human nature, they took pleasure in tormenting and butchering the innocent children under their mothers eyes; some of them running distracted, and others dying for grief at a sight which nature could not bear. The *Trallians* were the only people on the continent, who could not find in their hearts to imbrue their hands in the blood of their innocent guests. However, as the king's orders were peremptory, they hired one *Theophilus*, a *Paphlagonian*, to dispatch the few *Romans* that lived among them. He having shut them all up together in the temple of *Concord*, first cut off their hands as they embraced the statues of the gods, and then hacked them to pieces ^o. Many *Romans* were saved on the floating islands of *Lydia*, called *Calaminæ*, where they concealed themselves, till such time as they found an opportunity of making their escape out of *Asia* ^p; but nevertheless a hundred and fifty thousand *Roman* citizens were massacred that day, according to *Plutarch* and *Dion* ^q; but according to others, only eighty thousand ^r.

Mithridates, having thus got rid of such as could any ways disturb him in the quiet possession of his conquests on the continent, imbarqued great part of his forces in order to reduce the adjacent islands. He sailed first to *Cos*, where he was joyfully received by the natives, who delivered up to him *Alexander*, the son of king *Alexander*, who being driven from the throne of *Egypt*, was killed by *Chareas* a sea captain, as he was retiring in a small vessel to *Cyprus*. With the young

ⁿ APPIAN. in Mithridatic. p. 185, 206, 209, 212. CIC. in Orat. pro lege Manil. & pro Flacco. MEMNON. in excerpt. c. 33. LIV. l. lxxvii. VELLEIUS PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 18. FLOR. l. iii. c. 5. EUTROP. l. v. OROS. l. vi. c. 2, &c. ^o APPIAN. ubi supra, p. 185. & comparat. cum DIO. in excerptis, p. 642. ^p PLIN. l. ii. c. 95. ^q PLUT. in Sylla. DION. legat. 36, & 37. ^r MEMNON. c. 33. VALER. MAXIM. l. ix. c. 2.

prince they put into the king's hands vast sums of money, with all the golden vessels and jewels to an immense value, which his grandmother *Cleopatra* had left with him, and had been amassing for many years. To the young prince *Mithridates* gave an education suitable to his birth, and ever treated him like a king's son, but kept the treasures for himself ^c. Here likewise he found eight hundred talents in ready money, which at the first breaking out of the war had been deposited by the *Jews* of *Asia* in this island, as in a place of safety, and was designed, as *Josephus* informs us ^d, for the temple of *Jerusalem*. From *Cos* the king steered his course to the island of *Rhodes*, where all the *Romans*, who had escaped out of *Asia*, found a sanctuary, and amongst others *L. Cassius* the proconsul. The *Rhodians*, upon the first news of the king's being at sea, equipped their fleet, and put their city in a posture of defence, determined, neither to deliver up the *Romans*, nor admit him within their gates. As he drew near, they ordered their admiral, by name *Damagoras*, a man of great experience in sea affairs, to meet him, and if possible, draw him to a battle, knowing that his fleet, tho' superior in number, was but very indifferently manned. As the *Rhodians* advanced, the king's fleet retired, making towards the coasts of *Lycia*; but *Damagoras* chasing them, six of his ships came up with twenty five of the king's, and after a sharp engagement sunk two, and put the rest to flight. In this encounter *Mithridates*, though he had never before seen a sea-fight, behaved with extraordinary courage and intrepidity; but one of the ships of his own squadron falling foul of that which carried him, by which accident he was very near being taken prisoner, he ever after abhorred the sea, and took an aversion to all the *Chians*, because the pilot of that ship was a *Chian*. However, being unwilling to give over the enterprize, he took new forces on board, with great store of warlike engines to batter the city, and unexpectedly appeared again on the coasts; but was anew forced to retire with disgrace, and lay aside all thoughts of reducing the island ^e.

Mithridates, being thus disappointed at *Rhodes*, intrusted his generals with the command of his armies, and himself retired to *Pergamus*, there to settle the civil government of *Asia*, and levy new forces to be sent to his generals as they should have occasion for them. *Archelaus*, commander in chief of all his forces, was sent into *Greece*, with an army of an hun-

^c APPIAN ubi supra. p. 186, 252, 253. & bell. civil. l. i. p. 414. ^d JOSEPH. l. xiv. c. 12. ^e APPIAN. comparat. cum Memnon. c. 33. & LIV. l. lxxviii.
VOL. IX. K k dred

Archelaus dred and twenty thousand men, where by the treachery of *Archelaus* makes him- one *Aristio*, or *Athenio*, he got possession of *Athens*, and ei- self master ther put to the sword, or sent to *Mithridates*, all those who of *Athens*. favoured, or were suspected to favour, the *Romans*. From *Athens* he detached parties to reduce the neighbouring castles and the island of *Delos*, which they did accordingly; but the island was soon recovered by *Orobias* a *Roman* general, who hearing that the enemies kept no guards, but passed their time in debauchery and carousing, by the favour of a dark night, landed without being perceived, and falling upon them in one of their revels, put every man of that party to the sword, except *Apellicon* the commander, who found means to make his escape w. *Metrophanes*, another of the king's generals, entering *Eubœa*, laid waste the whole country, exerting his rage chiefly against the cities of *Demetrias* and *Magnesia*, which refused to admit him within their gates. But as he was sailing off with a great booty, *Bruttius* prætor or governor of *Macedonia*, coming up with him, sunk some of his ships, and took others, putting all the prisoners to the sword. *Mithridates* upon the news of this loss, sent his son *Ariarathes* with a powerful army to invade *Macedonia*, which he soon reduced, and ther with the kingdom of *Thrace*, driving the *Romans* ~~every where~~ before him. The generals which he sent into other quarters were no less successful, having, at the return of the *Romans* into *Greece*, as *Aulus Gellius* *, *Valerius Maximus* †, and *Quintilian* ‡ assure us, twenty five different nations, which paid him homage. The same authors add, that he was skilled in every one of their various languages, so as to speak with the natives without an interpreter whenever he had occasion. Among these we find reckoned the *Rhoxani*, now *Russians* or *Muscovites*, whom *Diophantes*, one of the king's generals, brought under subjection, after having slain in one engagement fifty thousand of the *Barbarians*, who came with an innumerable army to oppose him. And now *Mithridates* was master not only of *Asia*, but of all *Greece* and the adjacent islands, except *Rhodes*, as far as the *Cyclades*.

THE intestine broils and civil dissensions, which at this time reigned in *Rome*, proved a favourable opportunity for *Mithridates* to extend thus the confines of his empire; but at last the senate upon certain advice that he designed to in-

w APPIAN. l. v. c. 11.

* AUL. GELL. l. xvii. c.

11. † VAL. Max. l. viii. c. 7.

‡ QUINTILIAN. l. xi.

c. 1.

vade *Italy*, and had even been invited thither by the *Italians*, who had revolted from them, began seriously to deliberate on the the means of opposing so powerful and insulting an enemy. *Lucius Sylla*, who on many occasions had given signal proofs of his courage, conduct, and experience in war, was appointed general, and ordered with all possible expedition to sail over into *Greece*, where *Archelaus* domineered without controul. He put to sea with five legions only and a few cohorts, and landing in *Attica* detached part of his forces to lay siege to *Athens*, he himself marching with the main body of his small army against *Archelaus*, who was encamped near *Piræum* ^a (S). Upon his approach *Archelaus* retired within the walls, and *Sylla*, as winter was drawing on, contented himself to cut off his communication with *Athens* by a deep trench, which he continued from the mountains quite to the sea. By this means the city for want of provisions fell into his hands, as he himself relates in his commentaries, on the calends of *March* ^b. *Aristio*, who was at the head of the king's party, retired with those of his faction into the castle, where they held out for a long time, but at last being obliged for want of water to surrender at discretion, *Sylla* commanded *Aristio* to be put to death, and all of those who had bore any employment under the king, or in any ways violated the constitutions, which the *Romans* had established after the conquest of *Greece*.

Driven
from
thence by
Sylla.

^a PLUT. in *Sylla*. DIO. in excerpt.. VALESI. APPIAN. in *Mithridatic* p. 390. ^b PLUTARCH. in *Sylla*.

(S) *Mithridates* at that time resided at *Pergamus*, where amongst many other prodigies mentioned by the antient writers, it is said, that at the same instant *Sylla* put to sea, the *Pergamenians* in the theatre were letting down with engines a statue of victory, bearing a crown to be put on the kings head; but the crown before it reached him fell to the ground, and was dashed in pieces, which accident being looked upon as a bad omen, struck the people and *Mithridates* himself with great terror (25). At *Stratopedo* the crows killed a vultur, and the goddess *Isis* was seen to strike with thunder a star fallen from heaven. The same author adds, that while the king was firing a grove consecrated to the furies, a great laughing was heard among the trees, but no body could be found, and that the king being advised by the soothsayers to sacrifice a virgin to the furies, the young woman was taken with such a fit of laughing, that the sacrifice being disturbed, the priests thought fit to give it over.

(25) *Plut. in Sylla*.

K k 2

As

The battle
of Chæro-
nea.

As *Archelaus* had a powerful fleet, and *Sylla* but a few frigates; he dispatched *L. Lucullus*, his lieutenant general; a man of great repute among the *Romans*, to the island of *Rhodes*; with orders to the *Rhodians* to join him with their fleet. But this being found impracticable; by reason that the king's fleet had, as it were; overspread the whole sea; *Lucullus*; despising all danger; ventured out boldly with six frigates only; and sailing to *Syria*, *Egypt*, *Libya*, and *Cyprus*; returned with such supplies of ships and experienced mariners; as enabled *Sylla* after their conjunction with the *Rhodian* fleet, to act offensively even by sea. *Archelaus* finding himself thus straitened on all sides; dispatched messengers to *Taxiles*; who commanded in *Thrace* and *Macedonia*; inviting him to his relief. *Taxiles* made what haste he could, and having joined *Archelaus*, they both marched against *Sylla*, leading under their colours a hundred and twenty thousand men. On the other side; *Sylla*; being acquainted with their designs, was in full march to meet them; though his whole army consisted but of fifteen hundred horse and fifteen thousand foot. The two armies came in sight of each other near the city of *Chæroneæ*; and neither declining the engagement, the *Romans*, animated by the example of their leader, and an eager desire of revenging the death of their fellow-citizens massacred in *Asia* by the king's order, put that day a hundred and ten thousand of the enemy to the sword, having lost on their side but twelve men, as *Sylla* himself witnesses in his commentaries. *Archelaus* narrowly escaped with the remains of his army to *Chalcis*.

THE success which attended *Sylla*, raised new jealousies against him at *Rome*, where the contrary faction began to prevail. Whereupon the senate sent *Lucius Valerius Flaccus*, consul of that year; with two legions into *Asia*, in appearance to attack *Mithridates* on that side, but with private instructions to fall upon *Sylla*, if he found him disaffected to the senate. As *Flaccus* had no experience in war, *C. Fimbria*; a senator of great repute among the soldiery, was appointed to attend him with the character of legate or lieutenant general. *Sylla* was at that time in *Boeotia*, but hearing what measures the senate had taken against him, he left that province, and with all expedition marched into *Thessaly* with a design to meet *Flaccus*, who; having imbarqued his troops at *Brundisium*; was steering his course towards that province. But *Sylla* being arrived at the city of *Melitea*, intelligence was brought him, that the country, which he

c PLUTARCH. in Lucullo.

had

had abandoned, was over-run with a powerful army of the king's under the command of *Dorylaus*, his chief favourite. *Dorylaus* Upon this advice he returned into *Bæotia*, and in two successive engagements gained two signal victories, which put *Sylla* an end to the war in *Greece*. In the first encounter *Dorylaus* lost fifteen thousand men, as *Appian* and *Orosius* inform us ^d; or two hundred thousand, as *Extropius* will have it; in the second the remaining part of the army, which consisted of ninety thousand chosen troops, was intirely cut off; twenty thousand were driven into a river, where they all perished; an equal number was surrounded, and all put to the sword, in a marsh, whither they had retired; the rest were killed in the flight, the *Romans* giving no quarter to men that had treated their fellow-citizens after so barbarous a manner in *Asia*. *Plutarch* tells us ^e, that the marshes were died with blood, that the course of the river was stopt by the dead bodies, and that even in his time, that is near two hundred years after, a great many bows, helmets, coats of mail, and swords were found buried in the mud. *Archelaus*, who had joined *Dorylaus*, with a body of ten thousand men a few days before the battle, lay three days stript and naked among the dead, till he found a small vessel which carried him over into *Eubæa*, where he mustered together what troops he could, but was never in a condition to take the field. As for *Sylla* he gave up the province of *Bæotia* to be plundered by his soldiers, as being ready to revolt on every fresh occasion. From *Bæotia* he marched into *Thessaly*, where he took up his winter quarters, and caused his old ships to be refitted, and several new ones to be built, in order to pass over into *Asia* in the beginning of the spring, and drive from thence not only *Mithridates*, but also his rival *Flaccus*, whom the senate had in opposition to him appointed governor of that province (T).

IN

^d APPIAN. l. lxxxii. & OROS. l. vi. c. 2. ^e PLUTARCH. in *Sylla*.

(T) *Livy* tells us (26), that *Archelaus* delivered up himself and the king's fleet to *Sylla*; and *Aurelius Victor* (27), that the king's fleet was intercepted by *Sylla* through the treachery of *Archelaus*, adding, that there was a good understanding between these two commanders, as was plain from *Sylla*'s bestowing on him ten thousand acres of land near the city of *Chalcis* in *Eubæa*.

²⁶ *Liv* l. lxxxii.

²⁷ *Aurel. Victor. de vir. illustrib.*

Differences
arise be-
tween
Flaccus &
Fimbria.

IN the mean time *Flaccus*, being joined by the *Roman* allies in *Asia*, had possessed himself of *Byzantium*, and from thence marched into *Bithynia*, where upon some differences arising between him and his legate *Fimbria*, some of the soldiery sided with one, and some with the other, which the consul, as he was of a haughty and imperious temper, not being able to bear, deprived *Fimbria* of his command and named another in his room. *Fimbria* being thus cashiered repaired to *Byzantium*, where he prevailed upon that part of the army which *Flaccus* had left there, to forsake the consul and follow him. With this body he crossed the *Hellepont*, and obliged all the cities of that neighbourhood, without distinction of friend or foe, to contribute large sums towards the maintenance of his army, allowing at the same time his soldiers an uncontrouled licence to commit all sorts of villainies and rapine. This liberty brought daily over to him a great many from *Flaccus*, insomuch, that thinking himself now a match for the consul, he took upon himself the supreme command, and turned out all the civil as well as the military officers, which *Flaccus* had appointed, placing his own creatures in their room. Such extraordinary proceedings soon brought back *Flaccus* from *Chalcedon*, whither he had sailed with his fleet; but finding *Fimbria's* party stronger than he expected, he was forced to conceal himself in a friend's house, till he had an opportunity of stealing away in the night-time to *Chalcedon*, and from thence to *Nicomedia*. *Fimbria*, having intelligence of his flight, pursued him close, took *Nicomedia* by storm, and dragging the consul from a well, where he lay concealed, put him to death. His head he threw into the sea, and left the body unburied on the shore ^f. Upon the

^f APPIAN. p. 204, 205,. LIV. l. lxxxii. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 24. STRAB. l. xiii. p. 594. AUREL. VICT. de vir. illustrib. c. 70, &c.

The treachery of *Archelaus* is also mentioned by *Sallust* (28), who introduces *Mithridates* complaining of him in a letter to *Arfaces*, in the following words: *Archelaus, the most unworthy of all those who were under me, gave a check to my enterprises by betraying my army.* And *Strabo* (29) informs us, that *Archelaus* was afterwards greatly esteemed and caressed both by *Sylla* and the senate. But *Sylla* himself, in his commentaries (30), and *Dio* (31), endeavour to clear *Archelaus*, from all suspicion of treachery.

(28) *Sallust. hist. l. iv.* (29) *Strab l. xii. p. 558. & lib. xvii. p. 796.* (30) *Plutarch. in Sylla.* (31) *Dio legat. 33, & 34.*
death

death of *Flaccus*, *Fimbria* took upon himself the command of all the *Roman* forces in *Asia*, besieged and took a great many towns, but at the same time practised such cruelties upon *Cruelties of* persons of all ranks, that his name became more odious than *Fimbria*. even that of *Mithridates*, (U). Having persuaded the inhabitants of *Cyzicum* to admit him as a friend into the city, he not only plundered it, but put the most wealthy citizens to death in order to seize on their estates, as if they had been guilty of treason; others he forced with threats to give up to him all they had^e. The minds of the *Asiatics* being by the cruelty of *Fimbria* alienated from the *Romans*, *Mithridates*, in order to improve this hatred into an open revolt, commanded his son, by name also *Mithridates*, to join *Taxiles*, *Diophantes*, and *Menander*, three of the most experienced commanders he had, and to return at the head of a numerous army into *Asia*, not doubting but the inhabitants, thus harassed by *Fimbria*, would shake off the *Roman* yoke, when they saw so powerful an army in the field ready to protect them. *Fimbria* distrustful of the *Asiatics*, marched out to meet the enemy, and offer them battle before they entered the province. As the king's army was far superior to his in number, the *Romans* suffered greatly in the engagement, but held out till night parted them, when they withdrew to the opposite side of a river, which was at a small distance from the field of battle. Here they designed to intrench themselves. But in the mean time a dreadful storm arising, *Fimbria* laid hold of that opportunity, and fording the river in the dead of the night, surprized the enemy, and made such a havock of them, as they lay in their tents, that only the commanders and some few troops of horse escaped^h. Among these was the king's son, who attended with a few horse got safe to *Pergamus* where his father resided. But *Fimbria*, pursuing him night and day without intermission, entered *Pergamus* sword in hand; and hearing that both the father and son had fled

*defeats the
king's ge-
nerals.*

^e DIODOR. SICUL. p. 409.

^h MEMNON, c. 38.

(U) *Dio* gives us an instance of his cruelty (32). Having, says he, one day set up some posts, to which he used to cause men to be fastened, and whipt to death, he found that there were more posts provided, than persons condemned to that punishment. Whereupon he commanded some of the spectators to be seized, fastened to the posts and whipt to death, lest they should seem to have been set up to no purpose.

(32) *Dio in excerptis Palæst.* p. 553

from thence a few hours before his arrival, he continued the pursuit, and would have taken the king himself prisoner, had he not thrown himself with a considerable body of horse into *Pritane*. This place *Fimbria* immediately invested, blocking up all the avenues by which the king could make his escape by land; but as he had no ships to intercept his retreat by sea, he dispatched a messenger to *Lucullus*, who commanded the Roman navy in *Asia*, intreating him, as he tendered the welfare of his country, to make what haste he could to *Pritane*, and assist him with his fleet in taking one, who of all the kings in the world was the most cruel and implacable enemy of the people of *Rome*. but *Lucullus*, being swayed by a party-grudge more than by the good of the republic, would not stir out of the harbour, though he might with all ease, as his fleet was riding but at a small distance, at once have put an end to a war, which afterwards cost the people of *Rome* so much blood and treasure. *Fimbria*, finding himself thus disappointed, carried on the siege with all possible vigour, in hopes of making himself master of the town, before the king's fleet could come to his relief. But as the town was well fortified both by art and nature, and defended by a numerous garrison, animated by the king's presence and example, before the Romans could approach the walls, the fleet appeared, and being received with loud shouts of joy, took the king on board, and to the eternal disgrace of *Lucullus*, carried him, without the least molestation, to *Mitylene* ¹.

Fimbria soon after the king's departure took the place by storm, and reduced most of the cities of *Asia*, setting large fines on such as did not voluntarily submit. As he approached the ancient city of *Troy*, the *Trojans* shut their gates against him, and at the same time sent deputies to *Sylla*, declaring, that they were ready to submit to him, and begging his protection against the cruelty and avarice of *Fimbria*. *Sylla* commended them for returning to their ancient alliance with the people of *Rome*, and promised to hasten to their relief, adding, that it was no matter whether they submitted to him, or to *Fimbria*, they being both citizens of *Rome*, and originally descended from the *Trojans*. But at the same time he warned *Fimbria* by a messenger not to molest those who had submitted to him, and on that regard ought to be looked upon as allies of *Rome*. This embassy fired *Fimbria's* haughty temper, who thereupon laying close siege to the town, carried it by storm the eleventh day, bragging, that he had reduced in so short a time a city, which *Agamemnon* had

Takes and
destroys
Troy.

¹ PLUT. in Lucull. & Oros. ubi supra.

not been able to master in less than ten years, though assisted by a fleet of a thousand ships and the whole power of *Greece*. Entering the city he put most of the inhabitants to the sword, not sparing even those who had taken sanctuary in the temple of *Minerva*, which he caused to be burnt with all that were in it. He levelled the walls with the ground, set fire to the houses and temples, and reduced the city to a heap of ashes. He racked and murdered in a most barbarous manner those that had been employed on the embassy to *Sylla*, and in short did not leave one house standing, or one soul alive in the whole town that he could meet with (W).

Mithridates, being thus pressed by *Fimbria* in *Asia*, and by *Sylla* in *Greece*, and his fleet intirely defeated in two sea-engagements by *Lucullus*, began to be weary of the war; and accordingly charged *Archelaus* to strike up a peace with *Sylla* upon as honourable conditions as he could. On the other hand, *Sylla*, hearing of the strange disorders that *Cinna* and *Carbo*, the leading men of the adverse party, committed at *Rome*, was very willing to put an end to the war, and hasten to the relief of his friends, who were daily flocking to him, being banished their country for favouring his cause. Wherefore on the first notice of the king's intention, he went in person to confer with *Archelaus*; who, meeting him at *Apollo's* temple near *Delos*, advised him to return home, and succour his friends at *Rome*, where the opposite faction grew daily stronger by his absence; he offered him what ships, men, and money he pleased, and assured him that the

(W) *Aurelius Victor* (33) says, that *Minerva's* temple stood untouched, being without all doubt, preserved by the goddess herself. But *Julius Obsequens* and *Appian* assure us, that the temple was burnt; and add, that amongst the ruins the famous palladium, which *Diomedes* and *Ulysses* were supposed to have stolen, was found safe and entire. *Servius* (34) tells us, that the palladium was on this occasion discovered by *Fimbria*, and afterwards brought to *Rome*. This second destruction of *Troy*, happened, according to *Appian* (35), in the hundred and seventy third olympiad, a thousand and fifty years after the first; but *Eratosthenes*, *Apollodorus*, and *Diodorus Siculus*, compute a thousand and ninety nine years between the taking of *Troy* by the *Greeks*, and the fourth year of the hundred and seventy-third olympiad, when this desolation by *Fimbria* happened.

(33) *De vir. illustrib* c. 70.
Æneid. (35) *Appian*. p 206.

(34) *Servius in lib. ii.*

king would assist him to the utmost of his power. On the other hand, *Sylla* endeavoured to persuade *Archelaus* to deliver up to him the king's fleet, promising, in case he complied with his request, to place him on the throne of *Pontus*, and honour him with the title of a friend and ally of the people of *Rome*. But *Archelaus* shewing the utmost abhorrency of such an infamous piece of treachery, *Sylla* proposed some preliminaries, one of which was, that *Mithridates* should forthwith withdraw his garisons from all the places that were not possessed by him before the war broke out. This article was agreed to by *Archelaus*, and several places immediately evacuated; but, concerning the others, he wrote to the king to know his pleasure therein. *Mithridates* sent without delay embassadors to *Sylla*, charging them, among other things, to dissuade *Sylla* from insisting on the delivery of *Paphlagonia* and the fleet, which was one of the preliminaries. This put *Sylla* in so violent a passion, that he was with much ado prevailed upon to continue the conferences. But *Archelaus* desiring to be sent to the king, and assuring *Sylla* that he would either dispatch him, or make him conclude a peace upon *Sylla*'s own terms, he was appeased. *Archelaus* was as good as his word; for on his return he acquainted *Sylla*, that the king had submitted to his terms; but at the same time shewed a great desire of having an interview with him before matters were quite settled; which *Sylla* agreeing to, they met at *Dardanus* a city of *Troas*. The king came attended with twenty thousand foot, six hundred horse, and a great many chariots armed with scythes, besides a fleet of six hundred ships. *Sylla* had but two legions with him, and two hundred horse. Both armies being drawn up, *Mithridates* and *Sylla* retired with a small retinue into a neighbouring field. The king coming up to *Sylla*, offered to embrace him, but he stopt him, desiring first to know whether he was willing to conclude a peace upon the terms which *Archelaus* had proposed to him. *Mithridates* at first desired that some alterations might be made, but the *Roman* general so terrified him with his passionate and threatening speech, that he consented without exception to all he required; and then *Sylla* having embraced and kissed him, after mutual expressions of friendship they parted, *Mithridates* retiring into *Pontus*, according to their agreement, and *Sylla* advancing to *Thyatira*, where *Fimbria* lay incamped^d. The conditions of the peace were as follow: that *Mithridates* should relinquish all his conquests, and content himself with his paternal dominions,

A conference between *Sylla* and *Mithridates*.

^d M L M N O N, c. 37. P L U T A R C H. in Syll. A P P I A N. p. 207, 208. were

which were confined within the limits of *Pontus*: that he should forthwith resign *Bithynia* to *Nicomedes*, and *Cappadocia* to *Ariobarzanes*, and release without ransom all the captives and prisoners he had made during the war: that he should pay to the *Romans* two, or, as *Memnon* has it, three thousand talents, and deliver up to *Sylla* eighty ships, with all their arms and ammunition, and five hundred archers: lastly, that he should not any ways molest such cities or persons as had, during the war, revolted from him, and sided with the *Romans*^c. Thus ended the first *Mithridatic* war, to the great disadvantage of the king, and to *Sylla*'s glory, who, in less than three years time, drove him out of *Greece*, *Macedon*, *Ionia*, and the province of *Asia*, confined him within the narrow bounds of his father's kingdom, and killed above a hundred and sixty thousand of his best troops, without losing one thousand of his own.

AND now *Sylla* having no other enemy to contend with, led his army against *Fimbria*, and, having encamped within two furlongs of *Thyatira*, where he lay intrenched, summoned him to deliver up the army, as having taken the command upon him against the known laws of *Rome*. *Fimbria* replied, that his authority was equally usurped: whereupon *Sylla* began to draw a trench, in order to besiege him in his camp, which *Fimbria*'s men perceiving, they openly protested, that they would not by any means imbrue their hands in the blood of their fellow-citizens, and passed over in troops to *Sylla*. *Fimbria*, finding himself no-ways in a condition to oppose *Sylla* by force, had recourse to treachery, and suborned a slave to pass into *Sylla*'s camp as a deserter, and there to stab him; but his heart failing him, and being suspected, by the fear he betrayed, to be sent on some such errand, he was apprehended; and, having openly owned the whole matter, *Sylla*'s men were filled with such indignation, that it was no easy matter to keep them within the camp, every one desiring to revenge such an execrable piece of treachery with the death of the traitor. The plot being discovered, *Fimbria*, not trusting even his own troops, retired with a few of his friends to a strong fort, whence he invited *Sylla* to a parley. *Sylla* refused to see him, but sent one *Rutilius* in his stead to offer him a safe conduct to the sea-side, upon condition he resigned the troops under his command, and abandoned *Asia*. To this offer *Fimbria* made no other reply, than that he knew a more expeditious way to prevent bloodshed; and withdrawing in a violent passion,

A peace concluded.
Year of the Flood,
2914.
Before Christ,
85.

Fimbria
lays violent
hands on
himself
stole

^c MEMNON, ubi supra. PLUT. & APPIAN. ubi supra. LIV l. lxxxiii. VELLEIUS PATER. l. ii c 23.
L. 1 2

stole away to *Pergamus*, where he stabbed himself in the temple of *Esculapius*. But the wound not proving mortal, one of his servants dispatched him at his request, and afterwards killed himself. *Sylla* caused his body to be decently interred, which was so pleasing to his soldiery, that they came over to *Sylla* all to a man †.

Sylla, having now an uncontrouled power in *Asia*, declared the *Chians*, *Rhodians*, *Lycians*, *Magnesiensians*, and *Trojans*, whose city he rebuilt, a free people, and friends of the people of *Rome*, by way of reward for having sided with the *Romans*; but on the other cities he laid heavy fines, condemning them to pay in one year's time twenty thousand talents, and quartering his soldiers in the houses of such as had shewn any disaffection to the *Romans*. Each private man was to receive of his landlord sixteen drachmas a day, and each officer fifty; and besides were to be supplied with provisions, not only for their own sustenance, but to regale such of their friends as they should think fit to invite. By these impositions most of the inhabitants of *Asia* were reduced to beggary, especially the *Ephesiensians*, who had above others exerted their hatred against the *Romans*. The province of *Asia* being thus put out of a condition to revolt, *Sylla*, loaded with immense treasures, set sail for *Italy*, leaving behind him *Lucullus* with the character of quæstor, and *Muræna* with that of prætor (X). He consigned the two legions that had served

† APPIAN. p. 211. LIV. l. lxxxiii. VELLEI. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 24. PLUTARCH. in *Sylla*. AUREL. VICTOR. de viris illustr. c. 70. OROS. l. vi. c. 3.

(X) Amongst other things of great value, *Sylla* brought out of *Asia* several libraries, namely that of *Aristotle*, which he seized on upon the death of *Apellicon* the *Teian*, who had purchased it with an immense sum of money. *Apellicon* was one of the wealthiest men in *Asia*, and grudged laying out his money on any thing except books; but in these he was extravagant to a great degree, outbidding even kings when any valuable purchase offered; for which he ransacked all the public and private libraries of *Asia*, bribing with large sums the librarians to deliver to him by stealth such as were not to be sold. By this means he got a collection of all the most scarce and valuable books that could be purchased. However, like many in our days, he was more pleased with the sight, than the use of them. Having purchased of the heirs of *Nileus Scepsius* the libraries of *Aristotle* and *Theophrastus*, and finding many of the books composed by them greatly damaged and worm-eaten, he undertook to transcribe them, but was often mistaken in

served under *Fimbria* to *Muræna*, suspecting them inclined to *Marius*, whose faction he was going to quash at *Rome*.

Mithridates, returning into *Pontus*, reduced those nations which had revolted during the war, beginning with the *Colchi*, who, upon the approach of his army, offered to submit, provided he would appoint his son *Mithridates* king over them; which was no sooner granted, but they returned to their duty. This raised a diffidence in the king, as if his son's ambition had occasioned that revolt. Whereupon he kept him for some time bound with gold fetters, and afterwards put him to death, without any regard to his eminent services during the war⁸. The *Bosphori* likewise, a very warlike people, had shaken off the yoke, and, in order to reduce them, or at least under that pretence, he began to make such preparations both by sea and land, as raised no small jealousy in the *Romans*; the more, because he had not, according to the articles of agreement, resigned to *Ariobarzanes* the whole and intire possession of *Cappadocia*, but reserved to himself some places of great importance, and had complained of *Archelaus*, as if at his instigation he had granted more to *Sylla* than he ought to have done. This jealousy was encreased by the unexpected arrival of *Archelaus*, who dreading the effects of the king's displeasure, fled for refuge to *Muræna*, and, assuring him that those vast preparations were not designed against the *Bosphori*, prevailed upon him to be before-hand with the king in making war. Having therefore drawn together with all possible expedition his troops, he marched into *Cappadocia* with a design to invade *Pontus*. The king hearing of his motions, dispatched ambassadors to him to put him in mind of the articles of peace, which *Sylla*, whose prætor he was, had agreed to. *Muræna*, who was more inclined to war than peace, in hopes, as *Appian* informs us, of deserving a triumph, replied that he knew nothing of any such articles: for *Sylla* had set nothing down in writing, but contented himself with the execution of what had been agreed upon. Having dismissed the ambassadors with this answer, he began to lay waste

⁸ APPIAN. in *Mithridatic*, p 213, 214.

in filling up the chasms, which made the books that were published by him be looked upon as less correct, though copied from the originals. As *Apellicon* died during the *Mithridatic* war, *Sylla* seized on all his books, and with them enriched his own library at *Rome* (36).

(36) *Plutarch* in *Sylla* *Athenæus* l. v. c. 1. *Strabo*, l. xiii. p. 609. *Lucian*. lib. *adv. indoctum*.

and plunder the country, without sparing even the temples, or the treasures consecrated to the gods. Having put all to fire and sword on the frontiers of *Pontus* towards *Cappadocia*, he passed the river *Halys*, and on that side possessed himself of four hundred villages belonging to the king, without the least opposition, *Mithridates* being unwilling to commit any hostilities before the return of the ambassadors, whom he had sent to *Rome* to complain both to the senate and to *Sylla* of such violent proceedings. The ambassadors returned at last, and with them one *Callidius* sent by the senate, who in a public assembly commanded *Muræna* to forbear molesting a friend and ally of the *Roman* people; but afterwards calling him aside, had a private conference with him, in which some writers suppose, as he brought no decree of the senate, that he encouraged him to pursue the war; at least he continued practising the same hostilities, and even made an attempt upon *Sinope*, the place where the king resided, and the royal treasures were kept. But as the town was well garisoned, he was forced to retire with some loss; and in the mean time *Mithridates* himself, taking the field, appeared at the head of a powerful army on the opposite banks of the river, which he passed in spite of all *Muræna*'s efforts, drove the *Romans* from their camp, and forced them with great slaughter to save themselves over the mountains into *Phrygia*. This sudden and unexpected victory brought many of the cities of *Asia* again to side with *Mithridates*, who having driven the *Romans* quite out of *Cappadocia*, made a great fire on the top of a high hill, and offered after the manner of his country solemn sacrifices to *Jupiter the powerful in war*. But in the mean time *Sylla* being created dictator, and having got all the power into his own hands, he sent *Aulus Gabinius* into *Asia* to charge *Muræna*, in his name, to give over molesting *Mithridates*, whom he had honoured with the title of a friend and ally of *Rome*. No sooner was *Sylla*'s pleasure known to *Muræna*, but he drew off his forces, and abandoned all the places he had taken after the departure of *Sylla*. He was soon after recalled, and *M. Thermus* appointed prætor of *Asia* in his room^b. *Gabinius* was also charged to reconcile *Mithridates* and *Ariobarzanes*; which he did accordingly, *Mithridates*, giving to the *Cappadocian* his own son, about four years old, as an hostage. *Muræna* on his return to *Rome* was honoured with a triumph, and received with loud acclamations, as if he had performed great things.

Mithridates being now quite at leisure, fell upon the *Bosphori*, and having subdued them, appointed *Machares*, one

^b APPIAN. in *Mithridatic*. p. 215. 216. Cic. pro lege Manilia.
of

of his sons, king of that country. From thence he led his army against the *Achæans*, a people bordering on the *Colchi*, and originally descended from the *Greeks*, who on their return from *Troy*, mistaking their way into *Greece*, had settled there. They opposed the king with great resolution, and obliged him to abandon the country with the loss of three parts of his army¹. Being returned into *Pontus* he recruited his army, and made vast preparations with a design to invade them anew; but in the mean time *Sylla* dying, he altered his resolution, and unwilling to lose those countries, which he had delivered up agreeable to the articles of peace concluded with *Sylla*, determined to attempt at all adventures the recovery of them. Having therefore induced *Tigranes* king of *Armenia*, and his son-in-law, to invade *Cappadocia*, he himself, after performing solemn sacrifices to *Jupiter* and *Neptune*, entered *Paphlagonia* with an army of a hundred and twenty thousand foot trained up after the *Roman* discipline, sixteen thousand horse, and a hundred chariots armed with scythes. From *Paphlagonia*, which readily submitted to him, he marched into *Bithynia*, which had been lately bequeathed to the *Romans* by king *Nicomedes*. Neither did he meet here with any opposition, or in the province of *Asia*, which being oppressed with most exorbitant taxes, looked upon him as their deliverer. In entering the cities of *Asia* he made *M. Marius* or *Varius*, whom *Sertorius* had sent him from *Spain* to discipline and command his army, walk before him with the consular ensigns, as if he were the chief magistrate, the king following him like one of his attendants. He made several cities free, but at the same time acquainted them, that they were not indebted to him for their liberty, but to *Sertorius*. Thus by the connivance of *Sertorius*, who was a great opposer of *Sylla's* faction, many cities sided with the king, without knowing that they revolted from the *Romans*. At this time *Julius Cæsar* being at *Rhodes*, whither he had retired to apply himself at leisure to the study of oratory, under the discipline of *Apollonius Molon*, a most eminent teacher of that art, and hearing what havoc the king's officers made in the adjacent countries, gathered together what troops he could, and falling upon them drove them quite out of *Asia*, though he was then but in the twenty fifth year of his age².

By this time the senate being apprized of the king's designs, and finding a new war unavoidable, appointed *Lucullus*, Lucullus sent against Mithridates who was then consul, and having been *Sylla's* legate in *Asia*, was

¹ APPIAN. ubi supra, p. 216. ² SÆRON. in Julio.

was well acquainted with the country, to manage it (Y). *Cotta*, the other consul prevailed upon the senate with much importunity to be likewise employed in that war, and was sent with a fleet to guard the *Propontis* and defend *Bithynia*¹. *Lucullus* having raised one legion in *Italy* passed over with it into *Asia*, where he was joined by four others, two of which, as they had served under *Fimbria*, in a manner uncontrouled, proved at first very mutinous and refractory; the other two were not much better having been long inured to the luxury of *Asia*. The disciplining of these troops kept *Lucullus* some time in a state of inactivity, while all the states of *Asia* were up in arms, and ready to shake off the *Roman* yoke, being on one hand harassed in a most extraordinary manner by the collectors, and on the other invited with great promises to join *Mithridates*, who was advancing with two very numerous armies, and a fleet of four hundred ships of thirty oars, besides a great many smaller vessels, called *penteconteri* and *cercuræ*. One of these armies was ordered to march under the conduct of *Diophantus Matharus*, into *Cappadocia*, and oppose *Lucullus*, if he offered to enter *Pontus* on that side. the other consisting of one hundred and fifty thousand foot, twelve thousand horse, and a hundred chariots armed with scythes, *Mithridates* commanded in person. He had also a third army encamped in the neighbourhood of *Heraclea* in *Pontus* and commanded by *Marius* and *Eumachus*, two generals of great experience in war. *Lucullus*, hearing that the king's fleet was out, commanded *Cotta* to keep his, which was inferior in number, within the harbour of *Chalcedon* while he advanced by land to engage *Mithridates*. *Cotta* followed his injunctions in not venturing out with the fleet, but, at the same time, drawing together what

¹ PLUT in Lucullo. CIC. pro Muræna. MIMNON. c. 39. EUTROP. l. vi.

^f (Y) As *Sylla*, and such officers as served under him, had got great riches in the first *Mithridatic* war, the command of the army was courted by many. But *Lucullus*, at that time consul, having by means of *Præcia*, a common Strumpet, gained *Cethegus*, who bore great sway at *Rome*, was preferred to all others. The province of *Gallia Cisalpina* had fallen to his lot, but that of *Cilicia* being vacant by the death of *Ocarrinus*, he was first by the interest of *Cethegus* promoted to that, and afterwards, as *Cappadocia*, which was in all likelihood to be the seat of the war, lay near *Cilicia*, was charged with the management of the *Mithridatic* war (37).

troops he could, he resolved to be before-hand with him in fighting *Mithridates*, not doubting in the least of the victory. And very unluckily for him it happened, that *Mithridates* bent his rout to *Chalcedon*; which *Cotta* no sooner heard, but he sent *P. Rutilius* his legate with a considerable body to observe his motions. *Rutilius* was met on his march by *Marius* and *Eumachus*, and not declining the engagement, most part of his army was cut in pieces, and he himself slain. The same misfortune befel several other officers of distinction sent out to oppose *Mithridates*, who, being elated with such success, ordered his admiral to sail into the very harbour, and fire the Roman fleet; which he did accordingly, without meeting with the least opposition either from *Cotta* or *Nudus* his admiral, who kept close within the walls of the town, and tamely beheld the enemy burning some of his ships, sinking others, and carrying away the rest, to the number of sixty. The loss of the Romans on this occasion was very considerable. *Plutarch* tells us, that *Cotta* lost in the land engagements four thousand foot^m, and that few of the mariners were saved. *Memnon* says, that both the sea and land were covered with the dead bodies of the Romans, eight thousand of them being slain in the sea-engagement, and four thousand five hundred taken prisoners, and five thousand three hundred of the land-forces, all *Italians*, being either killed or taken prisoners; whereas *Mithridates* lost in all but seven hundred and thirty men^a (Z).

THIS victory and the bad consequences that attended it, most cities of *Asia* being ready to revolt, made *Lucullus* hasten his march. When he came in sight of the king's army, he was surprised to see so numerous a body; and having with him but thirty thousand foot and two thousand five hundred horse, he thought it was most adviseable to decline an engagement; however, there happened frequent skirmishes between the Roman and Pontic cavalry, wherein the former gained no small advantages; which so raised their spirits, a little before quite sunk, that *Lucullus* had much ado to keep them within the trenches, so eager were they for a general engagement.

^m PLUT. ubi supra.^a MEMNON. ubi supra.

(Z) This is the victory which *Mithridates* brags of in a letter to *A. Iaces*, thus; *I have entirely defeated M. Cotta the Roman general near Chalcedon, and stripped him of his fleet in a sea fight* (38).

(38) *Sallust. l. iv.*

(A). *Mithridates* finding that he could not draw *Lucullus* to a battle, and being loth to spend the summer, after so great preparations, without doing any thing, silently decamped in the dead of the night, and by break of day reached the mountain *Adraſtia* or *Dindymus*, which commanded the city of *Cyzicum*. This city was the key of *Aſia*, and greatly addicted to the *Romans*. In the overthrow of *Chalcedon* they loſt three thouſand citizens and ten of their beſt ſhips, and had on all occaſions ſhewn an unalterable attachment to the *Roman* intereſt. *Mithridates*, hoping either to get poſſeſſion of ſo important a place, or to draw *Lucullus* to an engagement, if he offered to relieve it, began the ſiege, and inveſted the city with his whole army by land, and four hundred ſhips by ſea. *Lucullus* having timely notice of the king's retreat, followed him cloſe, and falling upon his rear, killed ten thouſand of his men, and took thirteen thouſand priſoners. After this victory, to encourage the *Cyziceniſians*, he encamped on a riſing ground in ſight of the town ; but *Mithridates*, giving out that *Lucullus* was at a great diſtance, and thoſe they ſaw were ſupplies ſent him by *Tigranes*, they began to be anxious about the *Romans*, and continued in great apprehenſion, till one of *Lucullus's* men, ſwimming in the night through the enemies fleet, got into the city and undeceived them. He delivered to the magiſtrates a letter from *Lucullus*, wherein he acquainted them with his late victory, and aſſured them, that he would not fail to relieve them °. *Lucullus*, in taking a view of the ground where the enemy was encamped, obſerved a mountain, by the gaining of which he might eaſily cut off their communication with the country, and prevent their having any proviſions but what were brought by ſea ; but as there was only one way leading to it, and that

° PLUT. ubi ſupra. STRABO, p. 575, 576.

(A) *Plutarch* tells us (39), that *Lucullus* finding the king's army ſo much ſuperior in number to his own, was at firſt unwilling to venture a battle ; but *Manius* marching up to the very gates of his camp, and challenging him out, he drew up his force, with a deſign to engage ; but as the two armies ſtood facing one another, and expecting the ſignal, the heavens opening all on a ſudden, a large flaming body fell from thence between the two armies, which ſo terrified both parties, that they retired to their reſpective camps. This prodigy, ſays *Plutarch*, happened near *Otryæ* in *Phrygia* (40).

(39) *Plut. ubi ſupra.*

(40) *Plut. ubi ſupra.*

very

very narrow, and guarded by a strong body of the king's forces, he had laid aside all thoughts of so hazardous an attempt, when he was advised by a messenger from *L. Manius* or *Magius*, whom *Sertorius* had sent to conclude a treaty of friendship and alliance between him and *Mithridates*, to remove his camp to the above-mentioned hill, and acquainted, that *Manius* had persuaded the king to withdraw his forces from the narrow passes, and suffer him to encamp where-ever he pleased : and truly *Manius* had made the king believe, that the *Fimbrian* legions, which had formerly served under *Sertorius*, were in a day or two to come over to him, and advised him not to oppose the *Romans* if they offered to pass the streights, which would cost him much blood, since he was sure of the victory without striking a blow. The king, not suspecting any treachery, hearkened to his advice, and even sent out a strong party to meet the *Fimbrian* legions, which, according to agreement, made a shew as if they intended to join him ; but, as the party drew near, the legions unexpectedly falling upon them, cut them in pieces all to a man ^P. Thus *Lucullus* gained that important post, and having cut off the enemy's communication with the country, was supplied in great plenty with all manner of provisions, while they had nothing to depend upon but their fleet, which, as the winter was drawing near, could hardly supply with provisions so numerous an army. This made *Mithridates* double his efforts to reduce the town, which he battered night and day with engines of a new invention, which did great execution (B) ; but the citizens were no less active in defending it, repairing with indefatigable labour by night the breaches made by the king's engines in the day-time. The king finding that it was in vain to batter the walls began to undermine them ; but in this too his efforts were unsuccessful, and he was near being taken

^P MEMNON, C. 42.

(B) Among other engines, *Nicodemus* a *Thessalian* contrived one called *helepolis*, about one hundred cubits high. Upon this they planted a tower stored with all manner of machines for throwing stones of a vast size, which so battered the walls, that the citizens were obliged to labour all night in repairing them. This fatigue they could not have long endured, but a sudden storm of wind arising, the *helepolis* was blown down, and the machines planted on the tower rendered unerviceable ; which proved a great relief to them (41).

(41) *Plut. & Appian ubi supra.*

in one of his mines by the counter-mines of the city. In the mean time winter coming on, the king's army was so distressed for want of provisions, that many died for hunger, and those that lived were forced to feed on the flesh of their dead companions. The famine was followed by a plague, which daily swept away great numbers; insomuch, that *Mithridates*, having now lost all hopes of reducing the city, began to think only of a retreat, which it was no easy matter to effectuate, most of his ships being shattered by storms, and all the passes by land blocked up by the *Romans* (C). The first opportunity that offered was the departure of *Lucullus*, gone with a strong detachment to besiege a castle at some distance. The king laying hold of this occasion, sent away the best part of his horse by night, ordering them not to halt till they were out of the reach of the enemy; but *Lucullus*, receiving timely notice of their march, hastened back, and with ten companies of foot and all his horse, pursued them so close, notwithstanding the excessive cold and deep

(C) *Plutarch Appian, Julius Obsequens*, and others tell us, that *Mithridates* was greatly terrified by the following prodigy, which was related and believed, both by the *Cyziceni*ans and the king's army. In the city they used yearly to sacrifice a black heifer to *Proserpine*; but that year the town being blocked up on all sides, they made one of dough, and brought it to the altar. They no sooner began the ceremony, but the true heifer which was designed for *Proserpine's* festival, and was grazing on the other side of the gulf, threw herself into the sea, and swimming through the enemies fleet, got safe to the mouth of the harbour; there she dived under the chain that obstructed the entry, and passing through the middle of the city, went strait to *Proserpine's* temple, and presented herself before the altar, where she was sacrificed (42). The same authors add, that *Proserpine* appearing in the night-time to *Aristagoras*, the chief magistrate of the city, told him, that she had provided a piper against the pipers, or, as *Plutarch* has it, a *Libyan* piper against the *Pontic* trumpeter. This at first seemed a riddle to the *Cyziceni*ans; but in the mean time a violent wind blowing from *Lybia*, which dispersed the king's fleet, and overturned all his engines, they understood the mysterious saying of the goddess. It was also said, that *Minerva* appeared to many in the city of *Troy*, dropping with sweat, shewing part of her veil tore, and telling them, that she was going to succour the *Cyziceni*ans. The *Trojans*, as *Plutarch* informs us, used to shew the pillars, whereon decrees and letters concerning this miraculous event were engraved.

(42) *Plut. & Appian. ubi supra. Jul. Obseq. de prodigiis*

now,

snow, in which many of his men perished, that he came up with them as they were passing the river *Rhyndacus*, took six hundred horse, with all the beasts of burthen, fifteen thousand men, and put the rest to the sword, most of their horses having died on their march, but a very few got safe into *Bithynia*. On his return he fell in with *Aristonicus* the king's admiral, whom he took prisoner, as he was upon the point of putting to sea with a large sum of money to inveigle the *Roman* army, which he also seized⁹. The king's army before *Cyzicum* being now extremely weakened by the plague, famine, and daily losses, the inhabitants so harassed them with frequent sallies, that *Mithridates* determined to break up the siege, and return with part of his forces by sea, while the others marched by land, under the conduct of *Manius* and *Hermæus*, whom *Sertorius* had sent to head the king's troops. Accordingly the king, in the dead of the night, embarked, and at the same time *Manius* and *Hermæus* marched off with thirty thousand men, making the best of their way to *Lamp-sacus*; but were overtaken by *Lucullus* at the river *Æsopus*, which at that time was not fordable, being greatly swelled by the heavy rains. Twenty thousand were killed on the spot, eleven thousand of which were said to have been sent by *Sertorius*; nor could one man have escaped, had not the *Romans* given over the pursuit to gather the gold and silver, which by the advice of their generals, well acquainted with the *Roman* avarice, they had scattered about on the road, on purpose to retard their pursuit¹. *Lucullus* on his return entered *Cyzicum*, among the loud acclamations of the citizens, who afterwards instituted public sports in honour of him, which they called *Lucullea*. The city he declared free, and the senate heaped upon the inhabitants all the privileges, immunities, and exemptions which were enjoyed by the natives of *Rome* itself. *Plutarch* and *Appian*² tell us, that *Mithridates* lost in all before *Cyzicum* three hundred thousand men, which is also confirmed by *Orosius*³. *Strabo* says, that the king's army consisted but of one hundred and fifty thousand men⁴, of which one hundred thousand, according to *Eutropius* perished in the siege⁵. The king himself, in a letter to *Arfaces*, writes, that he was forced to raise the siege of *Cyzicum*, not on account of any great loss he had sustained, or for fear of

⁹ PLUT. ubi supra. ¹ MEMN. c. 42. POLYB. stratag. l. vii. FLOR. l. iii. c. 5. PLUT. APPIAN ubi supra. OROS. l. v. c. 2. ² PLUT & APPIAN. ubi supra. ³ OROS. l. vi. c. 2.

⁴ STRABO, l. xii. p. 575.

⁵ EUTROP. breviar. l. v.

the enemy, but because he could have no provisions, the country being laid waste all round, partly by his own forces, and partly by the enemies*.

FROM *Cyzicum* *Lucullus* marched with his army along the coast of the *Hellepont*, and arriving at *Troas*, equipped his fleet there, and put to sea in chace of *Manius Alexander*, and *Dionysius*, three of the king's generals, who were roving up and down the sea, with a fleet of fifty ships, and ten thousand land-forces on board (D). He came up with them near the island of *Lemnos*, took thirty two of the king's ships, and put great part of the land-forces to the sword. The day after the engagement the three generals were discovered in a cave where they had concealed themselves, and dragged from thence to *Lucullus*, who, after having severely upbraided *Manius* for fighting against his country, caused him to be put to death. Before the battle, he had given orders to his soldiers not to kill any that had but one eye, meaning *Manius*, who had lost an eye, not that he designed to save him, but because he was willing to reproach him with his ignominious behaviour before he put him to death. *Alexander* and *Dionysius* were reserved for the triumph; but the latter prevented that disgrace by a dose of poison†. From *Lemnos* *Lucullus* steered his course to *Bithynia*, upon intelligence that *Mithridates* had appeared with his fleet on those coasts; but the king having timely notice of his design, made what haste he could to gain *Pontus* and arrived at *Heraclea* on board of a pirate, by name *Selemus*, with whom he was forced to trust himself, his fleet being dispersed by a violent storm, and the ship that carried him cast away (E).

WHILE

* SALLUST. l. iv. histor.

† PLUT. APPIAN. ubi supra.

(D) *Plutarch* and *Appian* tell us (43), that at *Troas* *Venus* appearing to him in his sleep, addressed him with the following verse:

Τὶ κνώσσεις μεγάθυμेलέων, νεβροῖδε τοι ἐγγυΐ;

that is, *Why do you sleep, stout lion, while the javens are so near you?* The same authors add, that while he was relating his dream to his friends, news was brought him, that thirteen of the king's ships had appeared off of *Troy*, steering their course to *Lemnos*; whereupon he immediately set sail, took all the ships, and killed *Isodorus* the king's admiral.

(E) *Dio* writes, that *Mithridates* was twice shipwrecked as he was

(43) *Plut* & *Appian*. ubi supra

sailing

WHILE *Lucullus* was thus chasing *Mithridates* out of the sea, his commanders were no less successful by land. *Triarius*, sent by him to besiege *Apamea*, reduced that place. From *Apamea* he marched to *Pesura*, situated near mount *Olympus*, which he took by storm, and plundered. The strong and important city of *Prusa* likewise submitted to the conqueror, after having obliged the king's garison to withdraw. *Nicæa* followed the example of the others, the *Pontics* having abandoned the city on the first news of the approach of the *Romans*². From *Prusias* *Triarius* marched with all possible expedition to join *Cotta*, who lay encamped near *Nicomedia*, where the king himself at that time resided; but before the two armies were joined, *Mithridates* found means to make his escape, first to *Heraclea*, which was betrayed to him by one *Lamachus*, and thence to *Sinope* (F).

Lucullus, having now reduced all *Paphlagonia* and *Bithynia*, marched through *Cappadocia*, and joined *Cotta* and *Tri-*

² MEMN. c. 43. & 49. APPIAN. p. 223. OROS. l. vi. c. 3.

failing to *Pontus*, and that he lost in both wrecks sixty ships, and ten thousand men. *Mithridates* himself, in a letter to *Arfaces*, says, that he lost the flower of his troops by two shipwrecks, the one at *Para*, the other at *Heraclea* (44). *Orosius* tells us, that while *Mithridates* was sailing against *Byzantium*, (whither, *Eutropius* says, he was chased by *Lucullus*) he lost by a sudden storm eighty ships armed with brazen beaks, and many of his men; and *Florus*, that his whole fleet, with all manner of stores for the *Pontic* war, was dispersed, and one hundred ships lost.

(F) *Lamachus* was the chief magistrate of *Heraclea*; but being bribed with a large sum, promised to deliver up the city to *Mithridates*; and accordingly having invited the citizens to a very magnificent entertainment without the walls of the town, while they were in the height of their revels, privately acquainted *Mithridates*, that the gates were open, and none of the citizens in a condition to oppose him. The king arrived the same night, and entering the city without opposition, secured it with a garison of four thousand men, under the command of *Connacoriges*, an officer of great experience. Next day he summoned the magistrates, and in a friendly manner encouraged them to stand by him, since he had no other design in what he had done but to protect them against the *Romans* (45).

(44) *Sallust. l. 4. histor.*

(45) *Mem: c. 44.*

rius at *Nicomedia*, with a design to invade *Pontus*; but hearing that *Heraclea* was in the king's hands, and supposing that the citizens had submitted to him of their own accord, he altered his plan, and detached *Cotta* against *Heraclea*. *Triarius* was ordered with the fleet to the *Hellepont* and *Propontis*, to intercept the king's fleet, which was daily expected from *Spain* with new supplies from *Sertorius*. *Lucullus* himself, with the main strength of the army, pursued his march into *Pontus* ². His army was greatly harassed, especially in the narrow passes between *Cappadocia* and *Pontus*, by flying parties of the enemy; but more for want of provisions, the country being all about laid waste by the king's troops; in-somuch, that *Lucullus*, having lost almost all his beasts of burthen, was obliged to take along with the army thirty thousand *Galatians*, each of them carrying a sack of corn on his back. At last he gained the plains of *Pontus*, a rich country and so stored with all manner of provisions, that an ox was sold in the camp for a drachma, and every thing else as cheap in proportion. *Lucullus* having refreshed his soldiers, and finding no army of the king's in the field, divided his forces, and at the same time invested *Amisus*, a very strong town; *Eupatoria*, which *Mithridates* had built and made the place of his residence, and *Themiscyra*, situated on the banks of the river *Thermodon*; *Eupatoria* was soon taken; but *Themiscyra* made a vigorous resistance. The townsmen gauged the *Romans* with their engines to such a degree, that not daring to approach the walls openly, they contented themselves with undermining them; but in this too they met with no small difficulty from the enemy, who often engaged them under ground, and let into their mines bears and other wild beasts, with swarms of bees, which obliged them to abandon their works; however, the town was at last obliged to surrender for want of provisions, and the hard duty, which the *Romans* had undergone with great cheerfulness, was rewarded with a rich booty. As for the city of *Amisus*, *Lucullus* himself sat down before it; but as the town was very strong in itself, and defended by a numerous garison, the flower of the king's troops, he thought it adviseable to spare his men, and reduce it by famine; and on this occasion it was that the *Romans* first complained of their general, as if he spun out the war, on purpose to be continued in the command of the army; which charge, as we shall afterwards see, was not quite groundless. While he lay before *Amisus*, *Mithridates*

² PLUT. ubi supra. MEMN. c. 45. EUTROP. l. vi.

advancing

advancing to *Cabira*, a city not far distant from *Amisus*, was there joined by forty thousand foot and four thousand horse. *Lucullus* hearing of the king's approach, left *Muræna*, the son of that *Muræna* whom *Sylla* had appointed prætor of *Asia*, with two legions to continue the siege, and marched himself with the rest of the army thro' the mountains to meet the king (G). *Mithridates* had placed one *Phænix* of the blood royal with a considerable body in the narrow passes, injoining him to give notice by fires of the approach of *Lucullus*, and defend the straits till he came up with his whole army to relieve him; but *Phænix* was so far from opposing *Lucullus*, that he joined him; however, the king, being by other parties informed of the enemy's motions, passed the river *Lycus*, and meeting *Lucullus* in the champain country, proffered him battle, which he declined at first, but was soon after drawn to a general engagement of the horse, wherein the *Romans* were driven back to the mountains with considerable loss, *Pompeius*, or, as some call him, *Pomponius*, general of their horse, being taken, and many officers of great distinction killed on the spot (H). *Mithridates*, flushed with this success, drew up his army in battalia for several days successively; but finding that *Lucullus* kept on the mountains, he began to make the necessary dispositions for marching up to him; which *Lucullus* fearing decamped in the night-time, and being conducted by one *Apollodorus* a *Greek*, whom he found with others of the same nation concealed in a cave, got through the mountains, and by break of day

(G) *Tully*, in his oration for this *Muræna*, tells us, that he was legate to *Lucullus* during the *Mithridatic* war, that he led armies, fought battles, defeated the enemy's forces, besieged and took many towns; that he so behaved himself in *Asia*, at that time a rich country, and greatly corrupted with luxury, as not to betray the least inclination to avarice or luxury; and that he performed many noble exploits without the general's assistance, but the general none without his (46).

(H) *Pompeius* being brought to *Mithridates* dangerously wounded, the king asked him, whether he would become his friend, if he granted him his life? *Pompeius* answered, that he should be his friend, if he concluded a peace with the people of *Rome*; but if he persisted to make war upon them, he should continue to be his enemy. This answer provoked the barbarians to such a degree, that they would have cut him in pieces, had not the king protected him, saying, that he would not suffer cruelty to be practised upon valour, merely because unfortunate (47).

(46) *Cic. pro Muræn.*
VOL. IX.

(47) *Plut. & Appian. ubi supra.*
N n pitched

pitched his camp on a rising ground near the city of *Cabira*, where he well knew the enemy could not force him to an engagement ^b. *Mithridates* followed him, and encamped at a small distance ; but thought it adviseable not to attack him in his camp. While both armies were in this posture, a party from the king's camp passing close to that of the *Romans* in pursuit of a deer, some *Roman* soldiers running out, stopped their chace. This bred a quarrel, and many flocking from both camps to relieve their companions, the *Romans* were forced to give way ; which *Lucullus* observing, went out alone to meet them, and having stopped the foremost in the flight, marched back with them against the enemy, whom he put to flight, and pursued to the very camp, fighting himself the whole time in the first rank. On his return to the camp, he stripped those who had fled of their arms, and commanded them, according to his custom, to dig a trench twelve foot wide, the rest of the army standing by and looking on ^c.

BUT now provisions grew very scarce in the *Roman* camp, which obliged *Lucullus* to divide his army, and detach great parties into *Cappadocia*, the only place from whence he could have supplies. *Taxiles* and *Diophantus*, two of the king's generals, were encamped on the frontiers of that country, in order to cut off its communication with the *Romans*. These suffered *Adrianus* with a considerable body of foot to enter *Cappadocia*, in hopes of intercepting him and the convoys on his return ; which they might easily have done, had they fallen upon him in the plain country ; but as they attacked him in the straits of the mountains, where there was no room for their horse to engage, they were utterly routed, first on the mountains, and then in the plains, where there ensued a bloody engagement, the *Romans* being reinforced with a fresh body from the camp, and the king's men fighting with great courage and resolution, till their commanders disheartened them by their flight. The king, upon the news of this defeat, resolved to break up his camp and retire, not questioning but *Lucullus*, upon the return of his troops, would attack him. This resolution he no sooner imparted to his nobles, but they began privately to send away their most valuable goods ; which the soldiers finding out, and taking it unkindly that no notice had been given them, plundered their baggage, and put those that escorted them to the sword. On this occasion *Dorylaus*, one of the king's generals, was killed for a purple garment which he wore, and *Hermæus*, a famous

^b PLUT. AFRICAN. ubi supra.

^c PLUT. ubi supra.

soothsayer.

soothsayer, trod to death in the crowd. After this the soldiers betook themselves to a precipitous flight, crowding out of the gates in the utmost confusion, which the king perceiving, hastened to stop their flight; but no one shewing him the least respect, he was carried away with the crowd, and falling down, was very near being trod to death ^d in the throng. Being thus forsaken by his army, he retired with a small retinue, first to *Cabira*, and thence into *Armenia* to *Tigranes* his son-in-law (I), and not into *Iberia*, as is falsely related by *Josephus* ^e. *Lucullus* having at the same time received news of the victory of his parties, and of the disorderly flight of the enemy, sent the best part of his horse to pursue them, and himself marched against those, who not having time to make their escape, had remained in the camp, and had put themselves in a posture of defence. These he surrounded with his legions, but most of them made their escape, the Romans being busied, contrary to the general's orders, in plundering the camp, where they found a rich booty. Having taken the camp, *Lucullus* made what haste he could in pursuit of the king, who being overtaken by a company of *Galatians*, caused a mule loaded with part of his treasures to be driven in amongst them, and made his escape while they were intent upon the booty, and quarrelling among themselves ^f (K) about the division of the spoils. *Mithridates*, remembering in his flight, that he had left his sisters, wives and concubines, at *Pharnacia*, dispatched *Bacchus*, or *Bacchides*, an eunuch, with orders to put them all to death, lest they

Mithridates, being forsaken by his army, retires into Armenia.

^d PLUT. ubi supra. ^e JOSEPH. l. xiii. c. 24. ^f MEMN. c. 46. PLUT. & APPIAN. ubi supra.

(I) *Appian* says, that he fled first to the mountains, and thence through by-ways into *Armenia*. *Plutarch* writes, that he was carried out of the camp by the throng, and that one *Ptolemy* an eunuch, seeing him tossed to and fro in the crowd, with manifest danger of his life, proffered him his horse, and thereby enabled him to make his escape before *Lucullus* came up (48).

(K) Of the king's escape *Tully* writes thus: *Mithridates*, in his flight out of *Pontus*, left behind a great deal of gold and silver, part whereof he had received of his ancestors, and part raked together during his first war in *Asia*, and carried into his own kingdom. While our men were busied in the plunder, the king slipped out of their hands.

(48) *Appian. ubi supra. Memn c. 46*

should fall into the enemies hands ; which was done accordingly (L).

*The cities
of Pontus
submit to
Lucullus.*

Lucullus, finding it was in vain to pursue *Mithridates* any farther, returned to his camp, and thence marched against the city of *Cabira*, which surrendered upon conditions. The example of *Cabira* was followed by most of the strong holds of *Pontus*, the king's governors flocking from all parts to tender their service to the conqueror. Among these was the grandfather of *Strabo* the geographer, whom the king had disobliged, by putting to death *Tibias*, his cousin-german, and his son *Theophilus*. He was a man of such credit, that it was no sooner heard he had abandoned the king's party, but fifteen other commanders delivered up to *Lucullus* the places which they had been intrusted with ^s. And thus was *Pontus*, hitherto inaccessible to any enemy, laid open to the *Roman* legions ^b (M). At the same time *Triarius*, who was sent, as we have mentioned above, to intercept the king's fleet, obtained a complete victory near the island of *Tenedos*, where he either took or sunk sixty ships, whereby the great fleet which the king had brought with him into *Asia* was intirely destroyed.

^s STRABO, l. xii. p. 557.
Archia.

^b CIC. pro lege Manilia & pro

(L) When *Bacchus* acquainted them with his commission, *Moxima*, one of the king's wives, by birth a *Milesian*, attempted to dispatch herself with the bands of her diadem ; but they soon breaking, she threw down the diadem, and treading on it, said, O ! thou cursed diadem, art thou not serviceable even for this use ? and then presented her bare neck to *Bacchides*. *Berenice*, another of his wives, and her mother, ended their days by a dose of poison, as did the king's two sisters, *Roxana* and *Statira*. *Roxana*, before she took the potion, inveighed against her brother with many curses and reproaches ; but *Statira*, with many kind expressions, thanked her brother for the regard he had shewn for them, in taking care, while himself was in great danger, that they should die free, and by their death prevent the dishonourable treatment which they had reason to expect from a proud and insulting enemy (49).

(M) *Mithridates*, in a letter to *Arfaces*, puts this varnish upon his flight : “ I recruited my army, says he, at *Cabira*, and after many sharp engagements between the *Romans* and me, we were both distressed for want of provisions. The *Romans* were supplied by *Ariobarxanes* king of *Cappadocia* ; but I was obliged to retire into *Armenia*, the whole country where I was encamped being laid waste by the enemies and my own forces (50) ”.

(49) *Plut. ubi supra.*

(50) *Sallust. l. iv. histor.*

Cotta

Cotta was all this time employed in the siege of *Heraclea*, and had made but small progress. He made several assaults ; but was always repulsed with great loss. His engines did no execution on the walls, which so incensed him, that he caused most of them to be burnt, and the engineer who contrived them to be put to death. After this, leaving part of his army before the town, to prevent their receiving any supplies, he encamped in the *Lycæan* fields, a plentiful country, with a design to refresh his army, and return before the town, which was now reduced to great straits for want of provisions, and on account of the intestine quarrels between the townsmen and the garison. Having refreshed his soldiers, he returned to the siege ; but found the town plentifully supplied by sea with all manner of necessaries, and in a better condition to hold out a long siege, than it was when he first invested it. Hereupon, despairing ever to reduce it alone, he sent orders to *Triarius* to assist him with his fleet, and block up the city by sea, as he had done by land. *Triarius* was very willing to undertake this task, being now quite disengaged ; and having on his first arrival defeated the *Heraclæan* fleet, brought the town in a few months to such straits, that the third part of the garison died for hunger ; whereupon *Conacorex*, governor of the place, resolved to purchase his own safety at the expence of the townsmen, and marching out in the night-time, as he had agreed with *Triarius*, delivered one of the gates to the *Romans*, who, entering the city *Heraclea* sword in hand, exercised all manner of cruelty on the abandoned and helpless inhabitants. *Cotta*, who lay encamped at some distance from the city, hearing it was taken and plundered by *Triarius* (for *Conacorex* had not imparted his design to him, knowing he was a man not to be relied on) flew into a passion at seeing himself bereaved both of the rich booty, and the glory of reducing a place which had kept him employed two whole years, and marching in all haste to the city, fell upon the *Romans*, who were busy in plundering, which would have occasioned a great deal of bloodshed, had not *Triarius* interposed, and put an end to the scuffle, by promising *Cotta* and his men an equal share of the booty. *Conacorex*, after marching out of *Heraclea*, to conceal his treachery, seized on two forts belonging to the *Romans*, *Teium* and *Amastus* ; which *Triarius* being sent to recover, *Cotta*, in his absence, plundered the city anew, rifled and stripped the temples, which the other had spared, put all the citizens he could meet to the sword, and having secured on board of his ships all the statues, pictures, gold and silver vessels of the temples, all the rich furniture of the private houses, and whatever

whatever else was worth carrying away, for his last farewell commanded his soldiers to set fire to the city in several places, which in a short time reduced it to a heap of ashes. Thus was *Heraclea*, one of the richest and most famous cities of *Pontus*, taken, after having held out a siege of two years ⁱ. *Conacorex* delivered the two places he had seized to *Triarius*, who suffered him to retire without molestation. And *Cotta*, having no further use for his troops, dismissed the auxiliaries, resigned the legions to *Lucullus*, and himself put to sea with his fleet on his return to *Rome*; but he had scarce got out of the harbour, when part of his ships, being over-freighted with the spoils of the city, sunk; and the others were by a violent north wind dashed against the shore, which occasioned the loss of great part of the booty ^k. On his return to *Rome* he was highly applauded by the senate, and honoured with the title of *Ponticus*.

Amisus
taken.

Lucullus having now reduced *Pontus*, marched against the *Chaldeans*, *Tibarenians*, and the inhabitants of *Armenia Minor*, who, of their own accord, submitted, and put him in possession of all their strong holds. From *Armenia* he led his forces to the sea-side, and returned before *Amisus*, which still held out, *Callimachus*, governor of the place, having harassed the *Romans*, with engines of his own contriving, to such a degree, that they had given over assaulting the town, and contented themselves with blocking it up by land, tho' the garison was at the same time supplied with all manner of provisions by sea. *Lucullus*, on his arrival, summoned the garison to surrender, and offered them very honourable terms; which they refusing to comply with, after encouraging his soldiers, he made a general assault at the time when *Callimachus* used to draw off great part of his troops to give them some respite. The *Romans* applying their scaling ladders, got over the wall before *Callimachus* could come to the assistance of those he had left to guard it; however, by setting the city on fire, he found means in that confusion to make his escape. *Lucullus*, out of pity to the perishing city, commanded part of his men to stand to their arms, and the others to use their utmost endeavours in quenching the fire; but the soldiers neglecting the houses, saved only the furniture, and such things as they could carry off, whereby the city was in great part destroyed, to the grief of *Lucullus*, who designed to save it, and shew the same favour to the *Amisians*, that *Sylla* had done to the *Athenians*. The fire was at last quenched by a violent and unexpected shower; and *Lucullus* having,

ⁱ M. MN. C. 51, 53, 54.

^k Idem, ibid.

with much ado, restrained his soldiers from committing any further hostilities on the citizens, repaired the city in great measure before he left it, and suffered the inhabitants peaceably to enjoy their houses and lands ¹. Some years after *Lucullus* having besieged *Nisibis*, or, as the *Greeks* call it, *Antiochia Mygdonica*, defended likewise by *Callimachus*, under *Guras*, brother to *Tigranes* king of *Armenia*, would hearken to no conditions, till *Callimachus* was delivered up to him; and having him in his power, revenged the destruction of *Amisus* with his death, notwithstanding he offered to discover great sums of money concealed under ground, if he would grant him his life ^m.

AND now *Lucullus* having reduced all *Pontus*, and made it a province of the *Roman* empire, and settled all *Asia* with excellent laws, sent *Appius Claudius*, his wife's brother, ambassador into *Armenia*, to demand of *Tigranes* the delivery of *Mithridates*, as belonging to his triumph; and in case of refusal, to proclaim war against him. From the time *Mithridates* had sheltered himself in *Armenia*, *Tigranes*, his son-in-law, had promised to protect his person, and had not been wanting in any duties of hospitality; but could by no means ever be prevailed upon to see him, or treat with one who had lost so great a kingdom (N). To this embassy *Tigranes* replied, that he was far from approving the conduct of *Mithridates*; but however, as he was so nearly related to him, the demand of the *Romans* seemed pretty extraordinary, neither could he with any reputation comply with it, since all the world would look upon him as a very mean-spirited prince, if he should, for fear of an enemy, deliver up to punishment his father-in-law. Having with this answer dismissed the *Roman* ambassador, he sent for *Mithridates*, and condescended to see him for the first time, after he had resided a year and eight months in his dominions. In a private conference held by the two kings, it was agreed, that *Tigranes* should march a-

Tigranes
refuses to
deliver up
Mithrida-
tes.

¹ PLUT. ubi supra, & MEMN. c. 47. ^m PLUT. ubi supra, & DIO. l. xxxv.

(N) *Plutarch* says, that he received him with great scorn and contempt, and confined him to a barren and unwholesome country (51). But *Memnon* assures us, that he assigned him one of his castles for his residence, a princely table, and a retinue suitable to his former condition, tho' he could never be induced to admit him to his presence (52).

(51) *Plut. ubi supra.* (52, *Memn. c. 48.*

gainst

Is defeated
by Lucul-
lus.

gainst the *Romans*, and *Mithridates* with ten thousand horse return into *Pontus*, and, levying there what forces he could, rejoin *Tigranes*, before *Lucullus*, who was then employed at the siege of *Sinope*, could enter *Armenia*; but in the mean time *Sinope* (O) having surrendered, *Lucullus*, with all possible expedition, marched against *Tigranes*, and having drawn him to a general engagement, entirely defeated his army before he was joined by *Mithridates*, who heard the first news of his overthrow as he was marching with a considerable body to his assistance. Soon after he met *Tigranes* himself, flying

(O) *Sinope* was held by a body of *Cilicians* of the king's party, commanded by one *Cleochares*, as *Orosius* calls him, or *Bacchis*, as *Strabo* names him. *Cleochares* finding the city reduced to great straits, massacred most of the citizens, plundered the city, and set it on fire, retiring in the night-time with the spoils to the inner part of *Pontus*, inhabited by the *Sanegians* and *Lazians*. *Lucullus* observing the town all in a flame, and not doubting but the *Cilicians* had abandoned it, commanded the soldiers to scale the walls; and having entered the town without opposition, put to the sword eight thousand of the king's party, who had not had time to embark with the others. The fire was with much ado quenched by the *Romans*, and the citizens not only spared, but, as they were well affected to the republic, restored to the quiet possession of their lands and houses, and declared a free people (53). *Plutarch* and *Appian* inform us, that *Lucullus* was moved by a vision to shew so great favour to the city of *Sinope*; for as he was sleeping, say they, in his tent, one appearing to him, spoke these words; *Go forward, Lucullus, for Autolychus is coming to meet you*. When he awaked, he observed the city in a flame; and tho' he did not understand the meaning of the words he had heard, yet he advanced to the walls; and having taken the city, found on the shore, whither he pursued the *Cilicians*, a statue of exquisite workmanship, carefully wrapped up, and bound with cords, which the enemy had not been able to ship off, as they intended to do, had not *Lucullus*, awaked by this vision, pursued them so close. When the statue was unfolded, *Lucullus* was not a little surprised to find it resembling in every feature the person that had appeared to him in his dream; and, upon examination, learnt, that it was the statue of *Autolychus*, founder of *Sinope*. When *Lucullus* heard this, he recollected, say our authors, what *Sylla* had left in his commentaries, viz. that nothing is more certain, or more to be relied upon, than dreams (54). This statue, which was the work of *Stbenides*, *Lucullus* carried along with him, and a curious sphere made by *Billarus*. All other ornaments and things of value he restored to their lawful owners.

(53) *Memn. c. 56. Plut. Appian. ubi supra. Oros. l. vi.*
(54) *Plut & Appian. ubi supra.*

with a small retinue to shelter himself in some remote corner of his kingdom. *Mithridates* encouraged him to raise new forces, not questioning but another campaign would repair all the former losses, provided he would commit to his charge the whole management of the war; which *Tigranes* agreeing to, as thinking him more fit to deal with the *Romans* than himself, orders were issued out for raising a new army, and all the *Armenians* able to bear arms summoned to meet at the place of the general rendezvous. Out of these *Mithridates* chose seventy thousand foot and thirty five thousand horse, and having trained them up during the winter, after the *Roman* discipline, in the beginning of the spring he left part of them with *Tigranes*, and marched himself with the rest into *Pontus*, where he recovered many important places, and overcame in a pitched battle *M. Fabius*, whom *Lucullus* had appointed governor of that province ^a(P). Being flushed with this success, as soon as the wounds he received in the engagement suffered him to move, he pursued *Fabius*, and besieged him in the city of *Cabira*, whither he had retired; but in the mean time *Triarius*, who was marching out of *Asia* to join *Lucullus*, hearing what distress the *Romans* were in, hastened to their relief, and appearing unexpectedly on the neighbouring hills, struck such terror into the enemy that they raised the siege, and made the best of their way into *Cappadocia*. *Triarius* pursued them, and got so near them as to be parted only by a river. Here he halted, with a design to pass the river after he had allowed his men some rest; for they were tired out with long

^a DIO, & APPIAN. ubi supra.

(P) This victory he gained by the treachery of the *Thracians* that served under *Fabius*, and of the slaves that followed the *Roman* camp; for *Fabius* marching carelessly and in disorder, upon the report of some *Thracian* scouts, that the king was at a great distance, fell in with him unawares, and at the same time the *Thracians* revolting, he was obliged to retire with the loss of five hundred men. In his retreat the slaves, who were very numerous in the *Roman* camp, being inticed by *Mithridates* with hopes of their liberty and great rewards, fell unexpectedly on the *Romans*, who would have been all cut in pieces, had not the king himself fallen from his horse, having received two dangerous wounds, one on the knee with a stone, the other under his eye with a dart; for while the enemy were busy in carrying him off, the *Romans*, laying hold of that opportunity, retired unmolested (55).

(55) DIO, & APPIAN. ubi supra.

Mithridates
defeated
by Triarius.

marches. But *Mithridates* was before-hand with him, and crossing the river on a bridge, where he had placed a strong guard, attacked the *Romans* with great resolution, before they had time to refresh themselves. The battle was bloody and the event doubtful, till the bridge breaking down with the weight of the multitude that passed, the kings troops who had engaged, relying chiefly on their numbers, began to lose courage, seeing they could receive no further assistance ; and the *Romans* charging them with fresh vigour, they betook themselves to a precipitate flight. After this engagement, as winter came on, both armies were glad to retire to their winter-quarters °.

DURING the winter *Mithridates* raised new forces, and having received considerable supplies from *Tigranes*, took the field early in the spring, in hopes of driving the *Romans* quite out of *Pontus*, before *Lucullus*, who had work enough on his hands in *Armenia*, could come to their assistance. With this view he marched straight against *Triarius* and *Sornatius*, to whom *Lucullus* had committed the care and defence of that province ; and finding them encamped near the city of *Gaziurfa*, proffered them battle ; which they declining he sent a strong detachment to besiege a castle where the *Romans* had left all their baggage, hoping they would rather venture an engagement to relieve the place, than lose all they had got with so much toil and labour during the war ; neither was he disappointed in his hopes ; for tho' *Triarius* was for keeping close in his camp till the arrival of *Lucullus*, whom he daily expected, having acquainted him with his danger, the soldiers hearing that the castle was besieged, declared in a tumultuous manner, that if he did not lead them, they would march to the relief of the place without his leave. *Triarius* being thus forced, not by the enemy, but his own men, to fight, drew out his forces against the king, whose army was three times his number ; but while they were upon the point of engaging, both armies were by a violent storm forced to retire to their respective camps ; but *Triarius* receiving that very day intelligence of the approach of *Lucullus*, and fearing he would snatch the victory out of his hands, resolved to make a bold push, and next morning by break of day attack the king in his camp. If he conquered, the glory, he thought, would be intirely his own ; if he were overcome, the enemy could reap no great advantage from his victory, *Lucullus* being at hand with a powerful army.

° DIO, & APPIAN. ubi supra.

The king, in that surprise, putting himself at the head of a few troops of his guards, sustained the brunt of the Romans, till the rest of his army drawing up, came to his relief, and attacked the enemy with such fury, that the Roman foot was forced to give way, and was driven into a morass, where they were surrounded, and great numbers of them cut in pieces. Their horse were likewise put to flight, and pursued with great slaughter, till a Roman centurion in the king's service, pitying his country-men, attempted to kill him. The king's life was saved by his breast-plate; but as he received a deep wound in the thigh, he was obliged to give over the pursuit, himself, and those that were about him caused the retreat to be sounded, which, as it was unexpected, occasioned a great confusion in the whole army. The centurion was immediately cut in pieces; but the Roman horse in the mean time, getting the start of the enemy, found means to make their escape. Above seven thousand of the Romans were killed in that battle, and among them one hundred and fifty centurions, and twenty four tribunes, the greatest number of officers that had been lost in any engagement to that day. *Mithridates*, being cured of his wound, that he might not for the future be exposed to such dangers, caused all the Romans that served in his army to be formed into one body, as if they were to be sent out on a party, and then ordered them to retire to their tents, where they were all to a man cut in pieces ^P (Q).

THE

^P APPIAN. PLUT. DIO, ubi supra.

(Q) *Appian* says, that this battle happened near mount *Scotius*, a place, says he, ever memorable for the victory of *Mithridates*, and defeat of the Romans (56). *Hirtius* likewise, in his commentaries on the war of *Alexandria*, mentions this overthrow of the Romans, and tells us, that it happened at a place about three miles distant from the town of *Zela* in *Pontus*. *Tully*, in his oration for the *Manilian* law, which he pronounced about half a year after that misfortune beset the Roman army, speaks of it thus: "The army was courageous and victorious; but *Mithridates* fell upon them. Suffer me in this place, like those who write of the Roman affairs, to pass over in silence the misfortunes, which were so great, that *Lucullus* received not the tidings of them by any messenger from the fight, but by common fame and report." And in another place of the same oration, "Having received that overthrow in *Pontus*, says he, which I put you in mind of against my will, our friends and allies being terrified,

(56) *Appian*. p. 254.

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mans mn-
tiny against
Lucullus.

THE king, however elated with success, yet would not engage *Lucullus*; but with long marches hastened into *Armenia Minor*, and encamped upon a hill near the town of *Talura*, expecting *Tigranes*, who was advancing with a strong army to join him. *Lucullus*, in pursuit of *Mithridates*, marched over the field of battle, leaving those unburied who had fallen in the engagement, which was the first thing that alienated the minds of the soldiery from him⁹; who began to be very mutinous, being stirred up by *Appius Claudius*, whom *Lucullus* had turned out of his command for his vile behaviour, notwithstanding he was nearly related to him, *Lucullus* having married his sister. The discontent that prevailed in the army came to such a height, that *Lucullus* was obliged to lie still in his camp all that summer, the soldiers declaring in a mutinous manner, that they would not follow him any longer, nor serve under a general who refused to share the booty with them, taxing thereby *Lucullus* with covetousness; which charge was not altogether groundless, for he amassed immense riches during that war, and was suspected at *Rome* of spinning it out, that he might be continued in the government of *Asia*. These complaints, and the general discontent that reigned in the army, obliged the senate to recall *Lucullus*, and appoint *Manius Acilius Glabrio*, consul of that year, in his room. *Glabrio* arriving in *Bithynia*, gave notice by public criers to all the cities, that the senate had discharged *Lucullus* and his army, and confiscated his goods for protracting the war, and refusing to comply with their injunctions. Hereupon *Lucullus* was abandoned by the greater part of his army and forced to retire into *Galatia*, not being in a condition to make head against the joint forces of the two kings, who, laying hold of that opportunity, recovered the best part of *Pontus*, *Bithynia*, *Cappadocia*, and *Armenia Minor*; for tho' *Glabrio* had hastened into *Pontus*, as if he intended to engage the enemy, and rob *Lucullus* of the victory, yet, upon the first news of the ap-

⁹ PLUT. in Lucullo.

“ the power and courage of our enemies increased, and the pro-
“ vince having no strength to rely upon, *Asia* had been lost, O
“ *Romans*, had not fortune, in that critical juncture of time, brought
“ *Pompey*, as it were from heaven, to the relief of those countries.
“ His presence stopped *Mithridates*, tho' swelled with success, and
“ deterred *Tigranes* from invading *Asia*, which he threatened with a
“ powerful army (57).

(57) Cic. in orat. pro lege Manil.

proach

proach of the two kings, he thought fit to retire, and leave the country open on all sides to the enemy. When this was heard at *Rome*, a law was enacted there by *C. Manilius*, a tribune of the people, whereby the management of their war against *Mithridates* and *Tigranes* was committed to *Pompey*, and likewise the provinces of *Cilicia*, then under *Quintus Marcius*, and of *Bithynia*, under *Glabrio*. By the same law he was continued in that unlimited power by sea, with which he was invested when he was first sent out against the pirates of *Cilicia* ^(R). In virtue of this law, *Pompey*, who had just then ended the war with the *Cilician* pirates, took upon him the command of the army, and directed all the allies of the *Roman* people to join him with all possible expedition; but before he took the field, he renewed the alliance which *Sylla* and *Lucullus* had concluded with *Phraates* king of *Parthia*, and then sent friendly proposals to *Mithridates*, who at first seemed inclined to give ear to them, and accordingly dispatched an ambassador to the *Roman* army to treat of a peace. *Pompey* required of him to lay down his arms, if he was in earnest, and deliver up to him all those who had revolted from the *Romans* during the war. This demand was no sooner bruited abroad in the king's camp, but the deserters, who were very numerous in the king's army, betaking themselves to their arms, threatened to put *Mithridates* himself to death,

Pompey
appointed
to succeed
Lucullus.

^r *Dio*, l. xxxvi. *Liv.* lib. c. *VELL. PATERCUL.* l. ii. c. 33. *PLUT.* in *Pomp.*

(R) *Livy* observes, that this law passed against the will of the nobility, who thought it a manifest injury to *Lucullus*, that one should be appointed to succeed him, not so much in the war, as in the triumph, and to take possession of the spoils, rather than to carry on a war; besides, the senate was unwilling to recal *Marcius* and *Glabrio* from their governments, before the time, for which they had been given, was expired. But what gave them the greatest uneasiness, was the extensive and uncontrouled power which by this law was vested in *Pompey*, the command of all the armies out of *Italy* being conferred upon him. When news was brought to *Pompey* that this law had passed, he is said to have complained, as if the people of *Rome* had laid too great a burden on him; whereas every one knew that the law had been proposed by *Manilius* at his instigation, and that his main aim was to have all the power in his own hands (58).

(58) *Plut.* in *Pomp.* *Dio*, l. xxxvi.

and

Mithrida-
tes rejects
Pompey's
proposals.

and would have occasioned a great disturbance, had not the king appeased the growing tumult, by assuring them, that he had sent embassadors, not to treat of a peace, but only to take, under pretence of suing for a peace, a view of the enemy's strength. He moreover obliged himself, by a solemn oath in the presence of the whole army, never to enter into any treaty of friendship with the *Romans*, nor to deliver up to them such as had ever served under him^c. *Pompey*, finding his proposals rejected, advanced against the king with an army of thirty thousand foot and twenty thousand horse, as *Plutarch*^t writes, or thirty thousand, as we read in *Appian*^u, all chosen troops; for he discharged most of those who had served under *Glabrio* and *Lucullus*. As he entered *Galatia*, he was met by *Lucullus*, who endeavoured to persuade him to march back, the war being near finished, and even deputies sent by the republic to settle the province of *Pontus*; but not being able to prevail with him, after mutual complaints against each other, they parted; and *Pompey*, removing his camp, commanded the troops that were with *Lucullus* to join him, except one thousand six hundred, whom he left to attend *Lucullus* in his triumph. From thence *Lucullus* set out for *Rome*, where he was received by the senate with great marks of esteem, most men thinking him highly injured by the authors of the *Manilian* law. *Pompey* pursued his march into *Pontus*; but, finding that he could not by any means draw the king to a battle, he marched back into *Armenia Minor*, with a design either to reduce that province, or oblige *Mithridates* to venture a battle in order to relieve it. *Mithridates* followed him at some distance, and entering *Armenia*, encamped on a hill over-against the *Romans*, and, by intercepting their convoys, reduced them to such distress, that they were obliged to remove to a more convenient place, the king cutting off many in their rear, and harassing them with frequent attacks, till he fell into an ambuscade laid by *Pompey*, whose personal courage and prudent conduct on that occasion confirmed the king in his resolution not to hazard a general engagement. The two armies encamped again over-against each other, *Pompey* on one hill, and the king on another, near the city of *Dastira*, in the province of *Acisilene*, at a small distance from the *Euphrates*, which divides *Acisilene* from *Armenia Minor*^w. Here *Pompey*, seeing he could neither draw the king to a battle, nor force his camp, which was pitched on a steep and craggy

^c Dio, ubi supra. & APPIAN.

^u APPIAN. p. 238.

^t PLUT. in Pomp.

^w PLUT. ubi supra.

mountain,

mountain, began to block him up with a ditch, which he carried round the bottom of the hill where the king was encamped, and, meeting with no opposition, finished his work, and quite cut off the enemy's communication with the country. *Pompey* was amazed to see the king thus tamely suffer himself to be shut up, and could not help saying, that he was either a fool or a great coward; a fool, if he did not apprehend the danger he was in; a coward, if, being apprised of it, he did not, to the utmost of his power, prevent it. By this ditch, which was one hundred and fifty furlongs in circuit, and defended by many forts raised at small distances from each other, the king was so closely besieged, that he could neither send out parties to forage, nor receive the supplies that came to him from *Pontus*. He was thus besieged for the space of forty five or fifty days, and his army reduced to such straits, that, having consumed all their provisions, they were at last forced to live on their dead horses. Hereupon *Mithridates* resolved, at all events, to break through the *Roman* fortifications; and accordingly, having put to the sword all those that were sick or disabled, that they might not fall into the enemy's hands, he attacked in the dead of the night the *Roman* guards, and having overpowered them with his numbers, got safe into the open fields, and continued his march all night towards *Armenia Major*, where he was expected by *Tigranes*. *Pompey*, next morning by break of day, pursued the enemy with his whole army, and having with much ado overtaken them, found the king encamped on a hill, to which there was but one ascent, and that guarded by a strong body of foot. The *Romans* encamped over-against them; but *Pompey*, fearing the king should make his escape in the night-time, privately decamped, and taking the same rout the enemies were to hold in order to gain *Armenia*, possessed himself of all the eminences and defiles through which the king was to pass. *Mithridates* thinking that *Pompey* was returned to his former camp, pursued his march, and, about the dusk of the evening, entered a narrow valley, which was surrounded on all sides by steep hills. On these hills the *Romans* lay concealed, expecting the signal to fall upon the enemy, and attack them on all sides at once, while they were tired with their march, and seemingly, as they had sent out no scouts, in great security (S). *Pompey* was at first for putting off the attack

(S) *Plutarch* tells us, that *Mithridates*, retiring to his pavilion to take some repose after his march, was by a dream forewarned of

Pompey
attacks
Mithrida-
tes in the
night.

attack till the next morning, thinking it not safe to engage in the night-time among such steep and craggy mountains; but was at last prevailed upon, by the earnest prayers and intreaties of all the chief officers of his army, to fall upon the enemy that very night. It was therefore agreed that, in the dead of the night, all the trumpets should at once sound the charge, that this signal should be followed by an universal shout of the whole army, and that the soldiers should make what noise they could, by striking their spears against the brass vessels that were used in the camp. The king's army, at this sudden and unexpected noise, which was echoed again by the mountains, imagined at first that the gods themselves were come down from heaven to destroy them; and the Romans charging them on all sides with showers of stones and arrows from the tops of the hills; they betook themselves to a precipitate flight; but finding all the passes beset with strong bodies of horse and foot, were forced to fly back into the valley, where, for many hours together, they were exposed to the enemy's shot, without being able, in that confusion, either to attack them, or defend themselves. They attempted indeed to make some resistance when the moon rose; but the Romans running down upon them from the hills, did not give them time to draw up, and the place was so narrow, that they had not room even to make use of their swords (T). The king lost on that occasion ten thousand men according to *Appian*, but forty thousand according to *Eutropius* and others *. On Pompey's side there fell between

And gains
a complete
victory.

* APPIAN, in *Mithridatic.* p. 239, 240. EUTROP. l. vi. DIO, l. xxxvi. PLUT. ubi supra.

of the misfortune that befel him; for he seemed to be sailing with a fair wind in the *Pontic* sea, and to discover with great joy the *Bosphorus*, when all on a sudden he found himself shipwrecked, and cast on an abandoned and inhospitable shore. While he was in this perplexity, his generals rushed into the tent, and acquainted him that Pompey was at hand, which gave him great uneasiness, tho' he did not at that time communicate his dream to any of his most intimate friends (59).

(T) *Florus*, *Plutarch*, and *Eutropius* tell us, that as the Romans advanced, the moon shining on their backs, and because she was then in her wane, making their shadows appear mighty long, the enemy thereby judging of their nearness, discharged their darts against their shadows, and gave the Romans an opportunity of attacking them unarmed (60).

(59) *Plut. in Pomp.* (60) *Flor. l. iii. Eutrop. l. vi. Plut. ubi supra.*
twenty

twenty and thirty private men and two centurions. *Mithridates*, at the head of eight hundred horse, broke thro' the *Roman* army, and being, after this effort, abandoned by all the rest, because they were closely pursued by the enemy, he travelled all night, attended by three persons only, *viz.* his wife, or, as *Plutarch* calls her, his concubine, by name *Hypsieratia*, his daughter *Dripetine*, and an officer. At day-break he fell in with a body of mercenary horse and three thousand foot, who were marching to join him. By these he was escorted to the castle of *Sinoria*, situated on the borders of the two *Armenias*. As great part of his treasures were lodged here, he rewarded very liberally those who accompanied him in his flight, and taking six thousand talents, withdrew into *Armenia*. As soon as he entered the borders, he dispatched embassadors to *Tigranes*, acquainting him with his arrival; but that prince, who was then on the point of concluding a separate peace with the *Romans*, clapt his embassadors in irons, pretending that his son *Tigranes* had, at the instigation of *Mithridates*, revolted first to the *Parthians* and then to the *Romans*. *Mithridates*, finding himself thus abandoned, even by his son-in-law, left *Armenia*, and directing his course towards *Colchis*, which was subject to him, and had not as yet been invaded by the *Romans*, passed the *Euphrates* the fourth day, and got safe into his own territories. *Pompey* sent out several parties in pursuit of the king; but remained himself with the main body of the army in the field of battle, where he built a city, calling it, from that remarkable victory, *Nicopolis*. This city, with the adjoining territory, he bestowed upon such of his soldiers as were old or disabled; and many flocking to it from the neighbouring countries, it became, in a short time, a very considerable place. This battle is by most of the *Roman* historians said to have been fought in the night-time (U), tho' *Appian*, and those that have copied after him, tell us, that it happened in the day-time. Be that as it will, it was certainly attended with very fatal consequences for *Mithridates*, who was forced, his army being entirely either cut off

Mithridates retires to Colchis.

* APPIAN. ubi supra. STRABO, l. xii. 555. OROS. l. vi. c. 4.

(U) *Plutarch*, *Florus*, *Dio*, *Eutropius*, and *Orosius* (61) agree, that this memorable battle was fought in the night-time; but *Appian* (62) relates it as happening in the day-time, and after the fol-

(61) *Ubi supra*. *Oros.* l. vi. c. 4. (62) *Appian. in Mithridatic.* p. 239, 240.

Pompey
pursues
him.

And sub-
dues the
Colchi,
Albanians
&c.

off or dispersed, to abandon his own dominions, and fly for shelter to the most remote parts of *Scythia*. *Pompey*, having concluded a peace with *Tigranes*, as we have related in the history of *Armenia*, and settled the affairs of that kingdom, began his march in pursuit of *Mithridates*, through those countries that lie about mount *Caucasus*. The barbarous nations through which he passed, chiefly the *Albanians* and *Iberians*, attempted to stop his march; but were put to flight. However, he was obliged, by the excessive cold and deep roads, to pass the winter near the river *Cyrus*. Early in the spring he pursued his march; but meeting with great opposition from the *Iberians*, a warlike nation, and entirely devoted to *Mithridates*, he was employed most part of the summer in reducing them; as we shall relate more at length in the history of that people. In the mean time *Mithridates* who had wintered at *Diocurias*, on the isthmus between the *Euxine* and *Caspian* seas, and had been joined there by such of his troops as had made their escape from the late unfortunate battle, continued his flight through the countries of the *Achæans*, *Zygians*, *Heniochians*, *Cercetans*, *Moschi* and *Colchians*. Of these nations some received him kindly, and even entered into an alliance with him; through others he was forced to make himself a way with his sword². *Pompey* took the same rout, directing his course by the stars, especially in the northern parts of *Scythia*, and carrying with him even provision of water to supply the army in the vast deserts through which he marched. He spent two years in warring with these nations, and was often in danger of losing both his life and his army; but at last he overcame them all, and believing *Mithridates*, of whom he could have no account,

² LIV. 101. APPIAN. p. 240. DIO, l xxxvi.

lowing manner: Both armies, says he, were drawn up early in the morning, and some parties beginning to skirmish among the rocks, some of the king's horse dismounting, hastened to the relief of their friends; but seeing the *Romans* supported by a body of cavalry, ran back for their horses, that they might so be a match for the enemy; but the *Pontics* that were encamped on the eminences, observing their companions running back in such a hurry, and apprehending that the enemy had entered the camp in some other part, betook themselves to a precipitate flight, and finding all the avenues possessed by the *Romans*, threw themselves headlong from the rocks. As they were thus disordered, and intangled among the rocks, it was easy for *Pompey* to perform the rest. He put ten thousand to the sword, made a great many prisoners, and took their camp with all their baggage and provisions. Thus *Appian*.

to be dead, he marched back into *Armenia Minor*, where he allowed some rest to his soldiers, who were quite worn out with the hardships they had endured in that expedition ^a. Having refreshed his army, he marched into *Pontus*, to reduce some strong holds, which were still garisoned by the king's troops. While he was at *Aspis* in *Pontus*, many of the king's concubines were brought to him; but he sent them all home to their parents, without offering them the least injury, and thereby gained the affection of the chief lords of *Pontus*, whose daughters they were. The strong castle of *Symphori* was delivered up to him by *Stratonice* one of the king's concubines, upon no other terms than that he would spare her son *Xiphares*, who was with the king, in case he should fall into his hands. She likewise discovered to him great treasures hid under ground, which he with great generosity bestowed upon her, reserving for himself only some vessels to set off his triumph ^b. Having taken another fort called the *New-Castle*, and to that time looked upon as impregnable, he found in it great store of gold, silver, and other valuable things, which he afterwards consecrated to *Jupiter Capitolinus*. Here in looking over the king's manuscripts, he came to discover where the rest of his treasures were concealed, what troops he could raise and maintain, what sums were yearly paid him by his subjects and tributaries, &c. whereby he could make a true estimate of his whole power and wealth ^c. Amongst other manuscripts he found some books of physic wrote by *Mithridates* himself, which he commanded *Lenæus*, a learned grammarian to translate into *Latin* ^d. *Pompey*, having thus reduced all *Pontus*, marched into *Syria*, with a design to recover that kingdom, and passing through *Arabia* to penetrate as far as the *Red-Sea*. But while he was employed in this expedition news was brought him, that *Mithridates*, whom he believed dead, had appeared unexpectedly in *Pontus* at the head of a considerable army, and surprized *Panticapæum*, a famous empory at the mouth of the *Euxine* sea. He had lain all this time concealed in the territories of a *Scythian* prince adjoining to the *Palus Mæotis*; but hearing that *Pompey* had left *Pontus*, and was engaged in other wars, he ventured out of his hiding place, resolved either to recover his paternal kingdom, or die in the attempt. He returned privately into *Pontus*, and managed matters there so dexterously, that the *Roman* garrisons knew nothing of his arrival

Mithridates appears again at the head of a considerable army.

^a DIO, l. xxxvii. PLUT. in POMP. ^b PLUTARCH. APPIAN. DIO, ubi supra. ^c PLUTARCH. ubi supra. ^d PIN. l. xxv. c. 2.

And possessed himself of several important places.

till he appeared with a considerable army in the field. He advanced first to the castle of *Symphori*, and understanding that *Stratonice* had delivered it up to *Pompey* on condition he would save the life of her son in case he should take him prisoner, the king immediately caused the youth, who was in his army, to be put to death, and his body to be left unburied; *Stratonice* beholding from the walls the cruel and unnatural murder, for he was her son by *Mithridates*, and had served him with great fidelity. At the same time he sent ambassadors to *Pompey* to treat of a peace, offering to pay a yearly tribute to the republic on condition he restored him to his kingdom. *Pompey* replied, that he would hearken to no proposals whatsoever without the king came to treat with him in person, as *Tigranes* had done. This *Mithridates* looked upon as no ways consistent with his dignity, and therefore laying aside all thoughts of an accommodation, began to make what preparations he could for renewing the war. He summoned all his subjects that were able to bear arms to meet at an appointed place, and having chosen out of the whole multitude sixty cohorts, each consisting of a hundred men, incorporated them with the regular troops that were already on foot. Being now in a condition to act offensively, for *Pompey* had left but a small number of troops in *Pontus*, he possessed himself of *Phanagorium*, *Chersonesus*, *Theudosia*, *Nymphæum*, and several other important places. But in the mean time *Castor*, whom *Mithridates* had appointed governor of *Phanagorium*, falling out with *Tripha*, one of the king's favourite eunuchs, killed him, and dreading the king's resentment, stirred up the inhabitants to a revolt; and by this means *Phanagorium* was again lost; but the castle which was defended by four of the king's sons, *Artaphernes*, *Darius*, *Xerxes*, and *Oxathres*, held out for some time. The king hastened to their relief; but the castle, being set on fire by the rebels, they were forced to surrender themselves to *Castor* before his arrival. These four sons with one of the king's daughters, by name *Cleopatra*, *Castor* sent to the Romans, and fortifying himself in the town, persuaded most of the neighbouring cities, which were oppressed with heavy taxes, and strangely harassed by the king's collectors, to join in the rebellion. *Mithridates* finding that he could neither rely upon the soldiery, most of them being forced into the service, nor on his other subjects, who were dissatisfied by reason of the exorbitant taxes, sent ambassadors to invite the princes of *Scythia* to his relief; and with them his daughters to be bestowed in marriage upon such as shewed themselves most inclined to assist him. But as the ambassadors he employed

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on this occasion were eunuchs, a race of men no less abhorred by the army than favoured by the king, over whom they had a great ascendant, especially in his old age, the soldiers, who were sent to attend them on their journey, put them all to the sword as soon as they were out of the king's reach, and delivered his daughters up to the *Romans*. *Mithridates* finding himself thus deprived of his children, betrayed by his army, and forsaken even by those on whom he chiefly relied, could not yet be induced to submit to the *Romans*, though *Pompey* promised him honourable conditions provided he came to treat with him in person. In this desperate condition he left no stone unturned to stir up the princes of *Asia* against the *Romans*, especially the *Parthians*, but finding them awed by the great opinion they all had of *Pompey*, he had recourse at last to the *European Gauls*, whom he understood to be at war with the *Romans*; and having sent before some of his trusty friends to engage them in his favour, taking leave of his own kingdom, he began his long march, designing to pass through *Bosphorus Cimmerius*, *Scythia*, *Pannonia*, &c. and joining the *Gauls*, pass the *Alps*, and invade *Italy*. This design was no sooner known in the army, *The army* but the soldiers began openly to complain and mutiny; exag- *mutinies* gerating the boldness of the attempt, the length of the march, *against* and the unfurmountable difficulties that must necessarily at- *Mithri-* tend such a desperate enterprize. The chief commanders did *dates.* all that lay in their power to divert him from it, representing to him, that if he was not able to cope with the *Romans* in his own kingdom, much less would he be a match for them in *Italy* or *Gaul*, where they could daily receive new supplies, whereas he would lose the best part of his army in so long and difficult a march, and the rest perhaps in the first engagement, without any possibility of repairing the loss. But all was to no purpose, for they found him so unalterably fixed in his resolution, that he caused those to be put to death, who with most warmth remonstrated against it, not sparing even his own son *Exipodras* for dropping some unguarded expressions on that occasion*. Thus they were forced to let him pursue his own measures, till they found a more proper opportunity to oppose them, which soon after offered as they were encamped at *Bosphorus Cimmerius* on their march into *Scythia*. Here *Pharnaces*, the king's favourite son, whom he had appointed to succeed him, observing the general


* DIO. l. xxxvii. OROS l. vi. c. 5. APPIAN. p. 246. FLOR. l. iii. c. 5. PICTARCH. in POMP.

*His son
revolts.*

discontent that reigned in the army, began to entertain thoughts of placing the crown on his own head, and not doubting but the soldiery would stand by him, if he declared against the intended expedition into *Italy*, openly protested among the *Roman* deserters, who were a considerable part of the army, that if they would follow him, he would return into *Pontus*. The *Romans*, who were well apprised of the danger that attended such an undertaking, and had most of all exclaimed against it, promised to support him to the utmost of their power, and even encouraged him, upon some expressions, which he purposely dropt, to assume the title of king, a title which his father seemed determined to hold till he had destroyed by his rash and desperate attempts himself, his friends, and his army. *Pharnaces*, finding he could depend on the *Romans*, engaged the same night most of the chief commanders in his party, and by their means the greater part of the soldiery. It was agreed that next morning by break of day all those who had declared in his favour should appear in arms, and with a loud shout proclaim *Pharnaces* king; which was done accordingly, and the shout returned even by those, whom *Pharnaces* had not thought fit to let into the secret. The king, who had taken up his quarters in the city, being awaked by the noise, sent out some of his domestics to know what had happened in the army. Neither did the officers or soldiers dissemble the matter, but boldly answered, that they had chosen a young king instead of an old dotard governed by eunuchs. Hereupon *Mithridates* mounting on horseback, and attended by his guards, went out to appease the tumult; but his guards forsaking him, and his horse being killed under him, he was obliged to fly back into the city; from whence he sent several of his attendants one after another to desire of his son a safe conduct for himself and his friends. But as none of the messengers returned, some being slain, others siding with the new king, *Mithridates* endeavoured to move his son to compassion by signifying to him from the walls the distressed condition he was reduced to by a son, whom he had favoured above the rest of his children; but finding him no-ways affected by his speech, turning to the gods, he beseeched them with many tears to make his son know one day by experience the grief and agony which a father must feel in seeing his love and tenderness requited with such ungrateful and monstrous returns. Having thus spoke, he thanked in a very obliging manner those who had stood by him to the last, and exhorted them to make their submission to the new king on the best terms they could procure,

cure, adding, that as for himself, he was determined not to outlive the rebellion of a son, whom he had always distinguished with particular marks of paternal affection. After this he withdrew into the apartment of his wives and concubines, where he first took poison himself and then presented it to them, and to his favourite daughters *Mithridatis* and *Nissa*, who not long before had been betrothed to the kings of *Egypt* and *Cyprus*. To the women it proved immediate death, but on the king, who had from his infancy inured his constitution to poisonous potions, it had so slow an operation, that he was forced, through fear of falling into the rebels hands, to recur to his sword. Neither did the wound, as he was greatly weakened by the poison, prove mortal; so that the rebels having in the mean time stormed the town, and broke into the house, found the king wallowing in his blood, but still alive and in his senses; which *Pharnaces* hearing, sent some of those that were about him to dress his wound, with a design to deliver him up to the *Romans*, and thereby ingratiate himself with *Pompey*. But in the mean time a *Gaul*, who served in the army, by name *Bitætus* or *Bithocus*, entering the king's room in quest of booty, and being touched with compassion in seeing him forsaken by all his friends, and struggling on the bare ground with the pangs of death, drawing his sword, put an end to his present agonies, and prevented the insults which he chiefly apprehended, if he should fall alive into his son's hands. The barbarian is said when he first saw the king, to have been so awed with the majesty of his countenance, that, forgetful of his booty, he fled out of the room, but being called back, and earnestly entreated by the dying prince to put an end to his misery, he summoned all his courage to perform, as he did with a trembling hand, that office, and immediately retired without touching any thing that belonged to the king, tho' the hopes of a rich booty, was the only motive that had led him in thither^f. Thus died *Mithridates* at *Panticapæum* in the *Cimmerian Bosphorus* (W), in the sixtieth year of his reign, a prince, as *Velleius Paterculus*

Mithridates lays violent hands on himself.
Year of the Flood, 2935.
Before Christ, 64.



^f *DIO*, l. xxxvii. *LIV.* l. 102. *FLOR.* l. iii. c. 5. *VALER. MAXIM.* l. ix. c. 2. *PLIN.* l. xxv. c. 2. *JUSTIN.* l. xxxvii. c. 2. *APPIAN.* p. 248. &c.

(W) *Appian* (63) tells us, that *Pharnaces* having conspired against his father's life, and being discovered by his accomplices on the

(63) *Appian* p. 245

rack,

His character.

Paterculus & describes him, neither to be passed over in silence, nor mentioned without respect, endowed with eminent virtues, which would have put him upon a level with the best of princes, had he not stained them with no less vices ; an ex-

& VALLEI. PATERCUL. I. II. c. 18.

rack, was apprehended, but pardoned at the intreaties of *Menophanes*, one of the king's chief favourites. *Dio* makes no mention of his being pardoned, but often repeats, that the king, finding him to be at the head of the conspiracy, sent a detachment of his guards to seize him, but that they being won over by him, joined the other conspirators, took the city of *Panticapæum*, and the king himself prisoner. He adds this observation, that *Mithridates*, in other respects a wise prince, did not consider that arms and multitudes of subjects do not avail without their good-will ; but on the contrary, the more numerous they are, the more they are to be dreaded, if they are disaffected to the prince or his government. As to the time which the *Mithridatic* war lasted, *Orosius* writes thus (64) : “ The *Mithridatic* war, which involved many provinces, was protracted for the space of forty years. For it broke out in the year 662 of *Rome*, a year remarkable for the first civil war, and in the consulship of *Cicero* and *Antonius* ; to use the expression of that excellent poet *Lucan*, *Barbarico vix consummata veneno*, it was ended not by dint of sword but by poison.” But this space consists of thirty years only, and how most authors came to write forty, is not easy to find out. *Justin* (65), *Florus* (66), and *Eutropius* (67), will have the *Mithridatic* war to have lasted forty years ; *Appian* (68) writes, that *Mithridates* warred with the *Romans* forty two years ; the inscription which *Pompey* placed under the spoils consecrated to *Minerva* in the temple at *Rome*, informs us, as it is related by *Pliny* (69), that the *Mithridatic* war lasted only thirty years. But neither is it an easy matter to make out even the space of thirty years, for from the first breaking out of that war to the death of *Mithridates*, we can reckon but twenty six years, even taking the years of peace between the first and second war into the account ; so that the war may be said to have lasted thirty years only to make up an even number ; thus *Tully* in an oration, which he made during his consulship (70), says, that he had defended *C. Rabirius*, forty years before that honour was conferred upon him ; but *Dio* by a more exact computation shews this to have happened only thirty six years before that time (71).

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|--------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (64) <i>Oros. l. vi. c. 1.</i> | (65) <i>Justin. l. xxxvii. c. 1.</i> | (66) <i>Florus, l. iii. c. 5.</i> |
| (67) <i>Eutrop. l. vi.</i> | (68) <i>Appian p. 170.</i> | (69) <i>Plin. l. vii. c. 26.</i> |
| (70) <i>Cic. in. Pisonem.</i> | (71) <i>Dio. l. xxxvii.</i> | |

periencc

perienced commander, but more to be admired for the greatness of mind with which he bore misfortunes, than for the many victories he gained. *Tully* calls him the greatest king after *Alexander* that ever swayed a sceptre ^b. He subdued twenty four nations, and could talk their various languages with the same ease and fluency as his own. He is said to have applied himself to the study of the *Greek* tongue, and even to have wrote in that dialect a learned treatise of botanics ^l. *Pliny* tells us ^k, that he had extraordinary skill in physic, and was the inventor, not only of *Mithridate*, but of many other useful medicines. But nothing gives us a greater idea of this prince than the joy which the *Romans* shewed, notwithstanding their many victories, and the low ebb he was reduced to, when they first heard the news of his death. *Pompey*, who was at that time engaged in a war with the *Jews*, received the first notice of the death of *Mithridates*, as he was on his march to *Jerusalem*. The messenger, who brought the joyful tidings, was sent by *Pharnaces*, and appeared unexpectedly before *Pompey* with the branch of a laurel, as was customary on the like occasions, twisted round the head of his javelin. When he heard what had happened at *Panticapæum*, he was *The joy of* so impatient to impart it to the soldiery, that he could not *the Ro-* even wait till they raised him a mount with turf to speak *mans at* from thence to the army, according to the custom of the *his death*. camp; but ordered those who were by him to form a kind of mount with their saddles, and from thence acquainted the soldiery, that *Mithridates* had laid violent hands on himself, and his son *Pharnaces* was ready to acknowledge the kingdom as a gift of the people of *Rome*, or resign it, if they were unwilling he should reign. This news was received with joyful shouts of the whole army, and the day solemnized with feasts and sacrifices throughout the camp, as if in *Mithridates* alone all the enemies of the republic had died ^l. *Pompey* dispatched without delay a messenger with letters to the senate, acquainting them with the death of *Mithridates* and the submission of his son *Pharnaces*. When his letters were read, the senators were so overjoyed, that they appointed, at the proposal of *Cicero* then consul, twelve days for returning due thanks to the gods, who had delivered them from such an insulting and powerful enemy ^m; and the tribunes of the people enacted a law, whereby *Pompey*, in

^b *CICERO*. in *Lucull*.^l *EPIPHAN*. *PANAR*. tom. i.^k *PLIN*. l. xxv. c. 2.^l *PLUT*. in *Pomp*.^m *CICERO* de

provin. consular.

consideration of his eminent service in the *Mithridatic* war, was to wear a crown of laurel with the triumphal gown at the *Circensian* sports, and a purple gown at the scenical plays ⁿ.

BUT to return to *Pharnaces*, when he heard of his father's death, he caused his body to be preserved in brine, proposing to present it to *Pompey*, who had promised to return into *Pontus* after the reduction of *Judæa*, and there settle matters to his satisfaction. And accordingly, having taken the city and temple of *Jerusalem*, he set out with two legions for *Pontus*, and being arrived at *Sinope*, he was met there by ambassadors from *Pharnaces*, acquainting him, that their master had forbore assuming the title of king, till his will and pleasure were known; that he put both himself and the kingdom intirely into his hands, and that he was willing to attend him at what time or place he thought fit to appoint. The same ambassadors delivered up to *Pompey* those who had taken *Manius Aquilius* the Roman legate, whom *Mithridates* had put to a cruel death, all the prisoners, hostages, and deserters, whether *Romans*, *Greeks*, or *Barbarians*, and the body of *Mithridates*, with his rich apparel and arms, which were greatly admired by *Pompey* and the other *Romans*. Both soldiers and officers flocked to see the king's body, but *Pompey* declined that sight; and saying that all enmity between that great prince and the people of *Rome* was ended with his life, he returned the body to the ambassadors, and caused it to be interred with the utmost pomp and magnificence among his ancestors in the burying-place of the kings of *Pontus*, *Pompey* defraying all the charges of that ceremony, which was the most costly and pompous that ever had been seen in those parts. With the body *Pompey* restored his wearing apparel and armour; but the scabbard of his sword, which cost four hundred talents, was stolen by *Rublius* a Roman, and sold to *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*; and his cap or turbant, which was a very curious piece of workmanship, was privately taken by one *Caius*, who presented it to *Faustus* the son of *Sylla*, in whose house it was kept, and shewn for many years after among the many rarities which *Sylla* had brought out of *Asia*. *Pompey* bestowed the kingdom of *Bosphorus* on *Pharnaces*, and honoured him with the title of a friend and ally of the people of *Rome* ^o. *Pharnaces*, being thus acknowledged king of *Bosphorus*, sent orders to all the garisons on *Pharnaces*.

ⁿ VELLEI. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 40. DIO, l. xxxvii. ^o DIO, l. xxxvii. ARPIAN. p. 250, 251, 252, 253, 254.

of *Pontus* to submit themselves with the castles and treasures which they were trusted with to *Pompey*, who by that means amassed an immense booty. In the city of *Talaura*, which *Mithridates* used to call his wardrobe, he found two thousand cups of onyx set in gold, with such store of gold and silver vessels, of costly furniture, of saddles, bridles, and trappings set with jewels and precious stones, that the *Roman* commissaries spent thirty days in taking the inventory of the whole^p. In another castle he found three large tables with nine salvers of massy gold, enriched with precious stones to an inestimable value, the statues of *Minerva*, *Mars*, and *Apollo*, of pure gold and most curious workmanship, and a pair of gaming tables of two precious stones, three foot broad and four foot long, on which was a moon of gold weighing thirty pounds, with their men all of the same precious stone. In a fort situated among the mountains, were delivered up to him the king's statue of massy gold eight cubits high, his throne and sceptre, and the bed of *Darius* the son of *Hystaspes*. Most of these treasures had been transmitted to him from his ancestors, chiefly from *Darius* king of *Persia*; some belonged to the *Ptolemies* of *Egypt*, and had been deposited by *Cleopatra*, as we have hinted above, in the hands of the *Coans*, who delivered them to *Mithridates*; great part of them had been collected by the king himself, who was very fond of rich and stately furniture^q. *Pompey*, having thus got entire possession of *Pontus*, and reduced it to the form of a *Roman* province, marched into *Asia* properly so called, and, having wintered at *Ephesus*, early in the spring set out for *Italy* with a fleet of seven hundred ships. As he brought over his army with him, the senate was under no small apprehension, lest he should make himself absolute and rule without controul. But he no sooner landed at *Brundisium* than he disbanded the army, without waiting for any decree either of the senate or people; what neither his friends nor his enemies had believed^r. His triumph lasted two whole days, and though he was attended in his triumphal chariot by three hundred and twenty four captives of distinction, among whom were five sons and two daughters of *Mithridates*, yet he would not suffer any of them to be put to death, as it had been practised by others, but sent them all back, except such as were of royal extraction, to their respective countries, and even sup-

^p APPIAN. p. 251, 252. ^q APPIAN. ubi supra. PLIN. l. xxxvii. c. 2. ^r VELLEI PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 40. PLUTARCH. APPIAN, DIO, ubi supra.

plied them with money, to defray the charges of their journey^c. After his triumph he delivered into the treasury twenty thousand talents, though at the dismissing of the army he had divided sixteen thousand talents among the tribunes and centurions, two thousand sestertiums among the quæstors, and had given to each soldier fifty sestertiums.

Pharnaces
II.

Pompey had no sooner left *Asia*, but *Pharnaces* fell unexpectedly upon the *Phanagorenses*, a people of *Bosphorus*, whom *Pompey* had declared free, because they had revolted the first of all from *Mithridates*, and by their example induced others to abandon the king's party. *Pharnaces* besieged their chief city *Phanagoria*, and kept them blocked up, till for want of provisions they were forced to sally out, and put all to the issue of a battle; which proving unsuccessful, they delivered up themselves and their city to the conqueror^t.

Recovers
great part
of his hereditary
dominions.

Some years after, the civil war breaking out between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, he laid hold of that opportunity to recover the provinces which his father had formerly possessed; and having raised a considerable army, over-ran *Pontus*, *Colchis*, *Bithynia*, *Armenia*, and the kingdom of *Moschis*, where he plundered, as *Strabo* observes^u, the temple of the goddess *Leucothea*. He also took the strong and important city of *Sinope*, but could not reduce *Amisus*. But in the mean time *Cæsar*, having got the better of *Pompey* and his party, appointed *Cn. Domitius Calvinus* governor of *Asia*, injoining him to make war upon *Pharnaces* with the legions that were quartered in that province^w. *Domitius* immediately dispatched embassadors to *Pharnaces*, commanding him to withdraw his troops from *Armenia* and *Cappadocia*. The king returned answer, that he was willing to abandon *Cappadocia*; but as for the kingdom of *Armenia Minor*, it was part of his hereditary dominions, and therefore he would not resign it, till he had an opportunity of laying his pretensions before *Cæsar* himself, whom he was ready to obey in all things. Hereupon *Domitius*, drawing together what forces he could, marched into *Cappadocia*, which he recovered without opposition, *Pharnaces* having abandoned it to make a stand in *Armenia*, which lay nearer his own dominions. Thither *Domitius* pursued him, and having overtaken him near *Nicopolis*, found his army drawn up in battle-array, and the king ready to come to an engagement, which *Domitius*

^c APPIAN. ubi supra.

^u STRAB. l. xi. p. 254.

^t APPIAN. p. 253, 254.

^w DIO, l. xlii. HIRTIUS de

bell. Alexandrin.

not declining, both armies advanced. The king at the head of a choice body of men fell upon the *Romans* left wing, consisting mostly of raw and undisciplined *Asiatics*; and having without much ado put them to flight, penetrated to the centre, where the thirty fifth legion, the only one which *Domitius* had, after a faint resistance gave ground, and retiring to the neighbouring mountains, left their allies to shift for themselves, who were all cut off. *Domitius* with the remains of his scattered army marched back into *Cappadocia*, and from thence, winter drawing on, into the province of *Asia* *. The king being puffed up with this victory, and hearing that *Cæsar*, with the flower of the *Roman* forces, was engaged at the siege of *Alexandria*, appointed one *Asander* governor of *Bosphorus*, and marched himself into *Cappadocia* in pursuit of *Domitius*, with a design to invade *Asia*, and recover all the provinces which had been once subdued by his father. *Bitthynia* and *Cappadocia* readily submitted; but *Armenia the Lesser*, which was held by *Dejotarus*, made so vigorous a resistance, that he was forced to give over the enterprize, lest the *Romans* should in the mean time strengthen themselves in *Asia*, whither he was in haste to march, in hopes of meeting there with the same success as his father *Mithridates* had done. But before he reached that province, he was informed that *Asander* had revolted, in hopes of gaining thereby the good will of the *Romans*, and obtaining of them the kingdom of *Bosphorus* for himself. At the same time he received intelligence, that *Cæsar*, having at last reduced *Alexandria*, and settled the affairs of *Egypt* and *Syria*, was marching into *Armenia*. He was not a little dismayed at this news, and therefore without delay dispatched ambassadors to sue for peace, hoping that *Cæsar*, who was hastening into *Italy*, with a design to pass over into *Afric*, would willingly give ear to any proposals of that nature. *Cæsar* courteously entertained the ambassadors, and tho' he did not propose to agree to their conditions, yet, that he might come upon *Pharnaces* unawares, he shewed himself very desirous of entering into a treaty of peace. But in the mean time he pursued his march with all possible expedition, and arriving on the confines of *Pontus*, ordered all the troops that were quartered in the neighbouring provinces to join him; for he had brought from *Alexandria* but one legion, namely the sixth, and that consisting of a thousand men only, the rest having been killed at the siege of *Alexandria*. Besides this veteran legion, he found

Defeats
Domitius
Calvinus.

Sends em-
bassadors
to Cæsar
to treat of
a peace.

* *Hirtius* de bell. civil. l. ii. & *Appian*. p. 484. & *Dio*, l. xlii.

at the place of the general rendezvous three others, but all of them very indifferently armed, and worse disciplined ^y. With these forces, however, such as they were, he advanced against *Pharnaces*, who being greatly frightened at his approach, by reason of the success that had attended him in all his expeditions, again dispatched ambassadors to him with a crown of gold, offering him his daughter in marriage, and promising to do whatever he should require. The ambassadors took care to let *Cæsar* know, that their master, tho' highly obliged to *Pompey*, yet had never been prevailed upon to send him any supplies during the civil war, which *Dejotarus*, king of *Armenia the Lesser*, whom he had honoured with his friendship, had done. *Cæsar* returned answer, that he was willing to conclude a peace with *Pharnaces*, provided he retired without delay from *Pontus*, returned all the captives and hostages, whether *Romans* or their allies, and restored the goods of the *Roman* citizens and publicans which he had seized since he first took up arms. He added, that as to his not sending supplies to *Pompey*, they ought rather to have concealed such an ungrateful proceeding of their master, than alledged it as any merit, since the forsaking of one, to whom he was indebted for his crown, bespoke him a man of mean, selfish, and wicked principles^z. *Pharnaces*, upon the return of his ambassadors, acquainted *Cæsar*, that he agreed to the conditions; but finding that *Cæsar's* affairs called him into *Italy*, he required a longer term of time for the performance of what was stipulated between them, starting daily new difficulties, in hopes that *Cæsar* would in the mean time be obliged to depart, and leave the affairs of *Pontus* in the same posture he had found them. *Cæsar* seeing himself thus disappointed, and put off from day to day, could not longer brook the king's deceitful behaviour. Wherefore he determined to put himself at the head of his small army, and attack the enemy in his camp, when he least expected it. And accordingly marching out in the night, he came by break of day in sight of the king's army, and uttering these words, *Shall this treacherous parricide go unpunished?* broke into the camp at the head of a thousand horse. The king's chariots, which were armed with scythes, caused some small disorder among *Cæsar's* horse; but in the mean time the rest of his army coming up, he put the enemies to flight, and obtained a complete victory^a. This battle was fought near the place where *Mithridates* had routed

Overcome
by Cæsar.

^y HIRTIVS, ubi supra. ^z HIRTIVS, ubi supra. DIO. l. xli, xlii. ^a APPIAN. de bell. civil. l. ii. p. 485. JUL. FRONTIN. Stratagemat. l. ii. c. 2.

with great slaughter the *Roman* army under the command of *Triarius*. Most of the king's army were either taken or cut in pieces; but *Pharnaces* himself had the good luck to make his escape, while the *Romans* were busy in plundering the camp. This victory was so quick, that *Cæsar*, in a letter to his friend *Aminitius*, or *Anitius*, at *Rome*, expressed it in three words; thus: *I came, I saw, I conquered*. He ever afterwards used to call *Pompey* a fortunate rather than a great commander, since he had gained his chief glory in the *Mithridatic* war, fighting with so cowardly an enemy ^b. He divided the rich booty and the spoils of the camp among his soldiers, and because *Mithridates* had erected a trophy near that place, as a monument of his victory over *Triarius*, which *Cæsar*, as it was consecrated to the gods, did not think lawful to pull down, he set up another over-against it to transmit to posterity his victory over *Pharnaces*. After this victory he recovered and restored to the allies of the people of *Rome* all the places which *Pharnaces* had possessed himself of during the war, declared *Amisus* a free city, and appointed *Mithridates Pergamenus*, of whom more hereafter, king of *Bosphorus* in the room of *Pharnaces*. Having thus settled the affairs of *Pontus*, he set sail for *Italy*, leaving *Domitius Calvinus* to pursue the war against *Pharnaces*, if he should appear again in the field. *Pharnaces* had retired after the battle to *Sinope* with a thousand horse, where he was quickly besieged by *Domitius*, to whom he surrendered the town upon no other conditions than that he should be suffered to retire into *Bosphorus* with the small body that attended him. This *Domitius* willingly granted, but caused all the king's horses to be killed, since he had asked a safe conduct only for his horsemen ^c. With these, and a band of *Scythians* and *Sarmatians*, he attempted to recover the kingdom of *Bosphorus*; but being met between *Theudesia* and *Panticapæum*, both which cities he had reduced, by *Asander*, who was still in possession of the kingdom, a sharp engagement ensued, wherein the king's men, as not being used to fight on foot, were put to flight, and *Pharnaces* himself, who remained alone in the field, surrounded by the enemy, and cut in pieces, after having reigned in *Bosphorus Cimmerius*, the kingdom which *Pompey* had bestowed upon him, according to *Appian* ^d, fifteen years, according to others, seventeen.

UPON the death of *Pharnaces* the kingdom of *Pontus* was again reduced to the form of a province, and so continued to

^b PLUTARCH. in *Cæfare*. APPIAN ubi supra. p. 254. ^c APPIAN. ubi supra, p. 485. ^d APPIAN. in *Mithridatic*. p. 254. the

the triumvirate of *Marc Antony*, who after the battle at *Philippi* conferred it upon *Darius*, the son of *Pharnaces*, for his services during the civil war^c. He continued faithful to the *Romans*, but did nothing during his reign worth mentioning.

Polemon I. *Darius* was succeeded in the kingdom by *Polemon*, preferred to that honour by *Marc Antony*. He was the son of *Zeno*, a famous orator of *Laodicea*, and greatly favoured by *Antony*. From him that part of *Pontus*, which borders on *Cappadocia*, borrowed the name of *Pontus Polemoniacus*. He attended *Marc Antony* in his expedition against the *Parthians*, and being taken prisoner in the unsuccessful battle fought by *Statianus*, he was sent by the king of the *Medes*, an ally of the *Parthians*, to conclude a peace with the *Romans*. In which embassy he acquitted himself so well, that *Antony* added the kingdom of *Armenia* to his other dominions. In the war between *Antony* and *Augustus* he sided with the former; but after the battle at *Actium* was received into favour by the latter; and being sent by *Agrippa* against *Scribonius*, who upon the death of *Asander* had usurped the kingdom of *Bosphorus*, he overcame him, and reduced the kingdom of *Colchis*, which was bestowed upon him by *Agrippa*, who likewise honoured him with the title of friend and ally of the people of *Rome*. He afterwards waged war with the neighbouring *Barbarians*, refusing to live in subjection to the *Romans*, but was overcome, taken, and put to death by the *Aspungitani*, a people bordering, according to *Strabo*, on the *Palus Mæotis*^d.

Polemon II. UPON his death his son *Polemon* II. was by the emperor *Caligula* raised to the throne of *Bosphorus* and *Pontus*. But the emperor obliged him to exchange the kingdom of *Bosphorus* with part of *Cilicia*, and *Nero* with his consent reduced that part of *Pontus*, which he enjoyed, to the form of a province. He fell in love with *Berenice* daughter to *Agrippa* king of *Judæa*, and, in order to marry her, embraced the *Jewish* religion. But as she became soon tired of his riotous way of living, and returned to her father, so he renounced his new religion, and again embraced the superstitions of paganism^e. *Polemon* dying without issue, the antient kingdom of *Pontus* was parcelled out into several parts, and added to the provinces of *Bithynia*, *Galatia*, and *Cappadocia*, only that part of it, which was called *Pontus Polemoniacus*,

^c APPIAN. bell. civil. l. v. ^f STRAB. l. xi. PLUTARCH. iii. Anton. APPIAN bell civil. l. v. DIO, l. xlix, li, lii. ^g JOSEPH. l. xc. Antiq. DIO, ZONARAS, EUTROPIUS, &c.

retaining the dignity of a distinct and separate province. During the civil discords between *Vespasian* and *Vitellius*, one *Anicetus*, first a slave, afterwards freedman, to king *Polemon*, and lastly commander of the royal navy, took up arms with a design to rescue the kingdom from the *Roman* bondage; and being joined by great multitudes, drawn together with the prospect of spoil, over-ran the country, and possessed himself of *Trapezund*, a city founded by the *Grecians* on the utmost confines of *Pontus*. Here he cut in pieces a cohort made up of the inhabitants, but which had been formerly presented with the privilege of *Roman* citizens. He likewise burnt the fleet, and with scorn and insults scoured the sea, *Mucianus* having called to *Byzantium* most of the *Roman* gallies. Hereupon *Vespasian*, who was at that time in *Syria*, sent *Verdius Geminus* into *Pontus* with a choice body of vexillaries from the legions. He assailing the enemy, while they were in disorder, and roaming asunder in pursuit of prey, drove them into their vessels; then with some gallies chased *Anicetus* into the mouth of the river *Chobus*, where he thought himself safe under the protection of *Sedochus* king of the *Lazians*, whose alliance he had purchased with large sums and rich presents. *Sedochus* at first refused to deliver him up to the *Romans*, but was soon prevailed upon, partly by threats, partly by presents, to surrender both him and all the other fugitives who had taken sanctuary in his dominions^b. Thus ended that servile war, and the kingdom of *Pontus* continued to be a province of the empire till the time of *David* and *Alexis Comneni*, who, being driven from *Constantinople* by the *French* and *Venetians* under the command of *Baldwin* earl of *Flanders*, settled, the one at *Heraclea*, the other at *Trebisond*. The new troubles that arose among the *Latins* gave *Alexis Comnenes*, an opportunity of erecting here a new empire, which comprehended great part of *Pontus*, and was known by the name of the empire of *Trebisond*. The *Comneni* held it above two hundred and fifty years, till the time of *Mohamed II*, who carried *David Comnenes*, the last emperor of *Trebisond*, prisoner to *Constantinople*, with all his family, and subjected his empire to that of *Constantinople*, in which abject slavery *Trebisond* and all *Pontus* have continued ever since.

^b TACIT. hist. l. iiii.

C H A P. V.

The History of the CAPPADOCIANS.

S E C T. I.

The description of CAPPADOCIA.

Name and
division.

THIS country was known to the antients by the name of *Syria* or *Assyria*, and the inhabitants by that of *Leucosyri*. It borrowed the name of *Cappadocia*, according to *Pliny*^h, from the river *Cappadox*; according to *Herodianus*ⁱ, from one *Cappadocus* the founder of this nation and kingdom. Others suppose the name of *Cappadocia* derived from some barbarous word, whereof the meaning is unknown to us; for the river *Cappadox* is mentioned only by *Pliny*, and *Cappadocus*, the pretended founder of the nation is spoke of by none of the antient historians. *Cappadocia* in antient times comprised all that country which lies between mount *Taurus* and the *Euxine* sea, and was divided by the *Persians* into two satrapies or governments, by the *Macedonians* into two kingdoms, the one called *Cappadocia ad Taurum* and *Cappadocia Magna*, the other *Cappadocia ad Pontum*, and commonly *Pontus*. Of the latter we have given the history already; of the former we are to write in this chapter. *Cappadocia Magna*, or *Cappadocia* properly so called, lies between the thirty eighth and forty first degrees of north latitude, and was bounded by *Pontus* on the north, by *Lycaonia* and part of *Armenia Minor* on the south, by *Galatia* on the west, and by the *Euphrates* and part of *Armenia Minor* on the east. Under king *Archelaus* and some of his predecessors, *Cappadocia* was divided, as *Strabo* informs us, into ten prefectures, five of which lay near mount *Taurus*, viz. *Melitena*, *Cataonia*, *Cilicia*, *Tyanitis*, *Issaunitis*; the other five comprehended the remaining part of the kingdom; but *Strabo* leaves us in the dark as to their situation, and the towns of note which

^h Lib. vi. c. 3. ⁱ HERODIAN. apud Stephan.

they contained. The metropolis of all *Cappadocia* in antient *Cities.* times was *Mazaca* or *Eusebia*, called afterwards *Cæsarea* by *Tiberius* in honour of *Augustus*. This latter name it still retains, being called by the inhabitants *Kæsaria*. It is built round a rock, as *Tavernier* informs us, on the top of which stands a castle; and is still a populous and considerable city. It was the see of the renowned *St. Basil*, and its archbishop to this day holds the first rank among the prelates who are under the patriarch of *Constantinople*. The other cities of note in *Cappadocia* are, *Comana*, called *Cōmana Cappadocia*, to distinguish it from another city of the same name in *Pontus*. This city was famous in antient times for a temple consecrated to *Bellona*, whose priests and attendants of both sexes amounted in *Strabo's* time to the number of six thousand and upwards. The chief-priest was lord of the adjoining country, and in honour next to the king, being commonly of the royal family. *Nyssa* in *Christian* times the see of *Gregory*, surnamed *Nyssenus*, and brother to *St. Basil*. *Nazianzum* the see and place of nativity of another *Gregory*, no less celebrated by the writers of the ecclesiastical history. *Archelaïs*, so called from *Archelaus*, king of *Cappadocia*, who either founded, or repaired and embellished it. *Diocæsarea* placed by *Pliny* in *Cappadocia*, by others in *Phrygia*, and antiently called, as we read in *Strabo*, *Cabira*. *Faustinopolis*, so called in honour of *Faustina*, wife to the emperor *Antoninus*. *Cabistra*, mentioned by *Tully* in his letters^k. *Pterium*, memorable for the overthrow of *Cræsus* by *Cyrus*, which was attended with the ruin of the *Lydian* kingdom. The rivers of this country *Rivers.* that deserve any notice, are, the *Melas*, which indeed rises in the western borders of *Galatia*; but passes through the southern borders of this kingdom and *Armenia*, and falls into the *Euphrates*; the *Halys*, which rises near *Nazianzum*, and bending first to the west, and then to the north, passes through *Galatia* and *Paphlagonia*, and discharges itself into the *Euxine* sea between *Sinope* and *Amisus*; the *Iris*, now *Casalmac*, which, as *Strabo* informs us, passed through *Amasia* his own country, and receiving the *Themiscyra* falls into the *Euxine* sea not far from *Amisus*.

THIS country produces excellent wines and most kind of *Soil and* fruits; and was formerly rich in mines of silver, brass, iron, *climate.* and allom; affording also great store of alabaster, crystal, jasper, and onyx-stone. But it was chiefly celebrated by the antients for its breed of horses, which were and still are

^k Cic. lib. xv. epist. 11. ad senat. & ad Attic. l. v. epist. 18.

in great request. Some parts of *Cappadocia* are very mountainous and barren, the *Antitaurus* running through those provinces which border on the two *Armenias*. In this part of *Cappadocia* stands mount *Argaus*, of such an extraordinary height, that one may see, as some authors relate, from the top of it the *Euxine* sea on one side, and the *Mediterranean* on the other.

Origin.

Cappadocia was probably peopled by *Togarmah*, the last son of *Gomer* and his descendants; for it lies contiguous to those countries, which the rest of *Gomer's* family possessed, and is situated conformable to that expression of the prophet¹, *Gomer and all his bands, the house of Togarmah of the north quarters, and all his bands*; which seems to be spoken of their situation with respect to *Judæa*. *Turcomannia*, where many have placed this colony seems too remote, because they are said to have traded to the fairs of *Tyre*^m; and what confirms their having settled in *Cappadocia* is, that they brought horses, horsemen, and mules; for that country produced excellent horses and mules, which last are supposed to have come first from thence. Besides in the borders of *Pontus* and *Cappadocia*, we find a people called *Trocmi*, *Trogmi*, or *Trocmeni*, as *Stephanus* calls them. In the council of *Chalcedon* they are called *Trocmades*, or *Trogmades*, which names have an affinity with *Togarmah*, or, as the *Greeks* usually write it, *Thorgama*. *Bochart*ⁿ observes, that the *Cappadocians* are said by the fathers to be descended from *Caphthorim*, the last of the offspring of *Mizraim*, and that *Caphthor* is rendered by the septuagint *Cappadocia*. In this without all doubt they followed the *Jews*, who explain those names the same way, as do the three *Chaldee* paraphrasts. But by *Cappadocia* in these writings is not to be understood *Cappadocia* in *Asia Minor*, as *Bochart* judged; but some place in *Egypt*, generally supposed by the rabbies to be *Demyat* or *Demietta*^o, commonly confounded with *Pelusium*.

Government.

As to the state of this nation in the early times we are quite in the dark. *Ctesias*, as quoted by *Diodorus Siculus*, tells us, that from the very beginning it was subject to foreign princes. But that writer is no ways to be depended upon. *Cappadocia* was without all doubt a province of the kingdom of *Lydia*, and after the overthrow of *Cræsus* passed from the *Lydians* to the *Persians*, to whom the *Cappadocians* paid an annual tribute, as *Strabo* writes^p, of fifteen hundred horses,

¹ *Ezek.* xxxviii. 6. ^m *Ezek.* xxvii. 14. ⁿ *BOCHART*. Phaleg l. iv. c. 31. ^o Rabbi *SAAIDAS* & *MAIMONIDES* apud *Lightfoot*. Oper. 2. p. 398. ^p *STRAB.* l. xi.

two thousand mules, and fifty thousand sheep. The first king of *Cappadocia* we find mentioned in history is *Pharnaces*, a noble *Persian*, who having saved *Cyrus* from a ravenous lion, running full speed against him while he was hunting, was by him rewarded with his sister *Atossa* and the kingdom of *Cappadocia*. *Diodorus* styles him only governor of *Cappadocia*. This country was afterwards subdued by the *Macedonians*, and changed into a province; but again restored to its former state by *Ariarathes* III. who laying hold of the opportunity which the dissensions that reigned among the successors of *Alexander* gave him, put *Amyntas* their governor to death, and, with forces raised in *Armenia*, reinstated himself in the kingdom, which he transmitted to his posterity, who held it till the reign of *Ariarathes* VIII. the last of the royal race of *Pharnaces*. Two other families reigned in *Cappadocia*, namely those of *Ariobarzanes* and *Archelaus*; but under the latter the kingdom was changed into a province of the *Roman* empire, nor ever more returned to its former state. It was greatly enlarged under the emperors, by the addition of *Pontus* and part of *Paphlagonia*; and thus it stood in the time of *Ptolemy*, who reckons *Pontus Galaticus*, *Cappadocius*, and *Polemoniicus*, as parts of this province. It was afterwards divided into ten prefectures; but in the time of *Constantine the great*, *Pontus*, *Lycaonia*, and *Pisidia* being made distinct provinces, *Cappadocia* was confined to its former bounds. The emperor *Valens* divided *Cappadocia* into two provinces, *Cappadocia Prima* and *Cappadocia Secunda*, making *Tyana* the metropolis of the latter. We are told that *Valens*, who was a great abetter of the *Arian* faction, did this out of spite to *St. Basil*, who being bishop of *Cæsarea*, the metropolis of all *Cappadocia*, prevented the spreading of that heresy in places under his jurisdiction. In this state *Cappadocia* continued till the erecting of the new empire of *Trebisond*, with which it fell into the hands of the *Turks*, by whom the whole province with the addition of *Pontus* is now called *Amasia*, after the name of that city where the beglerbeg of *Anatolia* resides.

THE religion of the antient *Cappadocians* was much the same with that of the *Persians*, of which we have given elsewhere an accurate account. At *Cumana* there was a stately and rich temple consecrated to *Bellona*, whose battles the priests and their attendants used to represent on stated days, cutting and wounding each other, as if seized with an enthusiastic fury. No less famous and magnificent were the temples of *Apollo Catanius* or *Cataonius* at *Daslacum*, and of *Jupiter* in the province of *Morimena*, which last had three thousand

Religion.

thousand sacred servants or religious votaries. The chief-priest was next in rank to that of *Comana*, and had, as *Strabo* informs us⁹, a yearly revenue of fifteen talents. *Diana Persica* was worshipped in the city of *Castaballa*, where women devoted to the worship of that goddess were reported to tread bare-foot on burning coals without receiving any harm^r. The temples of *Diana* at *Diospolis* and of *Anias* at *Zela* were likewise had in great veneration both by the *Cappadocians* and *Armenians*, who flocked to them from all parts. In the latter were tendered all oaths in matters of consequence; and the chief among the priests was no ways inferior in dignity, power, or wealth, to any in the kingdom, having a royal attendance, and an uncontrouled power over all the inferior officers and servants of the temple. The *Romans*, who willingly adopted all the superstitions and superstitious rites of the nations they conquered, greatly-increased the revenues of this and other temples, conferring the priesthood on such as they thought most fit for carrying on their designs. We are told that human sacrifices were offered at *Cumana*, and that this barbarous practice was brought by *Orestes* and his sister *Iphigenia* from *Taurica Scythica*, where men and women were immolated to *Diana*. But this custom, if it ever obtained in *Cappadocia*, was abolished in the *Roman* times.

Character. THE *Cappadocians* in the time of the *Romans* bore so bad a character, were reputed so vicious and lewd, so monstrously addicted to all manner of vice, that besides the share they had in the old *Greek* proverb, they had some peculiar to themselves reflecting on their enormous wickedness; which made them be so traduced by other nations, that a wicked and impious man was emphatically called a *Cappadocian*. However, this their lewd disposition was in after-ages so corrected and restrained by the pure morals of christianity, that no country whatsoever has produced greater champions of the *Christian* religion, or given to the church more prelates of unblemished characters.

Laws and trade. We have no system of their laws, and scarce wherewithal to form any particular idea of them. As to their commerce, they carried on a very considerable trade in horses, great numbers whereof their country produced; and we read of them in scripture as frequenting the fairs of *Tyre* with this commodity. As *Cappadocia* abounded with mines of silver, brass, iron, and allom, and afforded great store of alabaster, crystal, and jasper, it is reasonable to suppose that they sup-

⁹ STRAB. l. xii.^r STRAB. ubi supra.

plied the neighbouring countries with these commodities. From the reigns of their kings we shall be able to judge of their military capacity.

S E C T. II.

The reigns of the kings of Cappadocia.

THE first king of *Cappadocia* we read of in history was *Pharnaces*, who was preferred by *Cyrus* to the crown, and honoured with the marriage of his sister *Atossa*, as we have hinted above. And this is all we read of him in antient writers. *Xenophon* calls him *Aribæus*, and says that he was killed in warring against the *Hyrcanians*.

Pharnaces was succeeded by his son *Smerdis*, mentioned only by *Diodorus*; and he by his son *Atamnas*, or *Ariaramnes*, as *Ctesias* calls him. He cultivated a good understanding with the *Persians*, and served in the army of *Darius* the son of *Hystaspes*, by whom he was employed against the *Scythians*. In which expedition he took *Marsagètes* their king's brother, and presented him bound to *Darius*.

His son *Anaphas* is celebrated by the antients for his skill in military affairs. He renewed the alliance, which his father had made with the *Persians*, and was chosen for one of the seven princes of *Persia*, probably in the room of *Intaphernes*, who was put to death by *Darius* for plotting a change in the government.

Anaphas II. succeeded his father; but did nothing worth mentioning. His son *Datames* succeeded him, the first of his family that waged war with the *Persians*, we know not on what provocation. In that war having ventured a general engagement, his army was cut in pieces, and himself slain.

His son *Ariaramnes* reigned fifty years. In his time the *Persians* invaded *Cappadocia*, and having reduced great part of it, appointed *Datames*, brother to *Ariaramnes*, governor thereof, by way of reward for his services against the *Cadusii*, whom he had subdued.

Ariarathes ascended the throne on his father's death, and admitted his brother *Olophernes* to partake of the same power. He accompanied *Artaxerxes Ochus* in his expedition against the *Egyptians*, and on that occasion signalized himself above all the other commanders of the *Persian* army. He

Was

Olophernes.

was succeeded by his brother *Olophernes*, who reigned alone^b but in the succession to the crown preferred *Ariarathes* his brother's son to his own children.

Ariarathes II.

Ariarathes II. reigned in the time of *Alexander the Great*, and continued faithful to the *Persians* at a time when most of the other princes submitted to the conqueror. *Alexander* was prevented by death from invading his dominions; but *Perdiccas*, marching against him with a powerful and well-disciplined army, dispersed his forces, and having taken *Ariarathes* himself prisoner, crucified him with all those of the royal blood whom he could get into his power^c. *Diodorus*^d tells us, that he was killed in the battle. He is said to have reigned eighty two years.

Ariarathes III.

His son *Ariarathes* III. having escaped the general slaughter of the royal family, fled into *Armenia*, where he lay concealed till the civil dissensions, which arose among the *Macedonians*, gave him a fair opportunity of recovering his paternal kingdom, which he transmitted to his posterity. *Amyntas*, who was at that time governor of *Cappadocia*, opposed him, but was overcome in a pitched battle, and the *Macedonians* obliged to abandon the strong-holds which they possessed. *Ariarathes* after a peaceable reign of many years left the kingdom to his son,

Ariaramnes II.

Ariaramnes II. who did nothing worth mentioning, but was greatly respected by all the neighbouring princes on account of his good nature, justice, and other princely virtues. During his reign the kingdom was in a more flourishing condition than it had been under any of his predecessors, he having maintained a good understanding with the adjoining states, and applied himself more to the arts of peace than war. He was succeeded by his son,

Ariarathes IV.

Ariarathes IV. whom he had taken for partner of the kingdom during his life-time. *Ariarathes* proved a very warlike prince, and having overcome *Arfaces*, founder of the *Parthian* monarchy, considerably enlarged his own dominions.

Ariarathes V.

He was succeeded by his son *Ariarathes* V. who marrying the daughter of *Antiochus the Great*, entered into an alliance with that prince against the *Romans*; but *Antiochus* being conquered, he sent ambassadors to sue for peace, which he obtained after having paid two hundred talents by way of fine, for taking up arms against the people of *Rome* without any just provocation. He afterwards concluded an alliance with

^c APPIAN. in Mithridatic. CURTIUS, l. xii. ^d DIODOR. l. xviii.

the *Romans*, and assisted them with men and money against *Perfes*; on which consideration he was by the senate honoured with the title of friend and ally of the people of *Rome*. In some disputes that arose between him and *Pharnaces II.* king of *Pontus*, concerning the confines of *Cappadocia* and *Galatia*, he referred the whole matter to the *Roman* legates, who favoured him as far as the justice of his cause would allow. He left the kingdom in a very flourishing condition to his son *Mithridates*, who upon his accession to the crown took the name of *Ariarathes*.

Ariarathes VI. surnamed *Philopator* from the filial respect and love he shewed his father from his very infancy, after having performed with the utmost pomp and magnificence his exequies, dispatched ambassadors to *Rome* to acquaint the senate with his accession to the crown, and to renew the alliance which his father had made with the people of *Rome*. The ambassadors were kindly received, the alliance renewed, and the king highly commended by the senate for the respect he had shewn them. He restored *Mithrobuzanes*, son to *Zadriades*, king of the *Lesser Armenia*, to his father's kingdom, merely out of good-nature, though he foresaw that the *Armenians* would lay hold of that opportunity to join *Artaxias*, who threatened him with war, and was ready to invade *Cappadocia*. But all these differences were settled, before they came to an open rupture, by the *Roman* legates, *Tiberius Gracchus*, *Lucius Lentulus*, and *Servilius Glaucius*. *Ariarathes* seeing himself thus delivered from an impending war by the mediation of the *Romans*, sent ambassadors to present the senate with a golden crown, and tender his service where-ever they thought fit to employ him. The senate accepted of the crown, and requited the present with a staff and chair of ivory, which they only bestowed on such as were looked upon as intirely addicted to their interest. Not long before *Demetrius Soter*, king of *Syria*, had proffered him in marriage his sister, the widow of *Perfes* king of *Macedonia*; but *Ariarathes* had rejected the offer for fear of giving offence to the *Romans*. For this in particular the senate returned him thanks, and enjoined the ambassadors to acquaint their master, that the senate and people of *Rome* were fully convinced of his attachment to them, and ready to shew on all occasions how much they had at heart the interest of their true friends and allies^u, among whom they accounted *Ariarathes* the chief and most to be depended on. Not long after the king found by experience that their protestations were sincere; for *Orophernes*,

^u POLYB legat. 119. DIONOR. SICUL. legat. 24.
VOL. IX.

Ariarathes driven out by Orophernes.
 Year of the Flood,
 2840.
 Before Christ,
 159.

or, as others call him, *Holophernes*, pretending to be the lawful son of *Ariarathes V.* and the elder brother, had recourse to *Demetrius Soter*, who was greatly incensed against *Ariarathes* for slighting the match which he had proposed with his sister. *Demetrius* was easily prevailed upon to espouse his cause, though he well knew that *Orophernes* was but a supposititious, or, as some write, a natural, son of the deceased king. *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus* was ordered by the *Romans* to join *Ariarathes* with all his forces, and assist him against *Demetrius* to the utmost of his power, which he did accordingly. But to no effect; for the armies of the confederate kings were worsted, and *Ariarathes* obliged to abandon the kingdom to his rival ^w. *Orophernes*, being thus put in possession of *Cappadocia*, dispatched ambassadors to *Rome* with a golden crown of great value, which the senate declined to accept, till such time as they heard his pretensions to the kingdom of *Cappadocia*, which he by suborned witnesses made appear so plain, that the senate decreed *Ariarathes* and he should reign together, as brothers and partners in the kingdom ^x. But *Orophernes* was the same year driven out by *Attalus*, brother to *Eumenes*, and his successor in the kingdom of *Pergamus*, and *Ariarathes* restored to the intire possession of his paternal kingdom. *Orophernes* being driven out, *Ariarathes* sent ambassadors to demand of the *Prienians* four hundred talents, which *Orophernes* had deposited with them. The *Prienians* honestly replied, that as they had been trusted with the money, they could not, without breach of the trust reposed in them, deliver it to any one except *Orophernes* himself, or such as came in his name. Hereupon the king entered their territories in a hostile manner, and putting all to fire and sword, thought he should frighten them into a compliance with his demands. But neither his threats, nor the calamities they suffered, could prevail upon them to betray their trust; nay, in the height of their miseries, while their city was besieged by the joint forces of *Ariarathes* and *Attalus*, they found means to restore the intire sum to *Orophernes*, though the king had threatened them with utter destruction, in case it was not delivered to him upon his entering the city, which he hoped to be master of in a few days. But in the mean time the *Prienians* recurring to the *Romans*, the two kings were enjoined by the legates to raise the siege, and withdraw their forces, on pain of being deemed enemies

^w POLYB. l. iii. p. 161. LIV. l. xlvii. JUSTIN. l. xxxv. c. 1. APPIAN, Syriac. p. 118. ZONAR. ex Dione. ^x APPIAN. Syriac. p. 118. ZONAR. ex Dion.

to the republic¹. *Ariarathes* readily complied with the legates orders, and marching his army into *Syria* joined *Alexander Epiphanes* against *Demetrius Soter*, by whom he had been formerly driven out of his kingdom. In the very first engagement *Demetrius* was slain, and his army intirely routed and dispersed, *Ariarathes* having on that occasion given uncommon proofs of his courage and conduct. Some years after a war breaking out between the *Romans* and *Aristonicus*, who claimed the kingdom of *Pergamus* in right of his father, he assisted the former to the utmost of his power, and was slain in the same battle in which *P. Crassus*, proconsul of *Asia*, was taken, and the *Roman* army cut in pieces. He left six sons by his wife *Laodice*, on whom the people of *Rome* bestowed *Lycaonia* and *Cilicia*. But *Laodice* fearing lest her children, when they came of age, should take the government out of her hands, poisoned five of them, the youngest only having escaped her cruelty by being privately conveyed out of the kingdom. *Laodice* was soon after put to death by the *Cappadocians*, who could not brook her cruel and tyrannical government, and the young king placed on the throne of his ancestors².

Ariarathes VII. soon after his accession to the crown married *Laodice* daughter to *Mithridates the Great*, in hopes of having in that prince a powerful friend to support him against *Nicomedes* king of *Bithynia*, who laid claim to part of *Cappadocia*. But *Mithridates*, without any regard either to friendship or affinity, suborned, one *Gordius* to poison him, and on his death seized the kingdom under pretence of maintaining the rights of the *Cappadocians* against *Nicomedes*, till the children of *Ariarathes* were in a condition to govern and defend the kingdom by themselves. The *Cappadocians* were at first very thankful to *Mithridates*, as not entertaining any manner of suspicion against him; but finding him unwilling to resign the kingdom to the lawful heir, they rose up in arms, and driving out all his garisons, placed on the throne the eldest son of their deceased king, viz.

Ariarathes VIII. who was soon engaged in a war with *Nicomedes* king of *Bithynia*, that prince laying claim to some of the provinces that bordered on his kingdom. In this war *Mithridates* joined his nephew, and not only forced *Nicomedes* to abandon *Cappadocia*, but stripped him of great part of his own dominions. A peace being at last concluded between the kings of *Bithynia* and *Cappadocia*, *Mithridates* seeking

Ariarathes VIII.

¹ POLYB in excerpt. Valef. p. 173. ² JUSTIN l. xxxvii. c. 1.

some pretence to quarrel with *Ariarathes*, insisted upon his recalling *Gordius*, who had murdered his father; which proposal he rejecting with adhorrence, both princes began to prepare for war. *Mithridates* took the field the first, hoping to over-run *Cappadocia*, before *Ariarathes* could be in a condition to make head against him. But contrary to his expectation, he was met on the frontiers by *Ariarathes* at the head of an army no-ways inferior to his own. Hereupon having recourse to snares, he invited *Ariarathes* to a conference; and in the sight of both armies stabbed him with a dagger, which he had concealed under his garment, as we have related elsewhere. This struck such terror into the *Cappadocians*, that they immediately dispersed, and gave *Mithridates* an opportunity of possessing himself of the kingdom, without the least opposition. But he did not long enjoy his unjust conquests; for the *Cappadocians*, not being able to endure the tyranny and cruelty of his prefects, shook off the yoke, and recalling the king's brother, who had fled into the province of *Asia*, proclaimed him king.

Ariarathes IX.

Ariarathes IX. was scarce warm in his throne, when *Mithridates* invaded his kingdom at the head of a very numerous army; and having drawn him to a battle, defeated his army with great slaughter, and obliged him to abandon the kingdom to the conqueror. The king soon after died of grief, and *Mithridates* bestowed *Cappadocia* on his own son, who was then but eight years old, giving him also the name of *Ariarathes* ². But *Nicomeder Philopator*, king of *Bithynia*, fearing lest *Mithridates*, having now got possession of the whole kingdom of *Cappadocia*, should invade his territories, suborned a youth to pass himself upon the senate for the third son of *Ariarathes*, and to present them a petition in order to be restored to his father's kingdom. With him he sent to *Rome* *Laodice*, sister to *Mithridates*, whom he had married after the death of her former husband *Ariarathes*. *Laodice* declared before the senate that she had three sons by *Ariarathes*, and that the petitioner was one of them; but that she had been obliged to keep him concealed, lest he should undergo the same fate as his brothers. The senate assured him that they would at all adventures reinstate him in his kingdom; for the whole matter was carried on with such craft, that they had not the least suspicion of any deceit. But in the mean time *Mithridates* having notice of these transactions, dispatched *Gordius* to *Rome* to undeceive the senate, and per-

² JUSTIN. l. xxxviii. c. 1, 2.

suade them, that the youth, to whom he had resigned the kingdom of *Cappadocia*, was the lawful son of the late king, and grandson to that *Ariarathes* who had assisted the *Romans* against *Aristonicus*, and lost his life in their service ^a. This unexpected embassy put the senate upon inquiring more narrowly into the matter, whereby the whole plot was discovered, and *Mithridates* ordered to resign *Cappadocia*. *Paphlagonia* as wat the same time taken from *Nicomedes*, and both kingdoms declared free. But the *Cappadocians* sent ambassadors to *Rome*, acquainting the senate, that they could not live without a king, which the senate was greatly surprized at; but however humouring their inclination, gave them leave to elect a king of their own nation, for the royal family of *Pharnaces* was now extinct. They chose unanimously *Ariobarzanes*, and their election was approved by the senate, he having, on all occasions, shewn himself a steady friend to the *Romans* ^b.

Ariobarzanes had scarce taken possession of his new king-
dom, when he was driven out by *Tigranes* king of the *Greater* *Armenia*, who resigned it to the son of *Mithridates*, according to the articles of an alliance previously concluded between these two princes. *Ariobarzanes* fled to *Rome*, and having engaged the senate in his cause, he returned into *Asia* with *Sylla*, who was enjoined to restore him to his kingdom; which he did accordingly, having with a small body of men routed *Gordius*, who came to meet him on the borders of *Cappadocia* at the head of a numerous army. But *Sylla* had scarce turned his back, when he was driven out anew by *Ariarathes*, the son of *Mithridates*, on whom ^{*}*Tigranes* had bestowed the kingdom of *Cappadocia*. This obliged *Sylla* to return into *Asia*, where he was attended with the same success, and *Ariobarzanes* placed again on the throne. After the death of *Sylla* he was the third time forced by *Mithridates* to abandon his kingdom, but was soon restored by *Pompey*, who, after having intirely defeated *Mithridates* near mount *Stella*, rewarded *Ariobarzanes*, for his services during the war, with the provinces of *Sophene*, *Gordiene*, and great part of *Cilicia*. But he being now advanced in years, and desirous to spend the remainder of his life in ease and free from cares, resigned the crown to his son *Ariobarzanes* in presence of *Pompey*, and never afterwards interfered with public affairs. *Tully* in one of his letters seems to insinuate as if he had been killed ^c.

^a JUSTIN. ubi supra. ^b JUSTIN. l. xxxviii. c. 2. STRAB. l. xii. p. 540. ^c CIC. epist. famil. 15.

Ariobarzanes II. *Ariobarzanes* II. proved a no less faithful ally and friend to the *Romans* than his father had been. He was very serviceable to *Cicero*, as he himself witnesses, during the time he was proconsul of *Cilicia*. The civil war breaking out between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, he sided with the latter; but after the death of *Pompey* was received into favour by *Cæsar*, who even bestowed upon him great part of *Armenia*. While *Cæsar* was engaged in a war with the *Egyptians*, *Pharnaces* king of *Pontus* invaded his territories, and stripped him of his paternal kingdom, as well as of his new acquisitions. But *Pharnaces* being overcome by *Cæsar*, he was not only restored to his kingdom, but honoured with new titles by the *Romans*. After the murder of *Cæsar* he refused to join *Cassius* and *Brutus*, who thereupon having declared him an enemy to the republic, invaded his dominions; and having taken him prisoner, caused him to be put to death.

Ariobarzanes III. He was succeeded by his brother *Ariobarzanes* III. who as we have elsewhere mentioned, was by *Marc Antony* deprived both of his life and kingdom. In him ended the family of *Ariobarzanes*.

Archelaus. *Archelaus* the grandson of that *Archelaus*, who in the *Mithridatic* war commanded in chief against *Sylla*, as we have mentioned above, was by *Marc Antony* placed on the throne of *Cappadocia*, though no-ways related either to the family of *Pharnaces*, or that of *Ariobarzanes*. His preferment was entirely owing to his mother *Glaphyra*, a woman of great beauty, but of a very loose behaviour; who having gained *Antony's* good graces by indulging his lust, obtained by way of reward for her compliance the kingdom of *Cappadocia* for her son. To this alludes the epigram of *Augustus* related by *Martial* ^d. In the war between *Augustus* and *Antony* he joined the latter; but at the intercession of the *Cappadocians* was not only pardoned by *Augustus*, but received from him *Armenia the Lesser* and *Cilicia Trachea*, for having assisted the *Roman* prætors in clearing the seas of pirates, who greatly infested the coasts of *Asia*. He contracted a strict friendship with *Herod the Great*, king of *Judæa*, and even married his daughter *Glaphyra* to *Alexander*, *Herod's* son. *Herod* becoming jealous of his son, as if he aspired to the kingdom, *Archelaus* took a journey into *Judæa*, with no other view but to remove his suspicions, and reconcile him to his son; which he happily effected, though on account of new suspicions *Alexander* was not long after by his father's order put to death. *Herod* accompanied in person *Archelaus* on his return.

^d MARTIAL. l. xi. epigram 21.

into *Cappadocia* as far as *Antioch*, where he recommended him to *Titus*, then president of *Syria*, as the best friend he had. After the death of *Alexander*, *Archelaus* gave his children a princely education, and shewed a particular tenderness and concern for them till the day of his death. In the reign of *Tiberius* he was summoned to appear before the senate ; for he had been always hated by *Tiberius*, because in his retirement at *Rhodes* he had paid him no sort of court or distinction ; which proceeded from no pride or aversion to *Tiberius*, but from the warning given him by his friends at *Rome*. For *Caius Cæsar*, the presumptive heir to the empire, then lived, and had been sent to compose the affairs of the east. Whence the friendship of *Tiberius* was then reckoned dangerous. But when he came to the empire, remembering how *Archelaus* had behaved, he enticed him to *Rome* by means of letters from *Livia*, who, without dissembling her son's resentment, promised him his pardon, provided he came in person to implore it. He obeyed the summons, and hastened to *Rome*, where he was received by the emperor with great wrath and contempt, and soon after accused as a criminal in the senate. The crimes alledged against him were mere fictions ; but his concern in seeing himself treated like a malefactor was so great, that he died soon after of grief, or, as others say, laid violent hands on himself *. He is said to have reigned fifty years. *Pliny* tells us †, that he wrote a book of agriculture. Upon his death the kingdom of *Cappadocia* was reduced to a province, and governed by those of the equestrian order (Y).

Archelaus dies, and his kingdom is reduced to a Roman province.

* TACIT. Annal. l. i. † PLIN. l. xviii. c. 3.

(Y) Other authors tell us, that *Archelaus* would have been condemned by the servile senate, had not one of the evidences produced against him deposed, that he had heard him say, *If ever he went back into Cappadocia, Tiberius should feel what nerves he had* ; which moved such a laughter in the senate, the old king, by reason of the gout and other distempers, not being able to stand by himself, that he was dismissed ; *Tiberius* thinking that he could not punish him more effectually than by suffering him to live. This favour, say they, the old king continued in the best manner, and out of gratitude bequeathed his kingdom to *Rome*.

C H A P. VI.

*The History of the kings of P E R -
G A M U S.*

TH E city of *Pergamus* we have already described in our history of *Mysia*, to which province it formerly belonged, and was subject to the same princes, till it became the metropolis of a separate kingdom. We shall therefore only add here the history of the *Pergamenian* kings, who from small beginnings came by degrees to make a considerable figure among the potentates of *Asia*, and proved very serviceable to the *Romans* in all their *Asiatic* wars.

Philetæ-
rus.

Year of
the Flood,
2715.
Before
Christ,
284.

THE first of this family we find mentioned in history was one *Philetærus*, an eunuch, by birth a *Paphlagonian*, of a mean descent, and in his youth a menial servant to *Antigonus*, one of *Alexander's* captains. He afterwards served *Lyfimachus* king of *Thrace* and *Macedon*, who appointed him keeper of his treasures lodged in *Pergamus*. While he held this employment, *Lyfimachus*, at the instigation of his wife *Arfinoe*, barbarously murdered his son *Agathocles*, who had attended him in all his wars, and by whose conduct he had gained most of his victories. His death was publicly lamented by *Philetærus*, who was chiefly indebted to him for his preferment. Whereupon *Arfinoe* highly incensed against him, found means to work him by degrees out of his master's favour; which he being apprized of, seized on the castle of *Pergamus*, and the treasures which he had been intrusted with, to the amount of ninety thousand talents, which he proffered with his service to *Seleucus* king of *Syria*. But both *Lyfimachus* and *Seleucus* dying soon after, he kept the treasures, and with a strong body of mercenaries held the town till his death, which happened twenty years after he had revolted from *Lyfimachus*. He died in the eightieth year of his age, and is by some styled prince, by others king of *Pergamus*; he was at least the founder of this new kingdom, though

though perhaps he never assumed the title of king. He left Eumenes the kingdom to *Eumenes* his brother, or, as some write, his I. brother's son, who laying hold of the dissensions that reigned among the *Seleucidæ*, invaded *Asia*, possessed himself of many strong-holds in that province, and having hired a strong body of *Galatians*, defeated *Antiochus* as he was returning home, proud with a remarkable victory which he had gained over his brother *Seleucus Callinicus* †. This victory put him in possession of the greater part of *Asia*; but he did not long enjoy his new acquisitions, for he died the next year of immoderate drinking, a vice which he was greatly addicted to, in the twenty second year of his sovereignty; for we do not find that he ever took upon him the title of king.

Eumenes was succeeded by *Attalus* I. the son of *Attalus*, Attalus I. brother to *Philetærus* by *Antiochis* the daughter of *Achæus*. For *Attalus*, though of a mean descent, being plentifully supplied with money by his brother *Philetærus*, visited most of the courts of the *Asiatic* princes, and was every-where had in great esteem, being a man of excellent natural parts. He proved so serviceable to *Achæus*, who, revolting from *Antiochus the Great*, assumed the title of king, that he bestowed upon him his favourite daughter *Antiochis*. By her *Attalus* had one son named also *Attalus*, who upon the death of *Eumenes* took possession of *Pergamus*, and the places which he had added to his small principality. In the very beginning of his reign he routed the *Gauls* with great slaughter, and forced them to abandon his territories, where they had proposed to settle. After this victory he took upon himself the title of king, and as such was acknowledged by all the neighbouring princes (Z). *Livy* tells us that he was the first among the *Asiatic* princes who refused to pay contribution to the *Gauls*,

† *JURIN*. l. xxvii. c. 2, & 3.

(Z) The crown continued in his family to the third generation, of which *Suidas* relates an answer given him by the oracle of *Delphos*, in these words: *Go on Taurocerus; you shall wear a crown, and your son's sons, but to no other shall it pass.* He was called *Taurocerus* from a pair of bull's horns, which were put we know not by whom, on the head of his statue. He was also called the son of a bull by another oracle, wherein it was foretold that he should one day make a great slaughter of the *Gauls*; the answer of the oracle is related by *Pausanias* in the following words (72): *Jupiter shall quickly send them a deliverer, the son of a bull, educated by Jupiter, who shall bring a dismal day on the Gauls.*

(72) *Pausan.* in *Phocicis*. p. 334.

His con-
quests.

Enters in-
to an al-
liance with
Rome.

Delivers
to the Ro-
mans the
great mo-
ther of
the gods.

whom he worsted in a pitched battle². While *Seleucus Ceraunus* was employed in other wars he raised a powerful army, and entering *Asia*, subdued all the provinces on this side mount *Taurus*. But was soon driven out of his new acquisitions by *Seleucus*, and his grand-father *Achæus*, who entering into an alliance against him, stript him of all his dominions, and even besieged him in his metropolis. *Attalus* finding himself thus reduced to the last extremity, invited with great promises the *Gauls*, who had settled in *Thrace*, to his assistance, who marching with all speed to *Pergamus*, obliged the enemy to raise the siege, and being headed by the king himself, recovered in a short time all the cities and provinces which they had seized. *Attalus* having thus recovered what the enemy had taken, while *Achæus* was busy in *Paphlagonia*, he marched into *Ionia*, and the neighbouring provinces, where the cities of *Cuma*, *Smyrna*, and *Phocæa* voluntarily submitted; the *Teians*, *Colophonians*, with the inhabitants of *Egea* and *Lemnos*, sent deputies, declaring themselves ready to acknowledge him for their sovereign; the *Carfenians* on the other side the river *Lycus* opened their gates to him, having first driven out *Themistocles*, whom *Achæus* had appointed governor of those provinces. From thence he advanced to *Apia*, and encamping on the banks of the river *Megistus*, received homage from all the neighbouring nations. Here the *Gauls*, being frightened with an eclipse of the moon, refused to pursue their march, which stopt the career of his conquests, and obliged him to return to the *Hellepont*, where he gave the *Gauls* leave to settle, and allowed them a large and fruitful territory, assuring them that he would always assist and protect them to the utmost of his power. Having thus enlarged his dominions, he returned to *Pergamus*, where he received with great pomp and magnificence the Roman legate *Lævius*, and entered into an alliance with *Rome*, which secured to him all his acquisitions. In the reign of *Attalus* a certain prophecy was found in the sibylline books by the college of the *Decemviri*, to whose care those books were intrusted, to this purport: *Whensoever a foreign enemy shall invade Italy, he shall be driven out and overcome, if the image of the great mother of the gods at Ida, which fell from heaven, be sent for and brought to Rome.* Whereupon five embassadors were without delay dispatched to *Attalus*, who received them with all possible marks of friendship and kindness, and attending them in person to

² Liv. l. xxxviii.

Pessinus in *Phrygia*, there delivered into their hands a stone which the inhabitants worshipped as the great mother of the gods^h. He joined the *Romans* in both their wars with *Philip* king of *Macedon*, who invaded his dominions, laying waste whole provinces, but was not able to reduce one city. In the second war *Attalus* had the command of the *Rhodian* fleet, with which he not only drove the *Macedonians* quite out of the seas, but even, in conjunction with his allies the *Athenians*, invaded *Macedonia*, and obliged *Philip* to march off from *Athens*, which he had greatly distressed, in order to defend his own kingdom. For which services the *Athenians* heaped upon *Attalus* all the favours they could, and even called one of their own tribes after his name, an honour which they had never before bestowed upon any foreignerⁱ. He died of *His death.* an apoplexy, which seized him at *Thebes* in *Bæotia*, while he was making an harangue to the *Bæotians*, and exhorting them with more vehemency, than his age and strength could bear, to enter into an alliance with the *Romans* against *Philip* their common enemy. In the midst of his harangue he fell down speechless; but returning to himself, desired to be carried by sea from *Thebes* to *Pergamus*, where he died soon after his arrival^k, in the seventy second year of his age, and forty third of his reign. He was a great encourager of learning, and wrote himself some books, which are often quoted by *Pliny*, *Artemidorus*, and *Strabo*. He caused the grammarian *Daphidas* to be thrown headlong from a high rock for speaking disrespectfully of *Homer*^l. His generosity towards men of learning knew no bounds, whence he is highly commended by all the writers that flourished in his time; as is also his wife *Apollonias*, or, as others call her, *Apollonis*, whom, though of a mean extraction, they propose as a pattern of all princely virtues. By her he left four sons, *Eumenes*, *Attalus*, *Philetærus*, and *Athenæus*^m.

He was succeeded by *Eumenes* his eldest son, who upon his accession to the crown renewed the alliance which his father had made with the *Romans*, and observed it so religiously, that *Antiochus the Great* having proffered him his daughter *Antiochis* in marriage, he declined his affinity, being apprised that *Antiochus* courted his friendship with a view to strengthen himself by his alliance against the *Romans*; for his eldest daughter he had bestowed on *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*, and of-

Eumenes

II.

Year of

the Flood.

2802.

Before

Christ,

197.



^h POLYB. l. xxix. LIV. l. ix. ⁱ LIV. l. xxxi. POLYB.

legat. 3 p. 786, 787. ^k LIV. l. xxxiii. POLYB. p. 820.

PLUTARCH. in Quinto Flaminio ^l SUIDAS. VAL. MAX.

l. l. c. 8. ^m SUIDAS at the word Attalus.

*Inflames
the Ro-
mans a-
gainst An-
tiochus.*

ferred the second to *Ariarathes*, king of *Cappadocia*, and was at that time making great preparations for war both by sea and land.^a *Eumenes*, who was very jealous of so powerful a neighbour, did not fail to acquaint the senate with all his motions, who thereupon sent *P. Villius*, and *P. Sulpitius*, under appearance of an embassy to *Antiochus*; but really to inform themselves of the preparations he was making, and by often conversing with *Hannibal*, who was then in great esteem with *Antiochus*; either to abate his hatred towards the Romans, or make *Antiochus* jealous of him; for they apprehended *Hannibal* to be at the bottom of those vast preparations.^o The ambassadors went first to *Elæa*, and from thence to *Pergamus*; for their instructions were to confer with *Eumenes*, before they went to the court of *Antiochus*. *Eumenes* did all that lay in his power to inflame them against *Antiochus*, assuring them, that he had nothing less in view than the empire of all *Asia*. Soon after the departure of the ambassadors, who returned very much dissatisfied with *Antiochus*, *Eumenes* sent his brother *Attalus* to *Rome*, to acquaint the senate, that *Antiochus* at the persuasion of the *Ætolians* had passed over into *Greece* with an army consisting of ten thousand foot, five hundred horse, and six elephants, and that the *Ætolians* were all to a man ready to join him. The senate received *Attalus* with the greatest demonstrations of friendship and kindness, returned thanks both to him and the king his brother, provided him with lodgings at the expence of the public, and dismissed him loaded with presents, promising to send an army into *Greece*, which should defeat the king's measures, and keep in awe the *Ætolians*. Which they did accordingly, sending *M. Acilius* consul into *Greece*, who having vanquished *Antiochus* at *Thermopylae*, obliged him to fly back into *Asia*.^p In this war *Attalus* was appointed to command the Roman fleet; and his brother *Eumenes* assisted the Romans both with his navy, and all the land-forces he could raise. As the fleet of *Antiochus* was returning from *Greece* into *Asia* under the command of *Polyxenidas*, they happened to fall in with the Roman fleet, commanded by *Eumenes* and *C. Livius Salinator*, who falling upon them sunk ten of their ships, took thirty, and dispersed the rest. This victory was in great measure owing to *Eumenes*, who boarded some of the enemies ships in person, and during the whole action behaved himself with uncommon bra-

^a POLYB. legat. 25. LIV. l. xxxvii. ^o LIV. l. xxxiv, xxxv. JUSTIN. l. xxxi. c. 4. FRONTIN. Stratag. l. i. c. 8. APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 90, 91. ^p LIV. l. xxxvi. PLUTARCH. in Cato. Major. APPIAN. in Syriacis. FRONTIN. Stratag. l. ii.

Very. Sometime after *Eumenes*, with a body of five thousand men, entered the territories of *Antiochus*, and having laid waste all the country about *Thyatira*, returned to *Canas*, where the *Roman* fleet wintered, with an immense booty.^a While *Eumenes* was thus employed in aiding the *Romans* abroad, he was unexpectedly called home to the defence of his own country. For *Antiochus* invading his territories, laid waste the whole country about *Elæa*, and even sent his son *Seleucus* to lay siege to the royal city of *Pergamus*. *Attalus*, the king's brother, held out with a handful of men, till the *Achæans*, the allies of *Eumenes*, sent a thousand foot and an hundred horse to his assistance. These were all chosen troops, who had served under *Philopæmen*, and were commanded by *Diophanes*, a man of great experience in war. *Diophanes* observing from the walls of the town the carelessness of the enemy, obtained leave of *Attalus* to march out of the city, and encamp at a small distance from them. Both *Attalus* and the citizens of *Pergamus* looked upon him as a mad-man, who durst venture out while the city was besieged by an army ten times their number. The enemy likewise were not a little surprized at first; but finding that he kept himself quiet in his camp, they returned to their former negligence and disorders, not imagining that with such a handful of men he would make any attempt upon their camp. Which *Diophanes* observing, sallies out unexpectedly at the head of an hundred horse, and having put in disorder their advanced guards, attacked *Seleucus* in his camp, and the *Achæan* foot coming up in the mean time, drove the whole army from their posts, and pursued them with great slaughter as far as he could safely venture without losing a man. The next day *Seleucus* encamped at a greater distance from the town, and, drawing out his men, offered the enemy battle; but *Diophanes* kept quiet in his camp, till *Seleucus*, despairing to draw him to an engagement, began to march his forces back to the camp, when falling upon their rear with his horse, he pursued them to their trenches with greater slaughter than he had done the day before. The boldness of the *Achæans* struck such terror into the enemy, that *Seleucus* thought fit to abandon the siege, and retire. *Attalus* and the *Pergamenians* beheld from the walls of the town, and admired the gallant behaviour of the *Achæans*, but had not the courage to venture out, which if they had done, the army of *Seleucus* might have been that day easily cut in pieces. This cowardly behaviour reflected no small dishonour on *Attalus*, though he had on all other occa-

Antiochus invades his territories, and lays siege to the city of Pergamus.

The siege raised.

^a Liv. l. xxxvii.

The gal-
lant beha-
viour of
Eumenes
at the bat-
tle of
Magnesia.

How re-
warded by
the Ro-
mans.

sions behaved with uncommon gallantry'. In the mean time *Eumenes* himself arriving at *Pergamus*, and the *Rhodian* and *Roman* fleets joining that king's, *Antiochus* and his son *Seleucus* retired with great precipitation out of his territories; and hearing that the consul *L. Scipio* was ready to pass over into *Asia* with all his forces, dispatched ambassadors to *L. Emilius*, who commanded the *Roman* army, to sue for a peace. *Emilius* sent for *Eumenes* to advise with him in this conjuncture, as he likewise did with *Eudamus* and *Pamphilidas*, commanders of the *Rhodian* fleet. The *Rhodians* were not against a peace; but *Eumenes*, who would hearken to no terms, persuaded *Emilius* to dismiss the ambassadors with this answer; that no peace could be concluded before the arrival of the consul; for *L. Scipio* was then in full march to join them. *Antiochus* seeing there was no hopes of obtaining a peace upon honourable conditions, either of *Emilius*, or afterwards of *Scipio*, resolved to venture a general engagement, in which he was entirely defeated, in great measure, by the gallant behaviour of *Eumenes*, who not only bore, without giving ground, the first onset of the elephants, and armed chariots, but drove them back upon their own men; which putting the ranks in disorder, gave the *Roman* horse an opportunity of attacking them, and throwing the whole army into the utmost confusion. After this battle, which was fought at the foot of mount *Sipylos*, not far from *Magnesia*, *Antiochus* was glad to accept a peace upon any terms. One of the conditions was, that he should pay four hundred talents to *Eumenes*, and a certain quantity of corn, to make amends for the losses he had sustained during the war. The peace being concluded, *Eumenes* took a journey to *Rome*, where he represented to the senate, with a great deal of moderation, what he had done in the service of the republic, and told them, that he was come to beg of them, that the *Greek* cities, which at the beginning of the war were subject to *Antiochus*, might be added to his dominions, since in him they might promise themselves a faithful friend and ally, and look upon his new acquisitions as their own. His demand was warmly opposed by the *Rhodian* ambassadors and those of all the *Greek* cities in *Asia*. But both parties being heard, the senate after a long debate decreed, that all the countries on this side mount *Taurus*, which belonged to *Antiochus*, should be given to *Eumenes*, together with the other provinces lying between the mountain and the river *Mæander*, except *Lycia* and *Caria*, which were bestowed on the *Rhodians*. Moreover all the cities, which had been tributary to *Attalus*, were ordered to

'LIV. l. xxxvii. POLYB. legat. 20. p. 810. APPIAN. 102 pay

pay the same tribute to *Eumenes*; but such as had been tributary to *Antiochus* were declared free¹. *Eumenes* having thus, by siding with the *Romans* enlarged his dominions, was soon after engaged in a new war with *Prusias* king of *Bithynia*, who confiding altogether in *Hannibal*, whom he entertained at his court, invaded his territories. But *Eumenes* being assisted by the *Romans*, gave him two great overthrows, one by sea, and the other by land, which so disheartened him, that he was ready to accept of a peace upon any terms whatsoever. However, before the conditions were agreed upon, *Hannibal* found means to draw *Philip* king of *Macedon* into an alliance against *Eumenes*, and the *Romans*. *Philip*, who was highly incensed against the *Romans*, who had obliged him to evacuate the cities of *Enus* and *Maroneæ* in *Thrace*, and no less exasperated against *Eumenes*, on whom they had bestowed them, sent *Philocles*, an old and experienced officer, with a considerable body to join *Prusias*. Hereupon *Eumenes* sent his brother *Athenæus* to *Rome*, with a golden crown valued at fifteen thousand talents, to complain of *Philip* for aiding *Prusias*, and of *Prusias*, for making war upon the allies of the people of *Rome* without any manner of provocation. The senate accepted of the present, and promised to send forthwith ambassadors to settle matters to the satisfaction of *Eumenes*, whom they looked upon as the most steady friend the republic had in *Asia*. But in the mean time *Prusias* having ventured a sea-fight, obtained, by a contrivance of *Hannibal's*, a complete victory over *Eumenes*. For *Hannibal* advised him to fill a great many earthen vessels with various kinds of serpents, and other poisonous reptiles, and in the heat of the fight to throw them into the enemies ships, so as to break the vessels, and let the serpents loose. All the soldiers and seamen were enjoined to attack the ship, in which *Eumenes* himself was, and only defend themselves against the others as well as they could; and that they might not mistake the ship, a herald was sent before the engagement with a letter to the king. As soon as the two fleets drew near, all the enemies ships singling out the king's, discharged such a quantity of serpents against it, that neither the sailors nor soldiers could perform their duty, but were forced to fly to the shore, lest they should fall into the enemies hands. The other ships, after a faint resistance, followed the king's example, and were all driven ashore with great slaughter, the

*Defeated
in a sea-
fight by a
stratagem
of Hanni-
bal.*

¹ POLYB. legat. 25, & 36. DIONOR. SICUL. legat. 10 LIV. l. xxvii. & xxviii. APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 116.

soldiers being no less annoyed by the stings of the serpents than the arrows of the enemies. Most part of *Eumenes's* ships were set on fire, several taken, and the others so shattered, that they could be of no further service. *Eumenes* encamped on the shore where he had placed some companies of foot; but the enemy did not think fit to abandon their ships ^t. Thus *Prusias* gained a complete victory by sea; and the same year two remarkable victories by land, which were intirely owing to *Hannibal*, who by one stratagem or another ever put *Eumenes* to flight. Having once advised *Prusias* to engage, and the king replying, that he durst not venture because the entrails of the sacrifices portended no good success; *What*, said *Hannibal*, *do you rely more on the entrails of an undistinguishing beast, than on the judgment of an experienced commander?* and commanding the signal to be given, put *Eumenes* to flight at the first onset ^u.

A peace
concluded
between
the two
kings by
the media-
tion of the
Romans.

WHEN news of the defeat of *Eumenes* was brought to Rome, the senate immediately dispatched ambassadors to conclude a peace between the two kings, and to demand *Hannibal* who had stirred up *Prusias* to this war ^w (A). By the mediation of the Roman ambassadors a peace between the two kings was agreed on, and *Prusias* even consented that *Hannibal* should be delivered up to the Romans. That great general kept himself close in a castle which had been given him by *Prusias*. He had made seven doors in the castle, whereof some were private, and known to none but himself; for he entertained some diffidence of *Prusias*, and therefore had contrived those private out-lets, that he might be able to withdraw in case the king's soldiers should come to apprehend him. But this contrivance stood him in no stead; for the soldiers sent by *Prusias* surrounded the castle on all sides, which *Hannibal* observing had recourse to a present poison, which he ever carried about with him, and thereby prevented the ill treatment he was likely to meet with from the Romans (B).

A PEACE

^t JUSTIN. l. xxxii. c. 4. ÆMIL. PROB. in Hannibale.

^u CIC. de divin. l. ii. PLUT. de exilio. VALER. MAX. l. iii. c. 7.

^w POLYB. legat. 47. LIV. l. xxxvi.

(A) *Polybius* (73) tells us, that *Ti Qu Flaminius* was on this occasion sent both to *Prusias* and to *Seleucus* king of Syria. But *Livy* (74) assures us, that *L. Scipio Asiaticus*, and *P. Scipio Nasica* were joined with him in the same commission.

(B) He died in the seventieth year of his age. Of his death

(73) *Polyb legat.* 47.

(74) *Liv. l. xxxvi. ex Galer. Amiat.*
the

A PEACE being thus concluded between *Eumenes* and *Eumenes Prusias*, a new war unexpectedly broke out between *Eumenes* and *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia* on one side, and *Pharnaces* king of *Pontus* and the *Asiatic Gauls* on the other. *Pharnaces* laying claim to some territories possessed by *Eumenes*, invaded his dominions, and seized on the city of *Synope*, which by the articles of a former treaty was to remain free. Hereupon *Eumenes* and *Ariarathes* his ally took the field; and in six days march arriving at *Amisus* in *Cappadocia*, encamped in sight of the enemy. But before they came to an engagement, news was brought of the arrival of the *Roman* legates, who had been sent by the senate to compose all differences in an amicable manner. *Eumenes* immediately dispatched his brother *Attalus* to welcome the *Roman* commissaries into those parts, and declared himself ready to refer all matters to their arbitration. But *Pharnaces* could by no means be prevailed upon to assist at any conference where *Attalus* was present; however he sent his ambassadors with full powers, declaring that he was willing to agree to such conditions as the *Romans* should think proper. But his ambassadors behaved in such manner as plainly shewed that *Pharnates* had no mind to come to any agreement. Whereupon the conferences were broke off, and *Eumenes* with the assistance of *Ariarathes* falling upon *Galatia*, reduced great part of that country; and was even preparing to invade *Pontus*, though he had sent at the same time a considerable body to the assistance of the *Rhodians* against the *Lycians*, refusing to live in subjection to their new masters. The success which attended the arms of the confederate kings, obliged at last *Pharnaces* to sue for a peace, which was granted on the following terms: that *Pharnaces* should forthwith march out of *Galatia*; and break off all former alliance with the *Gauls*; that he should likewise resign all the strong holds which he possessed in *Paphlagonia*; and send home without ransom such of the inhabitants as he had carried from thence; that he should restore to *Ariarathes*

engaged in
a new
war with
Pharnaces
king of
Pontus,
&c.

the following oracle is said to have been uttered many years before: Λιβύσθα κρύψει σώλος Αννίβας δέμας; that is, *The land of Libya, or Libyssa, shall cover the body of Hannibal*. By *Libya* or *Libyssa* *Hannibal* understood *Libya* in *Africa*; whereas the place meant by this oracle was a little village in *Bitthynia*, near the sea-side, called by the same name, whereof *Pliny* (75) speaks thus: *There was formerly in those parts a little town called Libyssa; where there is now nothing worth seeing except Hannibal's tomb.*

(75) *Plin. l. v. c. 32.*

A peace
concluded.

all the places which he was in possession of before the war broke out, and deliver both to him and *Eumenes* all the deserters and fugitives who had fled over to him since the beginning of the war; that he should pay back to *Morzas* and *Ariarathes* nine hundred talents, which he had taken from them, and three hundred more to *Eumenes*, to defray the expences he had been at during the war. By this treaty *Mithridates* king of *Armenia* was likewise to pay three hundred talents to *Ariarathes* for joining *Pharnaces* against him, contrary to an agreement between *Mithridates* and *Eumenes* †. *Pharnaces* no sooner gave hostages for the performance of these articles, but the armies broke up, and retired to their respective countries. *Eumenes* restored to *Prusias* the city of *Teius* in *Pontus*, which *Prusias* had resigned to him pursuant to the articles of agreement *.

Eumenes
enters in-
to an alli-
ance with
Antiochus
king of *Sy-*
ria.

Eumenes being thus delivered from any apprehension of war with his neighbours, entered into an alliance with *Antiochus* son of *Antiochus the Great*, king of *Syria*, whom *Heliodorus* after the murder of his brother *Seleucus* withheld from his paternal kingdom. Some writers say, that he began now to grow jealous of the too great power of the *Romans*, and to strengthen himself with other alliances, fearing they should at last prove as troublesome neighbours as *Antiochus the Great* had been to the kings of *Pergamus* †. But be that as it will, *Eumenes* with the assistance of his brother *Attalus*, drove out the usurper, and placed *Antiochus* on the throne of his ancestors. About the same time *Eumenes* falling out with the *Rhodians* his antient allies, not only stirred up the *Lycians* to a revolt, but moreover made frequent inroads into their territories on the continent. Embassadors were therefore dispatched to *Rome* to complain of the violent proceedings of *Eumenes*. But as the king himself happened to go to *Rome* at the same time upon another errand, the *Rhodian* embassadors could not obtain any satisfaction for the damages they had suffered. *Eumenes* had undertaken this journey to acquaint the senate with the vast preparations which *Perseus* king of *Macedon*, to whom *Eumenes* bore an implacable hatred, was making both by sea and land. The king was received at *Rome* with the highest honours, and entertained in a manner suitable to his dignity. Being admitted into the senate, he made a long and elegant harangue, wherein he told them, that besides the desire he had of seeing the gods and men to whom he owed his kingdom, and his present happy situation, he

Goes to
Rome to
acquaint
the senate
with the
designs of
Perseus.

† *POYB. legat* 59.
Syriac p. 116, 117.

* *Idem* *ibid.*

† *APPIAN. in*

had been induced to expose his person to so dangerous a journey by the mighty preparations which *Perseus* was carrying on with a design to drive the *Romans* out of *Asia*; he enlarged on this topic, and exhorted the senators with great vehemency to prevent the impending danger by falling upon the common enemy before he was in a condition to hurt them or their allies; he offered himself ready to assist them with men and money to the utmost of his power, and ended his speech with a modest rehearsal of his own services in behalf of the republic^a. What he said on this occasion, and the senate's answer, were kept so secret, that no one knew the true motive of his journey to *Rome*, till the war was ended, and *Perseus* taken prisoner^a (C). After *Eumenes* the ambassadors of the *Rhodians* were heard, who inveighed against *Eumenes* for encouraging and abetting the *Lycian* rebels, and told the senate, that *Eumenes* under the shadow of their power was become as troublesome to *Asia* as *Antiochus* himself. But as the *Rhodians* were grown somewhat out of favour with the *Romans* for having conveyed *Laodice* the daughter of *Seleucus* to her husband *Perseus*, their speech, tho' applauded by the *Asiatics*, rather enhanced the esteem and kindness of the senate to *Eumenes*, on whom they heaped all the honours they could, presented him with a stately chariot, and ivory staff, and sent him home loaded with rich presents^b. On his return as he was going from *Cirra* to perform a sacrifice at *Delphos*, two assassins sent by *Perseus* rolled down two great stones upon him as he entered the straits of the mountains. With one he was dangerously wounded on the head, with the other in the shoulder. As he fell with the blows from a steep place, and thereby received many other wounds, those who attended him carried him on board of his ship, not well knowing whether he was dead or alive. From *Cirra*, finding that he was still alive,

Narrowly escapes being killed by two assassins sent by Perseus.

^a LIV. l. xlii. APPIAN. legat. 25. a FUL. URSINO edit. LIV. ubi supra. VALER. MAXIM. l. ii. c. 2. ^b Liv. ubi supra. DIODOR. SICUL. 9. legat. 16.

(C) *Valerius Antias* writes, that *Attalus* brother to *Eumenes*, and not the king himself, came to *Rome* to give notice to the senate of the preparations which *Perseus* was making. But all other writers agree, that *Eumenes* came in person, and mention many particulars of his journey and reception at *Rome*. Among others they tell us, that *Cato* could not be induced to visit him, or shew him any kind of civility: and that being asked the reason of his peculiar conduct on that occasion, he answered, *A king is by nature a carnivorous animal.*

they conveyed him to *Cirinth*, and from *Corinth* to *Ægina*, having caused their vessels to be carried over the isthmus. There he was cured of his wounds with such secrecy, that none being admitted to see him, the report of his death was spread all over *Asia*, and even believed at *Rome* ^c. His brother *Attalus* being over-hasty in giving credit to the public fame, not only assumed the royal ensigns, but also married his brother's wife *Stratonice* daughter to *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*. But not long after hearing that his brother was alive, and on his journey to *Pergamum*, laying down the diadem, he went to meet him, bearing an halbert as one of his guards. The king embraced both him and the queen with great tenderness, but is said to have whispered in his brother's ear; *Don't be again in haste to marry my wife till you are sure that I am dead*. Nor did he during his whole life ever do or say any thing else that could reflect on his brother's or wife's rash and imprudent behaviour, but shewed them the same love and tenderness as he had ever done ^d. The news of his recovery caused an universal joy at *Rome*, whence ambassadors were sent to congratulate him on his safe arrival into his own kingdom without any other commission or instructions. But *Eumenes* laying hold of that occasion, did all that lay in his power to inflame them against *Perseus*, and began himself, this treacherous attempt increasing his antient hatred and aversion to the *Macedonians*, to make vast preparations in order to join the *Romans* and their allies against the king of *Macedon*. His example was followed by *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*, and the *Romans* drew into the same alliance *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*, and *Masaniissa* king of *Numidia*. *Perseus* in the mean time sent ambassadors to *Rome* to clear himself of the crimes laid to his charge by *Eumenes*; they made an artful speech to the senate, but as they gave no satisfaction with relation to the treacherous attempt of their master upon the life *Eumenes*, a war was decreed against *Perseus*, and the ambassadors ordered to depart *Rome* the same day, and within thirty days all *Italy* ^e.

Joins the
Romans
against
Perseus.

Eumenes upon advice that the *Romans* had at last declared war against *Perseus* sailed with his two brothers, *Attalus* and *Athenæus* to *Chalcis* in *Bæotia*, leaving his youngest brother *Philetærus* at *Pergamum* to defend his own dominions. From

^c LIV. l. xlii. APPIAN. legat. 25. ^d LIV. ubi supra. DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt. Valef. p. 306 PLUTARCH. in Apophthegm. ^e POLYB. legat. 67. DIODOR. SICUL. legat. 17. LIV. l. xlii.

Chalcis he marched into *Thessaly*, where he joined the consul *Licinius* with four thousand foot, and a thousand horse. *Athenæus* was left at *Chalcis* with two thousand foot to assist *Marius Lucretius*, who commanded a body of ten thousand men at the siege of *Haliartus*†. The town was taken and levelled with the ground, and great part of *Boeotia* reduced. The like success did not attend *Licinius*, *Eumenes*, and *Attalus*, in *Thessaly*, where they had two encounters with *Perseus*; in the first both parties claimed the victory, but in the second the Romans with their allies were put to flight, and *Cassignatus*, commander of the Gauls, with many other officers, killed on the spot^g. After this defeat the consul retired to *Larissa*, and from thence sent *Eumenes* and *Attalus* home; the rest of his army he kept during the winter in *Thessaly*, in order to be ready to take the field early in the spring. In the mean time the *Achæans* foreseeing that with the kingdom of *Macedon* the liberties of *Greece* must inevitably fall, and in that view bearing a grudge to *Eumenes*, who had incensed the Romans against *Perseus*, abrogated by a public decree all the honours they had conferred upon him. Which *Attalus*, who then wintered at *Elatia*, no sooner heard, but he sent ambassadors to expostulate thereupon with the common council of the nation. After the ambassadors were heard, at the persuasion of *Polybius* the historian, a decree was made, whereby *Eumenes* was reinstated in all his antient honours, and ambassadors dispatched to *Attalus* with a copy of the said decree. In that council it was likewise decreed, that auxiliaries should be sent to the Romans; and *Polybius* was appointed to command them^h. Thus *Attalus* prevailed upon the *Achæans*, not only to restore his brother to the honours they had conferred upon him, but also to join him and the Romans against the king of *Macedon*, whom they had favoured to that time.

EARLY in the spring *Eumenes* sailing with twenty ships from *Elæa*, joined on the coast of the *Cassandrenses* *Marcus Figulus* the Roman admiral, and invested both by sea and land the city of *Cassandra*, but was not able to reduce it. He likewise made unsuccessful attempts on the two strongholds, *Toron* and *Demetrias*, being obliged with considerable loss to retire from before them. As *Eumenes* about this time

Grew cold in his affection towards the Romans.

† Liv. l. xlii. legat. 78.

^g Liv. ubi supra.

^h Liv. l. xliv. Polyb.

might.

Confers
with an
ambassador
sent to him
by Perseus.

might. What alienated his mind from his antient allies, is uncertain ; but it is agreed on all hands, that from *Demetrias* he returned home, and could not, though earnestly entreated by the consul *Marcus*, be prevailed upon to leave behind him some troops of *Gaulish* horse, which would have proved very serviceable to the *Romans*. Some say, that a reconciliation between him and *Perseus* was privately negotiated by one *Cydas* of *Crete*, and *Antimachus* governor of *Demetrias*. For *Cydas*, who was greatly in favour with *Eumenes*, had had private conferences at *Amphipolis* with one *Chimaras*, likewise of *Crete*, and greatly addicted to *Perseus*, and at *Demetrias* had conferred with *Menecrates*, one of *Perseus's* commanders, and with *Antimachus* under the very walls of the city¹. Others say, that having joined *Marcus*, as he had done the other consuls, he was very coldly entertained by him, and not suffered to encamp within the same trenches ; which he highly resenting, took his leave of the consul, and with his forces returned home to *Pergamus*². *Perseus* no sooner heard that *Eumenes* had left the *Romans*, but he sent *Cryphontes*, as *Polybius* calls him, or *Erapontes*, as he is named in the printed copies of *Livy*, to propose conditions of agreement between him and *Eumenes*. *Cryphontes* represented to *Eumenes* that there could be no sincere friendship between a king and a free state ; that the *Romans* hated all kings alike, though they shewed the effects of their hatred to one only at a time, employing the forces and wealth of one king against another, with a design to compass the utter destruction of them all ; that they had reduced *Philip* with the assistance of *Attalus*, *Antiochus* with the help of *Philip* and *Eumenes*, and now designed to destroy *Perseus* with the forces of *Eumenes* and *Prusias* ; but when he was destroyed they would certainly fall upon *Eumenes*, whose territories lay next to theirs ; that they already pretended to be dissatisfied with him, in order to have a plausible pretence of treating him as they had treated other kings. *Eumenes* answered, that he apprehended no greater danger from the *Romans* than from *Perseus*, if he should happen to get the better of them. But however that he would stand neuter provided *Perseus* paid him a thousand talents, and for fifteen hundred talents more would persuade the *Romans* to hearken to conditions of an honourable peace. *Perseus* promised the sum required, but would not pay it before-hand, though *Eumenes* offered to give hostages for the performance of what he promis-

¹ LIV. I. xlv.² VELLEI PATERCUL. histor. l. i. c. 9.

ed. *Perseus* finding that he could not prevail upon *Eumenes* but with ready money, offered to deposit the sum agreed on in a temple of *Samothrace*, whence it should be conveyed to him as soon as the peace was concluded. But as the island of *Samothrace* was subject to *Perseus*, *Eumenes* thought himself no surer of the money, while it was there; than if it had been kept in the king's treasures at *Pella*. Besides, he thought that his good offices deserved some acknowledgment, whether they were attended with success or no; and therefore insisted upon this, that part of the sum should be paid before he made any step in the affair. This *Perseus*, who mistrusted *Eumenes*, could not be brought to; and thus the conferences were broke off, but the subject of them kept secret, *Eumenes* having sent an express to the *Roman* consul, acquainting him that their negotiations were concerning the redemption of captives¹. However, as the truth of the matter was soon after known by the *Romans*,
The Romans grow jealous of him. they began to entertain no small jealousy of *Eumenes*, and heap all their favours on his brother *Attalus* who had staid with the consul, and given undoubted proofs of his fidelity during the whole time of the *Macedonian* war. After the overthrow of *Perseus*, and utter destruction of the kingdom of *Macedon*, *Eumenes* sent his brother *Attalus* to congratulate the senate on the happy issue of that war, and at the same time to crave their assistance against the *Asiatic Gauls*, who began to be very troublesome neighbours. *Attalus* was received at *Rome*, and entertained in a princely manner. Several of the senators, who went to visit him before he had his audience, encouraged him to lay down the character of an ambassador from his brother, and treat for himself, assuring him, that, as the minds of the *Romans* were alienated from *Eumenes*, his brother's kingdom would be given to him, if he requested it of the senate. These promises at first awaked his ambition; for he approved or seemed to approve of the motion, and even promised to beg of the senate his brother's kingdom. But his honest nature was soon reclaimed by the wholesome admonitions of *Stratius* the physician, a man of great trust and authority with *Eumenes*, who had been sent with him to *Rome* as a trusty monitor, in case the *Romans* should tempt his fidelity. *Stratius* represented to him, that at present he reigned no less than his brother; and, in a short time considering, his brother's old age and infirmities, would have the kingdom entirely to himself without being guilty of rebellion; that the kingdom could scarcely be defended against the power of the *Gauls* by their mutual agree-
The senate encourages his brother Attalus, to demand the kingdom for himself.

¹ APPIAN. *Macedonic.* in excerpt. Valef p. 562.

ment,

The generous behaviour of Attalus.

Eumenes resolves to go to Rome to justify his proceedings.

But is prevented by the senate.

ment, much less could they hold out against so warlike a nation, if their strength were impaired and divided by civil dissensions. These considerations had so good an effect upon *Attalus*, that when he was admitted into the senate, he first congratulated them on their victory over *Perseus*, then modestly rehearsed his own services during the *Macedonian* war, and lastly acquainted them with the motive of his journey, intreating them to send ambassadors to the *Gauls*, who by their authority might oblige them to lay down their arms, and forbear all hostilities against his brother *Eumenes*; he requested the senate, that the cities of *Ænus* and *Maronea* might be bestowed on himself. As he omitted to sue for his brother's kingdom, they supposed that he designed to ask another day of audience for that affair alone. Wherefore they not only granted him all his requests; but sent him more rich and magnificent presents than they had ever done to any before. Nevertheless *Attalus* took no notice of their meaning, but left *Rome* contented with what they had granted him already. His unexpected departure provoked the senate to such a degree, that while he was yet in *Italy*, they declared the cities of *Ænus* and *Maronea* free; thereby making their promise ineffectual; which otherwise they could not without shame revoke. And as for the *Gauls*, who were ready to fall upon the kingdom of *Pergamus*, they dispatched ambassadors to them with such instructions as rather encouraged than prevented their design^m. *Eumenes* being informed by his brother of what had passed at *Rome*, thought it well worth his while to go in person and justify his proceedings before the senate. But his design being understood at *Rome*, a law was there enacted, that no king should be permitted to come to *Rome*; for they did not think it expedient to treat him as an enemy; and to entertain him as a friend was more than their displeasure for his ingratitude, as they styled it, would permit. Upon the first notice of his landing at *Brundisium*, the senate dispatched the quæstor to him with a copy of the edict, injoining him to acquaint the king, that if he had any thing to lay before the senate, he was commissioned to hear and propose it; but if he had no affairs to transact with the senators, to command him without delay to depart *Italy*. *Eumenes* understanding from the quæstor the pleasure of the senate, told him that he had no business of consequence to transact, and did not stand in any need of their assistance; and, without adding one word more, retired on board his ship and sailed back to *Pergamus*.

^m POLYB. legat. 93. LIV. l. xlv.

This treatment not only abated the courage of the king's friends, but animated the *Gauls* to invade his territories, seeing he could not expect any help from the *Romans*^a. But *Eumenes* raising a powerful army, not only drove the *Gauls* out of his own dominions, but invaded at the same time *Galatia* and *Bithynia*, laying waste those countries, plundering the cities, and possessing himself of many strong-holds. Whereupon *Prusias* king of *Bithynia* sent ambassadors to *Rome* to complain of these violent proceedings, and acquaint the senate, that *Eumenes* had entered into an alliance with *Antiochus* king of *Syria*, and countenanced all those who shewed any aversion to the *Romans*^b. With the ambassadors of *Prusias* came also those of the *Gauls*, of the *Selgenses*, and many other cities of *Asia* to accuse *Eumenes*, as if he kept a secret correspondence with *Perseus*, which was also confirmed by some letters, which the *Romans* themselves had intercepted. *Eumenes* fearing lest the senate should declare him an enemy, and join the *Gauls* and *Prusias*, charged his two brothers, *Attalus* and *Athenæus*, to clear him at *Rome* of the crimes objected to him by his enemies. They were both received with all possible marks of honour, but could not dissipate the jealousies which the senate had conceived against *Eumenes*. For not long after their departure, *C. Sulpitius Gallus* and *Marius Sergius* were sent into *Asia* in quality of legates, and enjoined to make a strict inquiry into the councils and designs of *Antiochus* and *Eumenes*. *Sulpitius Gallus*, upon his entering *Asia*, caused a proclamation to be made in all the cities of that province, whereby all those, who had any complaints against *Eumenes*, were ordered to repair to *Sardis*, where they should have justice done them. The legate himself arriving by the time appointed at *Sardis*, caused a tribunal to be erected in a public place, on which for ten days together he received all the accusations and complaints against *Eumenes* that were laid before him, as if he had been sent on purpose to pick a quarrel with the king. *Eumenes*, who was well apprised of his design, but unwilling to engage in a war against so powerful an enemy, especially in his old age, again sent his brother *Attalus* to *Rome*, hoping, that by his mediation he might be suffered to end his days in peace. *Attalus* did all that lay in his power to appease the wrath of the senators, and bring his brother again into favour. But all was to no purpose, they could by no means be prevailed upon to forget his behaviour during the *Macedonic* war, and seemed obstinately bent upon

Sends his two brothers to plead his cause at Rome.

Legates sent from Rome to inquire into the designs of Eumenes.

^a POLYB. legat. 97. LIV. l. xlvii.
LIV. ubi supra.

^b POLYB. legat. 104.

Eumenes
dies.

his destruction. But their designs were prevented by the death of the king, which happened soon after the return of *Attalus*, to whom he bequeathed both his wife and his kingdom. He died in the thirty ninth year of his reign, leaving one son behind him, whom he had by *Stratonice*, the sister of *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*. But he, being an infant at the time of his father's death, was incapable of governing the kingdom; and therefore *Eumenes* chose to put his brother *Attalus* into the present possession of the crown, reserving the next succession to his son ^p (D).

Attalus.
Year of
the Flood,
2840.
Before
Christ,
159.

Attalus was scarce seated on the throne, when *Prusias*, king of *Bithynia*, surnamed *the Hunter*, invaded, upon what provocation we know not, his dominions, and committing every-where most dreadful ravages, advanced to the very walls of *Pergamus*, overthrew *Attalus* in a pitched battle, and made himself master of the capital of his kingdom. He expected to have found *Attalus* in the city, but that prince having saved himself by a timely retreat, *Prusias* vented his rage upon the unhappy citizens, putting a great number of them to the sword, and setting fire to their houses ^q. Here-

Reduced to
great
straits by
Prusias
king of
Bithynia.

upon *Attalus* dispatched ambassadors to *Italy* to lay before the *Roman* senate the condition to which the kingdom of *Pergamus* was reduced. But *Nicomedes* the son of *Prusias*, who was then at *Rome* for his education, answered all the complaints that were made against his father, and even returned them against *Attalus*, as if he had been the aggressor. However, two commissioners were sent into the east to put an end to the disputes of the two kings on the spot: But *Prusias*, without paying them the least deference, continued ravaging the territories of *Pergamus*. *Attalus* therefore taking the advantage of the return of one of the ambassadors, sent his brother *Athenæus* with him to make new complaints to the senate. As he advanced nothing but what was confirmed by their own ambassador, the senators were at last convinced that

^p POLYB. ubi supra. PLUTARCH. in Apophthegm. STRAB. l. xiii. p. 624. ^q DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt. Vales. p. 169, 170, 337. SUID. in voce Prusias.

(D) *Suidas* calls him the greatest and most powerful king of his time. We have elsewhere made mention of his famous library at *Pergamus*, wherein were lodged two hundred thousand chosen books all collected by himself. These *Marc Antony* afterwards bestowed upon *Cleopatra*, by whose order they were carried from *Pergamus* to *Alexandria*.

Prusias

Prusias was the aggressor, and therefore sent him forthwith orders to withdraw his forces from the territories of *Attalus*. But *Prusias* under various pretences pursued the war for the space of three whole years, and reduced the kingdom of *Pergamus* to a most deplorable condition. At length he pretended to be ready to obey the decrees of the senate, and desired a conference with *Attalus*. At his request it was agreed, that the contending princes should meet on the frontiers of the two kingdoms, each attended by a guard of a thousand men, in order to put an end to their differences in the presence of the *Roman* envoys. But *Prusias*, who had no other view in this than to seize *Attalus*, marched his whole army to the frontiers, and concealing his troops behind the neighbouring hills, gave them orders to surround the *Romans* and *Pergamenses*, as soon as they should appear. But *Attalus* and the *Romans*, having timely notice of his design, saved themselves by flight, before the *Bithynian* forces could put the king's orders in execution. *Prusias* followed them to *Pergamus* after he had plundered the baggage of the ambassadors; and then marched to *Elæa*, a maritime city of *Æolis*, hoping to surprize it. But as the place was well garrisoned, and stored with all sorts of provisions, he did not think it adviseable to attempt the reduction of it. He therefore sent back his land-forces to *Bithynia*, and embarking on board his fleet set sail for *Thyatira*^r.

*Treachery
of Prusias.*

THE senate, being upon the return of their ambassadors informed of these proceedings, were highly provoked against *Prusias*; but however, instead of declaring war against one who had affronted their ambassadors and despised their orders, they contented themselves with sending ten commissioners, whose number at least might make some impression on the *Bithynian*. Among these were *L. Anicius*, *C. Fannius*, and *Q. Fabius Maximus*. Their instructions were to put an end to this war, to oblige *Prusias* to satisfy *Attalus*, for the damages he had suffered by it, and to break off the alliance of the republic with the *Bithynian*, in case he did not acquiesce to the decree of the senate^s. In the mean time *Attalus*, having got together a considerable army (for both *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*, and *Mithridates* king of *Pontus* sent him underhand powerful supplies) took the field, and meeting the *Roman* ambassadors at *Quada*, marched directly against *Prusias*, who was advancing towards the frontiers of *Pergamus* at the head of a numerous army. The two kings at the

*The Ro-
mans send
commission-
ers to put
an end to
the war.*

^r POLYB. legat. 128. ^s POLYB. legat. 123.

The two
kings come
to a confe-
rence.

request of the ambassadors came to a conference at a place equally distant from both camps. *Prusias* by many shifts and evasions endeavoured to amuse the ambassadors; but they, at length exerting themselves, told him, that he must either comply with the decree of the senate, or be declared an enemy to the republic; and accordingly, as he still persisted obstinate and untractable, they solemnly renounced the alliance and amity which had been between him and *Rome*. *Prusias* endeavoured to gain them by promises and submissions; but they were inflexible, and after having exhorted *Attalus* to continue upon the defensive, dispersed themselves in the several states of *Asia*, to assemble forces against the king of *Bithynia*. *Rhodes*, *Cyzicum*, and many other maritime cities, fitted out ships, and sent them to the assistance of *Attalus*; who having out of these reinforcements formed a fleet of eighty gallies, gave the command of it to his brother *Athenus*, with orders to ravage the coasts of *Bithynia*; which he did accordingly, putting all to fire and sword, and carrying off an immense booty. *Prusias*, finding he could not hold out against the storm that threatened him, submitted to the decree of the senate, and accepted the terms which *Rome* sent him by three new ambassadors, viz. *Appius Claudius*, *Lucius Oppius*, and *Aulus Posthumus*. The terms were, that he should forthwith deliver up to *Attalus* twenty ships with decks, that he should pay him five hundred talents within the space of twenty years; that both of them should be contented with what they had before the breaking out of the war; and lastly, that *Prusias* should pay the *Methymneans*, *Egeans*, *Cumæi*, and *Heracleans* an hundred talents by way of reparation for the damages he had done them. These conditions being agreed on and signed by the contending parties, *Attalus* returned to *Pergamus* with all his sea and land-forces, and *Prusias* into *Bithynia*, after having evacuated all the cities and strong-holds which he had taken during the war^e.

Prusias ac-
cepts the
terms of
peace sent
him from
Rome by
three new
ambassa-
dors.

Attalus, being thus by the assistance of the *Romans* delivered from so dangerous a war, sent his nephew, the son of *Eumenes*, named also *Attalus*, to thank the senate for their kind offices, and to renew the friendship and alliance which had been formerly between his father and the people of *Rome*. Young *Attalus* was received by the senate with all possible marks of distinction, the ancient treaties with his father were renewed, and he loaded with presents sent back to his uncle, all the cities of *Greece*, through which he was to pass, be-

^e POLYB. legat. 136, 137. APPIAN. in Mithridatic. p. 173.

ing ordered to receive and treat him in a manner suitable to his condition.^u

Prusias having discharged part of the sum which he was to pay to *Attalus*, hoped by the interest of his son *Nicomedes*, who resided at *Rome* and was in great favour with the senate, to prevail upon the senators to forgive the remainder. With this view he sent one *Menas*, a chief lord of his court, to *Rome*, in quality of ambassador; his instructions were to make use of *Nicomedes*'s interest to gain his point; and in case he did not succeed, to dispatch *Nicomedes*, of whose great power at *Rome* he began to be jealous. For the more easy execution of this wicked design, he commanded two thousand men to embark with his ambassador; an extraordinary guard, but necessary to facilitate the escape of *Menas* after the assassination, and protect him after his return into *Bithynia*. *Menas* on his arrival at *Rome* employed *Nicomedes* to use his best offices with the senate; but *Andronicus*, the ambassador of the king of *Pergamus*, pleaded his master's cause so well, that the former decree of the senate was confirmed. What therefore remained was to put the barbarous orders of *Prusias* in execution, and murder *Nicomedes*. But as the young prince was greatly beloved at *Rome*, it seemed dangerous to *Menas*, notwithstanding the numerous guard which he concealed on board his ships, to make any attempt upon his life in the sight of the senate. After he had been long in suspense, not knowing what to do, he resolved at last to communicate to the son his father's design, and to turn the plot against the author and contriver of it. Accordingly *Menas* discovered to him his private instructions, and at his request imparted the whole matter to *Andronicus* the *Pergamian* ambassador who obtained leave of his master to transport *Nicomedes* into *Asia* on board his ship, that prince promising to take him under his protection, and support him against his father, who was no less intolerable to his neighbours, than to his own subjects. The two ambassadors sailed from *Ostia* much about the same time, and arrived, as it had been agreed on before-hand, at *Berenice*, a small city on the coast of *Epirus*. There they both landed their men under pretence of refreshing them after the voyage, and met privately to consult together with *Nicomedes* about the measures that might seem most proper for the execution of their design. The next morning *Nicomedes*, as it had been concerted the night before, went ashore in a purple robe, with the royal diadem on his head and a sceptre in his hand. Hereupon *Andronicus*, with an hundred

^u Idem legat. 140.

men he had with him, saluted and proclaimed him king of *Bithynia*. *Menas* pretending to be surprized at this step assembled in great haste his two thousand *Bithynians*, and in an artful speech exhorted them to side with that party which was most likely to prevail, insinuating at the same time that *Prusias* was generally hated and *Nicomedes* beloved, not only by the *Bithynians*, but by the *Romans* and the subjects of the king of *Pergamus*, who were ready to assist him to the utmost of their power. Having ended his speech, he observed in the countenances of his men an unanimous determination to adhere to the young prince; whereupon seconding their inclination, he immediately joined the troops of *Andronicus*, and saluted *Nicomedes* king of *Bithynia*. After great shouts and repeated acclamations, they all reimbarqued, set sail, and landed in a port of the kingdom of *Pergamus*. *Attalus* received young *Nicomedes* with great joy, and immediately dispatched messengers to *Prusias*, requiring him to deliver up some provinces to his son, and fix certain revenues on him for his subsistence. To this demand the old king proudly answered, that *Nicomedes* should soon have the whole kingdom of *Pergamus* assigned to him^w. But notwithstanding this haughty answer, he forthwith sent ambassadors to *Rome*, desiring the senate to send commissioners into *Bithynia*, and settle matters between him and *Attalus* in an amicable manner. But in the mean time *Attalus*, having encouraged *Nicomedes* to make war upon his father, by interpreting in his favour the answer of an oracle in *Epirus*, as if the god promised the young prince the kingdom of *Bithynia*^{*}, took the field; and entering with *Nicomedes* the dominions of *Prusias*, was every-where received with great joy and loud acclamations. The king, not daring to trust his *Bithynians*, had recourse to *Diegyles*, one of the petty sovereigns of *Thrace*, whose daughter he had married for his second wife. But all the succours that prince could spare him were only five hundred men. With these he shut himself up in the city of *Nicæa*; but observing that the citizens were ready to revolt, and only waited for the arrival of *Nicomedes* and *Attalus*, he left that place, and took refuge in *Nicomedia*, which he thought strong enough to endure a long siege, not doubting but in the mean time ambassadors would arrive from *Rome*, and, by the interposition of their authority and good offices, make up matters between him and his son^y. But he was herein greatly disappointed; for though his ambassadors on their arrival at

Attalus
encourages
Nicomedes
to
make war
upon his
father.

^w APPIAN. in Mithridatic. p. 174, 175. ^{*} ZOZIM. histor. l. ii. ^y APPIAN. ibid.

Rome desired an audience of the senate without delay, yet the prætor to favour *Attalus*, put it off under various pretences from day to day. At length he presented them to the conscript fathers, and being ordered to appoint three ambassadors to be sent into *Bithynia*, he made choice of such as were no-ways qualified for that commission; for they were men of no parts, and besides made a very ridiculous figure, one of them being strangely disfigured with scars, the other lame, and the third a mere idiot: whence the saying of *Cato*, that the *Bithynian* embassy had neither head, feet, nor understanding^a. It may be easily imagined, that men of this figure and character had no great weight in the two courts. *Attalus* and *Nicomedes* made as if they were ready to submit to the authority of the senate; but the *Bithynians*, suborned underhand by them, openly declared, that they could no longer bear the tyranny of *Prusias*, and therefore intreated the ambassadors to return to *Rome*, and lay their complaints before the senate, not doubting but they should be able to settle *Nicomedes* on the throne, before any new resolutions could be taken by the conscript fathers. The ambassadors were easily prevailed upon to leave *Bithynia*, and return for new instructions to *Rome*. They were no sooner gone than *Attalus* and *Nicomedes* at the head of the *Pergamian* troops advanced to *Nicomedia*, which readily opened its gates to them, and left the old king at his son's mercy. *Prusias*, seeing himself thus deserted and betrayed by all, fled for refuge to the temple of *Jupiter*. But the holiness of the place could not screen him from the violence of his son, who, as he had been brought up at *Rome*, was tainted with the depravity of manners that prevailed there; for he no sooner heard that his father had taken sanctuary in the temple of *Jupiter*, but he sent thither assassins to murder him^a. *Diodorus Siculus*^b tells us, that the unnatural son killed him with his own hand; *Strabo*^c charges *Attalus* with the death of *Prusias*; *Dio Cassius* and *Zonaras* say, that he was assassinated by his own subjects^d; but *Livy*^e divides the guilt of this heinous murder between *Nicomedes* and *Attalus*. The Romans took no notice of what had passed in *Bithynia*, but treated *Attalus* with the same kindness they had formerly shewn him, and suffered *Nicomedes* to enjoy peaceably the fruits of his wickedness. Soon after *Attalus* joined the Romans against *Andriscus*, who

Nicomedes with the assistance of Attalus drives his father from the throne.

^a PLUT. in Cat. Major.

^a APPIAN. in Mithridat. p.

174, 175.

^b DIONOR. SICUL. in Photii Biblioth. cod. 244.

^c STRAB. l. xiii. p. 624.

^d DIO. CASS. l. xiii. ZONAR. l. vi.

^e LIV. Epitom. lib. l.

Attalus
gives him-
self up to
an idle and
dissolute
life.

Death of
Attalus.

pretended to be the son of *Perſes* king of *Macedon* and heir to his dominions. This was the laſt enterprize *Attalus* engaged in ; for *Andriſcus* being taken priſoner, and an end put to that war, he returned home with his ſea and land-forces, and gave himſelf up to an idle and diſſolute life, as *Plutarch* informs us, adding, that *Philopæmen*, one of his courtiers, governed both the king and kingdom at his pleaſure ; inſomuch, that no body applied to *Attalus*, but to his prime miniſter *Philopæmen*, for favours or employments, the whole management of affairs being committed to his care alone^f. We have obſerved above, that *Eumenes* had a ſon, who as he was a minor at the time of his father's death, the tuition of the young prince with the crown was left to *Attalus* the uncle, who ſo faithfully diſcharged his truſt, that he not only carefully bred up his pupil, but at his death, which happened in the eighty-ſecond year of his age, and twenty-ſiſt of his reign, he left the crown to him, paſſing by his own children : for he looked upon it as a mere depositum intruſted with him for his nephew, and therefore reſtored it to him in the next ſucceſſion : an inſtance of honeſty ſeldom to be met with, princes being commonly no leſs ſollicitous to preſerve their crowns for their poſterity than for themſelves^g. He was ſurnamed *Philadelphus* from the ſincere affection which he had for his brother, whereof we related a very remarkable inſtance in the foregoing reign. He was a great encourager of learning, and took particular pleaſure in the converſation of learned men, eſpecially of *Lycon*, a native of *Troas* and a philoſopher of great note, whom he entertained at his court with a magnificence worthy of a king. He built two cities in *Lydia*, the one called *Attalia*, from his name, and the other, from his ſurname, *Philadelphia*. The author of the firſt book of the *Maccabees* mentions him among the allies of the *Roman* people^h ; and *Tully* tells us, that he was a conſtant friend to *Rome*, and ſent magnificent preſents to *Scipio Æmilianus*, while he lay at the ſiege of *Numantia* in *Spain*ⁱ.

Attalus
III.
Year of
the Flood,
2861.
Before
Chriſt,
138.

Attalus the ſon of *Eumenes* was ſcarce ſeated on the throne, when he began to act more like a madman, as *Juſtin* expreſſes it, than a prince^k. In the firſt place he cauſed moſt of his relations, and the beſt friends of his family, to be inhumanly maſſacred, charging ſome of them with the death of his mo-

^f PLUT. in. apoph.

^h MACCAB. I. i. c. 15.

^k JUSTIN. l. xxxvi. c. 4.

^g PLUT. ibid, & in lib. περι φιλαδελφίας.

ⁱ CIC. in orat. pro Dejotaro.

ther *Stratonice*, who died in an advanced age, and others with the murder of his wife *Berenice*, though it was well known, that she had died of an incurable distemper, and was generally lamented. Many upon groundless suspicions were cut off with their wives, children, and whole families. In these executions he made use of his mercenaries, whom he had hired for this purpose out of the most cruel and savage of the barbarous nations. After he had thus filled the city of *Pergamus* and the whole kingdom with blood and slaughter, and in a wild fury cut off the best men in his kingdom, and those who had served his father and uncle with the greatest fidelity, being conscious of the many murders he had committed, and imagining that the manes of his murdered relations were perpetually haunting him, he fell into a deep melancholy, and confining himself to his palace, put on a mean apparel, his hair and beard grow, and quite sequestered himself from the rest of mankind. Afterwards he withdrew from the palace, and shut himself up in a garden, which he cultivated with his own hands, sowing it with all sorts of poisonous herbs. These he mixed with wholesome pulse, and in his mad fits sent packets of them to those, whom his gloomy temper led him to suspect. In these and such-like wild extravagancies he spent the whole time of his reign, the best commendation of which was its shortness; for it ended after five years in his death, which happened in the following manner. As he was without friends, without relations, and even without courtiers, no one daring to come near him, he took a fancy to employ his time in the trade of a founder; and having undertaken to make a brazen monument for his mother, while he laboured in melting and working the brass, the heat of the sun and the furnace threw him into a fever, of which he died the seventh day after, delivering his people from the most cruel and barbarous tyrant that ever swayed a sceptre*. All the antients speak of him as a madman; and some writers tell us, that the grief, which he conceived for the death of his mother *Stratonice*, whom he loved with great tenderness, threw him into a deep melancholy, which at length deprived him of his senses. From his tender affection for his mother he was surnamed *Philometor*, and not ironically, as *Volateranus* would have it, as if he had hated, and even murdered her. *Justin* tells us in express terms¹, that he well deserved that name for the extraordinary affection he always bore her; and nevertheless the above-mentioned author quotes *Justin* to prove what he advances, though diametrically opposite to what

His cruel-ty.

And wild extravagancies.

His death.

* JUSTIN l. xxxvi. c. 4. ¹ JUSTIN. *ibid.*

Attalus
gives him-
self up to
an idle and
dissolute
life.

Death of
Attalus.

pretended to be the son of *Perſes* king of *Macedon* and heir to his dominions. This was the laſt enterprize *Attalus* engaged in ; for *Andriſcus* being taken priſoner, and an end put to that war, he returned home with his ſea and land-forces, and gave himſelf up to an idle and diſſolute life, as *Plutarch* informs us, adding, that *Philopæmen*, one of his courtiers, governed both the king and kingdom at his pleaſure ; inſomuch, that no body applied to *Attalus*, but to his prime miniſter *Philopæmen*, for favours or employments, the whole management of affairs being committed to his care alone^f. We have obſerved above, that *Eumenes* had a ſon, who as he was a minor at the time of his father's death, the tuition of the young prince with the crown was left to *Attalus* the uncle, who ſo faithfully diſcharged his truſt, that he not only carefully bred up his pupil, but at his death, which happened in the eighty-ſecond year of his age, and twenty-fiſt of his reign, he left the crown to him, paſſing by his own children : for he looked upon it as a mere depositum intruſted with him for his nephew, and therefore reſtored it to him in the next ſucceſſion : an inſtance of honeſty ſeldom to be met with, princes being commonly no leſs ſollicitous to preſerve their crowns for their poſterity than for themſelves^g. He was ſurnamed *Philadelphus* from the ſincere affection which he had for his brother, whereof we related a very remarkable inſtance in the foregoing reign. He was a great encourager of learning, and took particular pleaſure in the converſation of learned men, eſpecially of *Lycon*, a native of *Troas* and a philoſopher of great note, whom he entertained at his court with a magnificence worthy of a king. He built two cities in *Lydia*, the one called *Attalia*, from his name, and the other, from his ſurname, *Philadelphia*. The author of the firſt book of the *Maccabees* mentions him among the allies of the *Roman* people^h ; and *Tully* tells us, that he was a conſtant friend to *Rome*, and ſent magnificent preſents to *Scipio Æmilianus*, while he lay at the ſiege of *Numantia* in *Spain*ⁱ.

Attalus
III.
Year of
the Flood,
2861.
Before
Chriſt,
138.

Attalus the ſon of *Eumenes* was ſcarce ſeated on the throne, when he began to act more like a madman, as *Juſtin* expreſſes it, than a prince^k. In the firſt place he cauſed moſt of his relations, and the beſt friends of his family, to be inhumanly maſſacred, charging ſome of them with the death of his mo-

^f PLUT. in. apoph.

^g PLUT. ibid, & in lib. περι φιλαδελφίας.

^h MACCAB. I. i. c. 15.

ⁱ CIC. in orat. pro Dejotaro.

^k JUSTIN. I. xxxvi. c. 4.

ther *Stratonice*, who died in an advanced age, and others with the murder of his wife *Berenice*, though it was well known, that she had died of an incurable distemper, and was generally lamented. Many upon groundless suspicions were cut off with their wives, children, and whole families. In these executions he made use of his mercenaries, whom he had hired for this purpose out of the most cruel and savage of the barbarous nations. After he had thus filled the city of *Pergamus* and the whole kingdom with blood and slaughter, and in a wild fury cut off the best men in his kingdom, and those who had served his father and uncle with the greatest fidelity, being conscious of the many murders he had committed, and imagining that the manes of his murdered relations were perpetually haunting him, he fell into a deep melancholy, and confining himself to his palace, put on a mean apparel, his hair and beard grow, and quite sequestered himself from the rest of mankind. Afterwards he withdrew from the palace, and shut himself up in a garden, which he cultivated with his own hands, sowing it with all sorts of poisonous herbs. These he mixed with wholesome pulse, and in his mad fits sent packets of them to those, whom his gloomy temper led him to suspect. In these and such-like wild extravagancies he spent the whole time of his reign, the best commendation of which was its shortness; for it ended after five years in his death, which happened in the following manner. As he was without friends, without relations, and even without courtiers, no one daring to come near him, he took a fancy to employ his time in the trade of a founder; and having undertaken to make a brazen monument for his mother, while he laboured in melting and working the brass, the heat of the sun and the furnace threw him into a fever, of which he died the seventh day after, delivering his people from the most cruel and barbarous tyrant that ever swayed a sceptre*. All the antients speak of him as a madman; and some writers tell us, that the grief, which he conceived for the death of his mother *Stratonice*, whom he loved with great tenderness, threw him into a deep melancholy, which at length deprived him of his senses. From his tender affection for his mother he was surnamed *Philometor*, and not ironically, as *Volateranus* would have it, as if he had hated, and even murdered her. *Justin* tells us in express terms¹, that he well deserved that name for the extraordinary affection he always bore her; and nevertheless the above-mentioned author quotes *Justin* to prove what he advances, though diametrically opposite to what

His cruelty.

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His death.

* JUSTIN I. xxxvi c. 4. 1 JUSTIN. *ibid.*
VOL. IX. Y y

Makes the
Roman
people heirs
of all his
goods.

we read in that writer. *Lucian* and *Zonaras* accuse this prince of having dispatched his uncle *Attalus* with poison ; but other writers, without taking notice of any violence used on him, tell us, that he died in the eighty-second year of his age, leaving the crown to his nephew, whom he had brought up with great care. *Varro*^m and *Columella*ⁿ reckon *Attalus Philometor* among those who have wrote of agriculture, and add, that he was skilled in physick, and had a thorough knowledge of simples. Hence some have conjectured, that the physician *Attalus* mentioned by *Pliny*^o, was the king of *Pergamus*, since that author elsewhere^p mentions him among those who have wrote of physick. At his death he left a will, whereby he made the *Romans* heirs of all his goods ; in virtue of this will the republic seized on his kingdom, reckoning that among his goods, and reduced it to a province, which was known by the name of *Asia Propria* or *Proper Asia*. *Eudemus* of *Pergamus* brought this will to *Rome*, and there delivered it to *Tiberius Gracchus* tribune of the people, together with the deceased king's crown and purple robes^q (E). But *Aristonicus*, the next heir, did not tamely

^m VARRO, de re rustic. l. i. c. i. ⁿ COLUMELL. de rustic. l. i. c. i. ^o PLIN. l. xxxiii. ^p Idem, l. viii. ^q JUSTIN. l. xxxvi. c. 4. PLUTARCH. in Tiber. Gracch.

(E) The words of *Attalus's* will, were, *Populus Romanus bonorum meorum hæres esto ; Let the people of Rome be the heirs of my goods :* These words the senate interpreted as comprehending his kingdom, which they reckoned among the king's goods. But some of the neighbouring princes, namely *Mithridates* king of *Pontus* (75), looked upon this will as a mere forgery ; others were of opinion, that the *Romans*, allowing it to be genuine, were in virtue of the abovementioned words intitled only to the deceased king's moveable goods, the kingdom itself belonging by right of succession to *Aristonicus* the only surviving prince of the blood royal. 'Tis true, he was the natural son of *Eumenes* ; but this, according to the custom which obtained among all the eastern princes, did not by any means debar him from the crown, when there were no lawful children to succeed to it. *Horace* among the *Latin* writers seems to insinuate, as *Acron* observes in his notes on that poet, that the *Romans* were intruders, and not lawful heirs to king *Attalus* in the following words :

—————*Neque Attali*
Ignotus hæres regiam occupavi. (76)

(75) *Sallust. l. iv. Historiar.*

(76) *Horat. l. ii. Ode 13.*
That

tamely submit to the will which *Attalus* was said to have made. He was the son of *Eumenes* and brother of *Attalus*, though by another mother, viz. by an *Ephesian* courtesan, the daughter of a musician. As son of *Eumenes*, he laid claim to the crown, and having assembled a considerable army, he put himself in a condition to maintain his pretensions. With the assistance of a body of *Thracians* and *Phocæans*, whom he took into his service, he made himself master of some strong places, which opened him a way into the heart of the kingdom, where he was joined by great numbers of *Pergamians*, who being accustomed to a monarchical, dreaded a republican, government; and therefore, without minding the birth of their new leader, preferred his authority to that of a foreign prætor. Having by this means got together in a short time a numerous and powerful army, he besieged the places which were for maintaining the late king's will, and took the cities of *Samos* and *Colophon* in *Ionia*, and *Myndos* in *Caria*. The other places surrendered upon terms; so that he became, without meeting with any considerable opposition, master of the whole kingdom.^r

THIS news was brought to *Rome* about the time the people were to chuse consuls, and among the candidates were two men of great abilities, but whose employments seemed to render them incapable of making war in *Asia*. These were *Licinius Crassus*, high-pontiff, and *Lucius Valerius Flaccus*, flamen *Martialis*, or in other words, high-priest of *Mars*. Both obtained the consulate for which they stood, and were both very desirous of leading the armies of the republic into *Asia*, no commission being more profitable than that of commanding in those distant countries; but, after a sharp contest, it was determined in the comitia, that *Crassus* might, tho' pontifex maximus, head the armies of the republic in

^r LIV. l. lix. VEL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 4. STRABO, l. xiv. p. 646. FLOR. l. iii. c. 20.

That is, neither have I, an unknown heir, or an heir no ways related to *Attalus*, invaded his palace. It is not therefore true, that the kingdom of *Pergamus* belonged in strict equity to the Romans, that the republic had an indisputable right of dominion over the *Pergamians*, that *Aristoniceus* had no manner of claim to the kingdom of *Attalus*, as certain modern writers confidently affirm (77).

(77) Catrou and Rouillé hist. Rom. l. li. ad An. urb. 624.

Asia; and he was accordingly appointed to dispossess *Aristonicus* of the kingdom of *Pergamus*, and reduce it, agreeable to the late king's will, to a *Roman* province. *Crassus*, notwithstanding the intestine broils which then reigned at *Rome*, immediately set out for *Asia*; but as we find no mention made by historians of troops, fleets, or provisions sent with the consul, he, without all doubt, took it for granted, that the eastern kings and nations, in alliance with *Rome*, would furnish him with sufficient forces on the spot to drive out the usurper. On his arrival in *Asia*, he found that neither *Syria* nor *Egypt* were in a condition to lend him any assistance, both those kingdoms being at that time involved in great troubles. The consul therefore had recourse to the kings of *Pontus*, *Cappadocia*, *Bithynia*, and *Paphlagonia*, who all furnished him with troops; so that he advanced at the head of a numerous army, or rather of four armies, towards the frontiers of the kingdom of *Pergamus*^c. *Aristonicus* did not care to engage the consul, but retiring as he advanced, suffered him to lay waste the country, in hopes of finding an opportunity of falling upon him unawares, which soon offered; for *Crassus*, who was a man of an avaricious temper, having got together an immense booty, began to retire from the inland parts of the kingdom towards the coast, in order to ship it off for *Italy*; but, as the season was far advanced, and the roads almost impassable, the army advanced very slowly; besides, the great number of waggons, loaded with the riches almost of the whole kingdom, retarded their march still more, and frequently occasioned a great confusion in the army; which *Aristonicus* being informed of, lay in wait for the consul in a narrow passage between steep hills, and there fell upon him when he least expected it. *Crassus*, tho' thus surprized, might have easily repulsed the enemy, having under his command a very numerous and well-disciplined army; but being wholly intent upon preserving the spoils, he unadvisedly thinned the ranks to put a stronger guard on them; so that the allies, being attacked by *Aristonicus*'s men, with great vigour, and in a close body, were intirely routed. In the flight the consul himself was taken prisoner by a body of *Thracians*, between *Elea* and *Myrina*; but as they were carrying him in triumph to the camp of *Aristonicus*, he began to consider the reproach it would cast both on himself and his republic, if a consul and a *pontifex maximus* should become a slave to so despicable an enemy as *Aristonicus*, and on that consideration would have laid violent hands on himself, had he not

Crassus
defeated,
and taken
prisoner.

^c STRABO, *ibid.* JUSTIN. l. xxxvii. c. 1. EUTROPIUS. l. iv.
beer

been disarmed ; but as he had a rod in his hand to guide the horse on which he was mounted, he struck the soldier, who was nearest to him, so violently with it, that he beat out one of his eyes. Hereupon the *Thracian*, in a transport of rage, drew his sword, and, without further deliberation, run the consul through, and killed him on the spot. By this means *Aristonicus* was deprived of the pleasure of having a *Roman* consul and a *pontifex maximus* in his power ; however, the consul's head was carried to the enemy's camp, and there presented to *Aristonicus*, and exposed to public view ; but his body was honourably buried at *Myrina*, or as others will have it, at *Smyrna* ¹.

WHEN news of this defeat was brought to *Rome*, the tribes promoted two persons to the consulate, who were very unequal in rank, viz. *C. Claudius Pulcher*, a man of an illustrious family, and *M. Perperna*, a soldier of fortune. The latter was sent into *Asia* to revenge the death of the consul, and put an end to the *Pergamian* war. He appeared unexpectedly in the kingdom of *Pergamus*, where he found *Aristonicus* wholly intent on enjoying the fruits of his victory. Feasts, revels, and entertainments, after the *Asiatic* fashion, took up all his thoughts and time ; but he was soon roused out of his lethargy by the new consul, who having assembled, with incredible expedition, the troops of the allies, came unexpectedly upon him, and having obliged him to venture an engagement, gained a complete victory over him. *Aristonicus*, after the defeat, fled to *Stratonice* (F), where he had no sooner shut himself up, than the conqueror was before the place, which he blocked up on all sides, and, by that means, without exposing his men to the danger of an assault, reduced

Perperna
sent into
Asia in his
room.

¹ LIV. l. lix. VEL PATERC. l. ii. STRABO, l. xiv. p. 646. VAL. MAX. l. iii. c. 2. FLOR. l. ii. c. 20. JUST. l. xxxvi. c. 4. JUL. OBSEQ. de prodig. EUTROP. l. iv. OROS. l. v. c. 10.

(F) The antient geographers mention three cities in *Asia* by this name. That which is here spoken of stood in *Caria*, and was, according to *Strabo* (78), originally a *Syro Macedonian* colony. It took its name, as *Stephanus* informs us, from *Stratonice* the wife of *Antiochus Soter*. The emperor *Adrian*, who rebuilt it, called it from his own name *Adrianopolis* ; but in the antient notice it retained its old name. *Strabo* (79) mentions another city, bearing this name, in the neighbourhood of mount *Taurus* ; and *Ptolemy* a third, which he places in *Mesopotamia*.

(78) *Strabo*, l. xiv. (79) *Idem*, *ibid*.

the

Ariston-
icus de-
feated, and
taken.

the garison to such straits, that they delivered both the city and their leader into his hands. The philosopher *Blofius* (G), who had assisted *Aristonicus* with his counsels during the whole course of the war, exhorted him to prefer a voluntary death to a shameful captivity, and encouraged him to it by dispatching himself in his presence; but he, like the other *Asiatic* princes, not having courage enough to lay violent hands on himself, even in the most calamitous circumstances, suffered himself to be carried to the consul, who kept him in chains to grace his triumph ^u.

IN the mean time new consuls being created at *Rome*, viz. *C. Sempronius Tuditanus* and *Manius Aquilius*, the latter was appointed to succeed *Perperna* in *Asia*, and put an end to that war, by reducing the kingdom of *Pergamus* to a *Roman* province. On his arrival he sent a proud message to *Perperna*, commanding him to deliver up to him *Aristonicus*, as belonging to his triumph rather than to *Perperna's*. This order *Perperna* refused to comply with, and his refusal was very likely to be attended with bad consequences; but his death, which happened soon after the arrival of *Aquilius*, decided the question. He had quite exhausted himself in pursuing *Aristonicus*, and hurrying from place to place after him; how-

^u LIV. STRABO, FLORUS, JUST. QROS. EUTROP. VAL. MAX. *ibid*.

(G) *Blofius* was a native of *Cumæ*, and a philosopher of great note. He warmly pressed *Tiberius Gracchus*, who had a great opinion of his integrity and understanding, not to drop his design of passing the famous *Agrarian* law. After the death of his friend *Gracchus*, he was cited to appear before the consul, and being asked why he had engaged in the party of the seditious tribune? he boldly answered, Because he thought it the most just. The consul further inquired, why he went so far as to be his agent? To this question the philosopher replied, That he did all that lay in his power to serve him, because he deserved to be served and obeyed. Would you then have burnt the capitol, said the consul, if he had ordered you to do it? Spare his memory, replied *Blofius*, with a surprizing confidence; he was not capable of so black an attempt; but if he had given me such an order, I should have certainly put it in execution, thinking his ordering it a sufficient proof of its being necessary for the public good (80). The intrepidity of *Blofius* surprized the consul, who found means to rescue him from the punishment which the senate had inflicted on the other friends of the tribune. He afterwards went over into *Asia*, where he assisted *Aristonicus* with his counsels; and, after having done all the mischief he could to the *Romans*, ended his life in the manner we have related.

(80) *Plut. in Gracch.*

ever,

ever, before his death, he took care to ship off for *Rome* all the treasures of the deceased king; which was a great disappointment to the consul *Aquilius* ^w.

THE *Pergamians*, notwithstanding the captivity of their leader *Aristonicus*, and the signal victory gained by the brave *Perperna*, still held out against the *Romans*, the fear of serving new masters, and receiving laws from a foreign republic, keeping the people every-where in arms; so that *Aquilius* was obliged to besiege almost all the cities of the kingdom of *Pergamus*, and reduce them one by one. As most of the cities of the kingdom of *Pergamus* had no other water but what was brought from far in aqueducts, the consul, provoked at their obstinate resistance, instead of demolishing the aqueducts, as was customary in war, poisoned the springs, and by that means spread death and desolation in the places he besieged. All the antients declare their detestation of this perfidious and inhuman way of waging war, condemning it as a most notorious infraction of the law of nature; but *Rome*, it seems, was not so much offended at it, since she suffered the cruel *Aquilius*, who practised it, to govern the kingdom of *Pergamus*, in quality of pro-consul for three whole years after his consulship was expired*. *Aquilius* having at last reduced the whole kingdom of *Pergamus*, the *Roman* senate appointed ten commissioners to settle it as a prætorian province, and put *Aquilius* at the head of the commission. By them this great state was divided into several districts, each of them depending on the metropolis, where the *Roman* prætor fixed his residence. The whole province comprehended *Lydia*, *Caria*, the *Hellepont*, and the two *Phrygias*. Some of these countries were bestowed on the four kings who helped to conquer them. *Lycaonia* and *Cilicia* were given to the sons of *Ariarathes*, who was killed in this war. *Phrygia Major*, or the *Greater Phrygia* was, according to *Justin* ^y, conferred upon *Mithridates Euergetes* by the senate; according to *Appian* ^z, sold to that prince by *Aquilius* for a considerable sum of money, which the king paid on the spot. However that be, it is certain that, after the death of *Mithridates*, the senate took *Phrygia* from his son in his minority, and declared it a free and independent state. As for the unhappy *Aristonicus* he was led in chains before the triumphal chariot of *Aquilius*, as appears

The kingdom of Pergamus reduced by Aquilius to a Roman province. Year of the Flood, 2870. Before Christ, 129

^w STRABO, l. xiv. p. 646. VAL. MAX. l. iii. c. 4. JUSTIN l. xxxvi. c. 4. EUTROP. l. iv. OROS. l. v. c. 10. ^x FLOR. l. ii. c. 20. ^y JUSTIN. l. xxxviii. c. 5. ^z APPIAN. in Mithridatic. p. 177, & 208, & de bell. civil. p. 302, 363. JUSTIN. ibid. STRABO, l. xiii. p. 624, & l. xiv. p. 646.

from the letter which *Mithridates the Great* wrote to *Arfaces* king of *Parthia*. The *Romans*, says he in that letter^a, forging a will, whereby *Attalus* bequeathed to them his kingdom, led *Aristonicus* the son of *Eumenes* in triumph, for attempting to recover, by force of arms, his father's kingdom. *Velleius Paterculus* tells us likewise, that he was led in triumph by *Manius Aquilius*, and afterwards beheaded^b. *Strabo* says, that, after the triumph, he was carried back to prison, and there strangled by an order from the senate^c; and with him agree *Eutropius*^d and *Orosius*^e. It is therefore surprising, that certain modern writers^f, in opposition to these glaring authorities, should tell us, that *Aristonicus* died before *Aquilius* triumph, which happened three years after the intire reduction of the *Pergamian* kingdom. *Rome* having thus reduced the kingdom of *Attalus* to a province, maintained from this time a perpetual intercourse with the *Asiatics*; and hence that inundation of vices of all kinds, which over-ran the whole state. The republic gained indeed a considerable increase of power and riches by this new conquest; but she paid dear for it in that universal depravation of manners which it introduced. *Rome*, says *Justin*^g, gave law to *Asia*; but *Asia*, in her turn, revenged herself on *Rome*, by teaching the *Romans* refinements in debauchery, and profuseness in entertainments and furniture (H).

^a SALLUST. Historiar. l. iv.^b VEL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 4.^c STRABO, l. xiv. p. 646.^d EUTROP. l. iv.^e O-

ROS. l. v. c. 10.

^f CATROU & ROUIL. hist. Rom. l. li. ad ann.

urb. 624.

^g JUSTIN. ibid.

(H) *Pliny* looks on the conquest of *Pergamus* as the origin of the many disorders which afterwards prevailed in *Rome*. With the wealth of *Pergamus*, says he, debauchery, effeminacy, luxury, and all kinds of vices, came in crowds to *Rome*, and over-whelmed the capital of the world. Modesty and innocence were no longer countenanced in a city given up to the pleasures and delights of *Asia*. The citizens, dazzled with the splendor of the rich moveables that were shewn them, began to be ashamed of their antient simplicity. They picqued themselves on knowing how to value what their ancestors took pride in despising. They rivalled one another in the richness of their dress, in the furniture of their houses, and expence of their tables. Thus *Asia*, when subdued, had her full revenge on us, by bringing our city under a much worse yoke, that of effeminacy. Thus far *Pliny* (81), whose testimony is confirmed by *Florus*, *Valerius Maximus*, *Seneca*, *Juvenal*, and all the other writers who make any mention of the general dissolution of manners, which at this time began to reign, without restraint at *Rome*.

(81) *Plin* l. v. c. 7. & l. xxxiii. c. 11.

C H A P. VII.

The History of THRACE.

THRACE, a country frequently mentioned by the *Greek* Name, Si-
 and *Latin* historians, derives its name, according to some tuation,
 writers, from *Thrax* the son of *Mars*; according to others, &c.
 from the barrenness of the soil, or the barbarity of the inha-
 bitants, the *Greek* original bearing either of these significati-
 ons ^h. *Josephus*, whose opinion seems to us the most proba-
 ble, thinks it was called *Thrace* and *Thracia*, from *Thyras*
 the son of *Japhet*, who first peopled this country; for in his
 time it still retained the names of *Thyras*, *Thyracia*, and *Thy-*
race, which, with a very small alteration, were changed in-
 to *Thracia* and *Thrace*ⁱ. His opinion is confirmed by *Isido-*
rus ^k; *St. Jerom*^l, *Zonaras*^m, and most of the ecclesiastic
 writers, who all tell us, that *Thracia* was first called *Thyracia*,
 from *Thyras*, whose descendants first inhabited the large pro-
 vinces comprehended under that name. It was bounded on
 the north by mount *Hæmus*; on the south by the *Ægean* sea;
 on the east by the *Euxine* sea, the *Hellæspont*, and the *Pro-*
pontis; and on the west by *Macedon* and the river *Strymon*ⁿ.
 Some of the antient geographers extend the bounds of *Thrace*
 far beyond the river *Strymon* and mount *Hæmus*. *Pliny*^o
 carries its frontiers to the *Ister* or *Danube*; *Appian* joins it
 to *Illyricum*^p, and *Herodotus*^q calls it the largest country in
 the world except *India*.

CITIES of note on the *Ægean* sea were, *Oesyma*, *Nea-* Cities.
polis, *Topiris* or *Toperus*, all three placed by *Stephanus*, *Pli-*
ny, and *Pomponius Mela*, between the rivers *Strymon* and *Nes-*
tus or *Nessus*; *Datus*, on the eastern bank of that river; and
 near it *Abdera*, antiently one of the most famous cities of

^h STRABO, l. xiv. PLIN. l. iv. c. 11.

riq l. i. c. 7.

^k ISIDOR. de origin. l. ix.

NYM. de quæst. Hebraic.

^m ZONAR. l. iv.

MELA, l. xi. c. 11. PTOLÉMÆUS, l. iii. c. 11.

l. iv. c. 11.

^p APPIAN. in Syriac.^q HERODOT. l. v.ⁱ JOSEPH. An-^l HIERO-ⁿ POMP.^o PLIN.

Thrace. *Mela* tells us, that *Abdera* was founded by the sister of *Diomedes*; but *Stephanus* makes *Hercules* the founder of it, and adds, that he gave it the name of *Abdera* in memory of *Abderus*, one of his companions, who was devoured by the famous, or rather fabulous horses of *Diomedes*. In process of time a colony of *Clazomenians* settled there; whence the city is by some writers called also *Clazomene*. The *Clazomenians* were driven out by the natives, who suffered the *Teians* to live peaceably in *Abdera*, and other places of *Thrace*, after they had been driven out of their own country by *Cyrus the Great*; and hence *Abdera* is called by *Strabo*^r and other writers a colony of the *Teians*. The *Abderitani* were looked upon by the antients as a dull, stupid people; but nevertheless their city gave birth to some great men, namely to *Protagoras* and the famous *Democritus* (I). This city is now generally known by the name of *Polystylo*, though *Niger* calls it *Asperosa*, and *Nardus Astrizza*. Near *Abdera* were the famous gold and silver mines spoke of by *Plutarch*^r, *Thucydides*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and most of the antient historians and geographers. The place was called *Scaptefyle*. *Stephanus* says it was a small town, and places it over-against the island of *Thasus*. Here *Thucydides*, as *Plutarch* informs us^r, wrote the history of the *Peloponnesian* war, his wife being a native of that place, as we read in *Marcellinus*^u. On the same coast of the *Ægean* sea were the cities of *Dicæa*, *Tiridu*, *Ismaros*, *Stryma*, *Maronea*, and *Ænos*. The two last places were conquered by *Philip* the father of *Perses*, and upon the defeat of the latter by the *Romans*, promised by that republic to *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus*; but afterwards, for political reasons, declared by the senate free and independent^w. On the *Propontis* were the cities of *Macrontichos*, *Bisanthe*, *Ganos*, *Arzus*, *Perinthus*, called afterwards *Heraclea*, *Selymbria*, and *Bethynia*. On the *Thracian Bosphorus*, *Byzantium*, and the port of *Daphne*. On the *Euxine* sea, *Phinapolis*, *Phrygia*, *Philea*, *Aulæum*, *Apollonia*, *Anchialus*, and *Mesembria*. By-

^r STRABO, l. xiv. p. 443.^r PLUT. in Cim.^r I-

dem, de exilio.

^u MARCEL. in vita Thucyd.^w LIV.

l. xxxi. c. 31 POLYB. l. v. c. 34.

(I) This made *Juvenal* say, in speaking of this philosopher,

———— Cujus prudentia monstrat
 Sanimus posse viros, & magna exempla daturus,
 Vervecum in patria, crassoque sub aere nasci (82).

(82) *Juvenal. satyr. 10.*

zantium,

zantium, now known by the name of *Constantinople*, was founded according to *Eusebius*^a, about the XXXth olympiad, while *Tullus Hostilius* reigned at *Rome*; but *Diodorus Siculus* will have the foundations of this city to have been laid in the time of the *Argonauts*, by one *Byzas*, who then reigned in the neighbouring country, and from whose name the city was called *Byzantium*^y. This *Byzas*, if *Eustathius* is to be credited^z, arrived in *Thrace* a little before the *Argonauts* came into those seas, and settled there with a colony of *Megarenses*. *Velleius Paterculus* ascribes the glory of founding this great metropolis to the *Milesians*^a; and *Ammianus Marcellinus* to the inhabitants of *Attica*^b. Some antient medals of *Byzantium*, which have reached our times, bear the name and head of *Byzas*, with the prow of a ship on the reverse, probably of that ship which brought him into *Thrace*. *Justin* was greatly mistaken, as to the origin and founder of this city, when he wrote, that *Pausanias* king of *Lacedæmon* built it, since it is certain that *Pausanias* took it from the *Persians*, who had made themselves masters of it before the king of *Lacedæmon* had ever set foot in *Asia*^c. It underwent many revolutions, having been sometimes subject to the *Persians*, sometimes to the *Lacedæmonians*, and sometimes to the *Athenians*. It is not without reason that *Byzantium* was looked upon by the antients as the most pleasantly, and also the most conveniently situated for trade of any city in the world; but we shall have occasion hereafter to speak of it more at length. *Perinthus* was founded, according to *Stephanus*, by a companion of *Orestes* bearing that name, and afterwards called *Heraclea*, from *Hercules*, who conquered it. *Ammianus Marcellinus* tells us, that it was built by *Hercules*; but *Marcianus* of *Heraclea* will have it to be a colony of the *Samians*. *Eusebius* says it was founded in the XLIVth olympiad, which was many years after the time of *Hercules*. This city maintained its liberty against *Philip* the son of *Amyntas*, after all the other cities of *Thrace* had submitted to him.

THE inland cities of *Thrace* were, *Jimphorina*, the metropolis of the *Mædi*; *Pantalia*, the capital of the *Danthe-litæ*; *Uscudama*, the chief city of the *Bessi*; *Philippopolis*, built by *Philip* the father of *Alexander*, near the *Hebrus*; *Nicopolis*, founded by *Trajan* on the banks of the *Nestus*;

^a EUSEB. in Chron.^y DIODOR. SICUL. l. v.^z EU-

STATH. in Dionys.

^a VEL PATERC. l. ii.^b AM-

MIAN. MARCELLIN. l. iii.

^c THUCYD. l. iii. HERODOT

l. iv.

Mulolium, standing between the *Nessus* and the *Hebrus*; *Tempyrum*, mentioned by *Ovid* ^d as situated on the banks of the *Hebrus*; *Adrianopolis*, built by *Adrian*, between the *Hebrus* and mount *Rhodope*; and *Plotinopolis*, so called from the wife of *Trajan*, that emperor having founded it.

Moun-
tains and
rivers.

THE mountains of this country, such as may be proper to take notice of are *Hæmus*, the highest of all the mountains in *Thrace*, and parting it from *Lower Mysia* to the north; *Rhodope*, the highest after mount *Hæmus*, and famous among the poets for the fate of *Orpheus*; *Pangæus*, separating *Thrace* from *Macedon*; and *Orbelus*, not far from the river *Nessus*. *Hæmus* and *Rhodope* are two long chains of mountains, running almost in a parallel line from the confines of *Macedon* to the *Euxine* sea. *Pomponius Mela* tells us, that, from one of the summits of mount *Hæmus*, one may discover the *Euxine* on one side, and the *Adriatic* on the other ^e; but herein he was certainly mistaken. The rivers of note are, the *Hebrus*, which springs from mount *Hæmus*, waters the territories of *Philippopolis*, *Adrianopolis*, *Plotinopolis*, and *Trajanopolis*, and discharges itself by two mouths into the *Ægean* sea, over-against the island of *Samothrace*; the *Strymon*, which rises on mount *Pangæus*, on the borders of *Macedon*, and falls into the same sea between *Amphipolis* and *Oesima*; the *Nessus* or *Nessus*, springing from mount *Rhodope*, and dissembling itself into the sea over-against the island of *Thasus*; the *Melas*, the *Arzus*, the *Panyfus*; the first emptying itself into the *Ægean* the second into the *Propontis*, and the third into the *Euxine* sea ^f.

The Thra-
cian Cher-
sonesus.

THE *Thracian Chersonesus* is a peninsula, inclosed on the south by the *Ægean* sea, on the west by the gulf of *Melas*, and on the east by the *Hellepont*, being joined on the north to the continent by a neck of land about thirty seven furlongs broad. It contained the following cities, *Cardia*, *Agora*, *Panormus*, *Alopeconnesus*, *Elæus*, *Sestus*, *Madytos*, *Cissa*, *Callipolis*, *Lysimachia*, and *Paçtye*. *Cardia* was situated on the gulf of *Melas*, at the entrance into the peninsula, and so called, according to *Pliny* ^g, from its being built in the form of a heart. *Agora*, *Panormus* and *Alopeconnesus* stood on the same gulf; the latter was so called from the great number of foxes which infested its territory. *Pliny* ^h, mis-

^d OVID. TRIST. l. i. eleg. 9. ^e POMP. MELA, l. xi. c. 11. ^f Vide POMP. MELA, ibid. PLIN. l. iv. c. 11. STRABO, l. vii. p. 220. ^g PLIN. l. iv. c. 11. ^h PLIN. l. iv. c. 12.

led by the name, which signifies in the original *Greek* the *Island of foxes*, took it to be an island ; but all the other geographers speak of it as standing on the *Chersonesus*. *Elæus* stood on the coast of the *Hellepont* over-against cape *Mastasia*, now *Capo Græco*. *Callipolis*, now *Gallipoli*, is placed by *Strabo* and *Pliny* on the coast of the *Propontis*, near the northern mouth of the *Hellepont*. It gives its name to the famous streights which divide *Europe* from *Asia*. Of *Sestus* and *Lyfimachia* we spoke in the histories of *Persia* and *Syria*. As for the other cities of the *Chersonesus*, they contain nothing worthy of notice.

THE inland parts of *Thrace* are very cold and barren, Soil. the snow lying on the mountains the greatest part of the year ; but the maritime provinces are productive of all sorts of grain, and necessaries for life, and withal so pleasant, that *Mela* compares them to the most fruitful and agreeable countries of *Asia* ¹.

THE antient *Thracians* were deemed a brave and warlike Manners, nation ; but of a cruel and savage temper, being, generally religion, speaking, quite strangers to all humanity and good-nature. &c. In point of religion they scarce differed from the *Macedonians* their neighbours, adoring *Jupiter*, *Hercules*, *Diana*, *Bacchus*, and more especially *Mars* and *Hermes* or *Mercury*, by whose name alone their kings used to swear, pretending to be descended from him ². *Herodotus* gives us the following account of their customs and manners : When a child is born, his relations sitting round him in a circle, deplore his condition, on account of the evils he must suffer in the course of his life, enumerating the various calamities incident to mankind ; but when any one dies, they inter him with great rejoicing, repeating the miseries he has exchanged for a complete happiness. Among the *Crestoneans*, who inhabit the mountainous parts of *Thrace*, each man has many wives, who, at his death, contend warmly, being supported by their several friends, who shall be accounted to have been the most dear to the husband. In the end, she who is adjudged to have merited that honour, after having received great commendations, both from the men and women, is killed upon the grave by the nearest of her relations, and buried in the same tomb with her husband ; which is a great mortification to the rest, they being ever after looked upon by all with the utmost contempt ³. The *Thracians* in general, as our historian tells us, sell their children, and take no care of their daugh-

¹ POMP. MELA, *ibid.*
ibid.

² HERODOT. l. v.

³ *Ibid.*

ters, suffering them to live with whom, and in what manner they please ; nevertheless they keep a strict guard over their wives, and purchase them of their relations at a very great rate. To be marked on the forehead is honourable ; and a man without such marks is accounted ignoble. Idleness is esteemed an appendix of greatness ; husbandry is looked upon as unbecoming, and to subsist by war and rapine highly glorious. The funerals of eminent persons among them are celebrated in the following manner : they expose the dead body to public view for three days, during which time they perform their lamentations, and sacrifice to the infernal gods various sorts of animals. When the sacrifices are over, they either burn or bury the body in the ground, and having thrown up a mound of earth over the grave, they apply themselves to feasting, and celebrate all manner of combats and sports round the place ^m.

Govern-
ment and
inhabi-
tants.

Thrace was antiently divided into numberless kingdoms quite independent of each other. *Herodotus* tells us, that if the *Thracians* had been either under the government of one prince, or unanimous in their counsels, they would have been the most powerful nation in the world ; but that they were no ways formidable, being divided, as it were, into many different nations, and ever at variance among themselves ⁿ. These different nations were the *Dolonci*, *Denseletæ*, *Bessi*, *Bistones*, *Odomantes*, *Cicones*, *Edoni*, *Brygi*, *Thyni*, *Pieres*, *Odryæ*, *Autonomi*, *Crobyzi*, *Mædi*, *Sapæi*, and *Celetæ*.

Dolonci.

The *Dolonci* were so called from *Doloncus* one of their kings, who according to *Eustathius*, first introduced polygamy among them ^o. At the time of *Darius's* expedition into *Greece*, they were possessed of the *Thracian Chersonesus*, and governed by princes of the family of *Miltiades*, who acquired the sovereignty in the following manner : The *Dolonci* having suffered much in a war against the *Absynthians*, sent some of their chief men to consult the oracle of *Delphos* about the event of it. The *Pythian*, instead of answering the question they proposed, ordered them to desire the first man, who, after their departure, should invite them to lodge in his house, to lead a colony into their country. With this answer the *Dolonci* departed, and passing through the territory of the *Phocians*, and *Bæotians*, without receiving any offer of entertainment, turned into the road of *Athens*. As they passed through *Athens*, *Miltiades*, the son of *Cypselus*, seeing them clothed and armed in a different manner from the *A-*

^m Idem ibid.
STAT. in Dionys.

ⁿ HERODOT. l. v. sub. init.

^o Eu-

thenians,

thenians, and knowing thereby that they were strangers, invited them to lodge in his house. They accepted the invitation, and, being hospitably entertained, acquainted him with the answer of the oracle, and exhorted him to comply with the admonition of the god. As *Miltiades* was grown weary of the government of *Pisistratus*, and wanted only some plausible pretence to withdraw from *Athens*, he immediately went to consult the *Delphian* oracle, whether he should yield to the request of the *Dolonci* or not ; and having received an encouraging answer, he took with him such of the *Athenians* as were willing to join in this expedition, and setting sail for the *Chersonesus* with the *Dolonci*, was, upon his arrival, invested with the sovereign power. The first thing he did after he was raised to the throne was, to build a wall upon the isthmus of the *Chersonesus*, from the city of *Cardia* to that of *Paëtya*, to prevent the *Absynthians* from infesting the country for the future with their incursions. Having completed this work, he, in the next place, made war on the *Lampsaceniens*, and falling into an ambuscade, was taken by the enemy ; but *Cræsus* king of *Lydia*, who had a great esteem for him, being acquainted with his misfortune, dispatched a messenger to *Lampsacus*, with orders to demand the liberty of *Miltiades* ; and to let them know, that in case they refused to comply with his demand, *he would use them like pines*. The *Lampsaceniens*, differing in their opinion about the meaning of that menace, were not a little perplexed at this message ; but one of their senators observing, that of all trees the pine alone perishes entirely when cut down, without leaving any shoots, they immediately set *Miltiades* at liberty, and sent him home without ransom. Having thus, by means of *Cræsus*, escaped slavery, he resumed the government ; but died soon after, leaving the kingdom, as he had no children of his own, to *Stesagoras*, the son of his brother *Cimon*. The *Dolonci* honoured his memory with sacrifices, celebrating annually on this occasion gymnastic and equestrian exercises, no *Lampsaceniens* being permitted to contend at them for the prize ^P. During the war, which still continued with the people of *Lampsacus*, *Stesagoras* likewise died without children, being mortally wounded with the blow of an ax, which he received on the head, from one who pretended to be a deserter. After his death the sons of *Pisistratus* sent *Miltiades*, the son of *Cimon* and brother of *Stesagoras*, to the *Chersonesus* with one ship, to take upon him the government of that peninsula. On his arrival he kept himself retired, under colour of

^P HERODOT. I. ii

honouring

honouring the memory of his brother *Stefagoras* ; which the *Chersonians* hearing, sent the chief men of each city to his house, to condole with him in the name of the whole nation. As he found that they had no inclination to bestow the crown upon him, he caused all those to be seized who were come to visit him, and by that means reduced, with the few troops he had, the cities thus destitute of their leading men. In the third year of his government he abandoned his dominions, not daring to wait the coming of the *Scythian Nomades*, who having been irritated by the expedition of *Darius*, had assembled their forces, and were advancing to the frontiers of the *Chersonesus*. Upon the departure of the *Scythians*, he was reinstated in the sovereignty by a strong party he had among the *Dolonci*. In the sixth year of his reign the *Phœnicians*, who attended *Darius* in his expedition into Greece, being arrived at *Tenedos*, with a design to invade the *Chersonesus*, he put all his riches on board five ships, and sailed for *Athens*. The *Phœnicians*, upon his retreat, made themselves masters of the *Chersonesus* ; and on this occasion it was, that the *Byzantians* and *Chalcedonians*, leaving their ancient habitations, fled to the coasts of the *Euxine* sea, and there built the city of *Mesambria* ^q. This is all we can gather from the ancients concerning the *Dolonci*.

Dentelæ

THE *Dentelæ* are mentioned by *Tully* ^r, *Pliny* ^c, *Strabo* ⁱ, who calls them *Denthelitæ*, and *Livy* ^u. All we know of them is, that they had at first a king of their own ; that they were afterwards reduced by the *Macedonians* ; that they assisted the *Romans* against *Philip* and *Perseus* kings of *Macedon*, and continued faithful to *Rome*, till being provoked by the oppressions and cruelties of *Piso*, they took up arms against him, and committed great devastations in the neighbouring countries subject to the *Romans* ^w. In the reign of *Augustus* they were still governed by their own princes ; for we find one *Sitas* mentioned by *Dion Cassius* ^x, as reigning over them, and making war upon the *Bastarnæ*, whom he entirely defeated with the troops sent to his assistance by *Craſſus*, at that time prætor of *Macedon*.

Bessi

THE *Bessi* inhabited mount *Hæmus*, living there in huts, and maintaining themselves by plundering their neighbours. They were by far the most savage and inhuman of all the *Thracians*, as appears from *St. Jerom* ^y, *Paulinus* of

^q Idem. ibid. ^r Cic. orat. in Pison. ^c Plin. l. iv. c. 11.
ⁱ Strab. l. vii. ^u Liv. l. ix. decad. 4. ^w Cic. ibid. ^x Dio.
Cass. l. li. ^y Hieron. in epitaph. Nepotiani.

Nola ^a, *Eutropius* ^b, and *Ovid* ^c, who make particular mention of their cruelty. Their chief city, *Uscudama*, is now known by the name of *Adrianople*. They lived under their own kings; the neighbouring princes not thinking it worth their while to disturb them, till the consulate of *M. Licinus Lucullus* and *C. Cassius Varus*; that is, to the 681st year of *Rome*, when the consul *Lucullus* invaded their country, and, having gained a signal victory over them, took their metropolis, and subjected the whole nation to the *Roman* laws ^c. The *Romans*, notwithstanding they had reduced them by force of arms, still suffered them to live under their own kings; for *Piso*, while he governed *Macedon* in quality of proconsul, having treacherously seized *Rabocentus*, whom *Suetonius* calls prince of the *Bessi*, caused him to be publicly beheaded; which affront so exasperated the whole nation, that they shook off the *Roman* yoke; but were overthrown in a great battle by *Octavius* the father of *Augustus* ^d. During the civil wars of *Rome*, they attempted anew to recover their liberty; but were again conquered by the famous *M. Brutus Junior* ^e. In the reign of *Augustus*, one *Vologæses*, a native of the country, and priest of *Bacchus*, having under pretence of religion drawn to himself great crowds of people, made himself master of the whole country; and entering the *Chersonesus*, committed there most dreadful ravages; but was at last overcome by *L. Piso*, who obliged the savage inhabitants to lay down their arms, and submit to such conditions as he was pleased to impose upon them. From this time the *Bessi* continued subject to the *Romans*, without making any further attempts towards the recovery of their ancient liberty ^f.

THE *Bistones* inhabited that part of *Thrace* which lies between mount *Rhodope* to the north, the river *Hebrus* to the east, the *Nessus* to the west, and the *Ægean* sea to the south. Their metropolis *Tinda* is famous among the poets on account of the fabulous horses of *Diomedes* king of this country. The *Bistones* underwent the same fate as the other people of *Thrace*, having been first subdued by the *Macedonians*, and afterwards by the *Romans*.

THE *Odomantes* bordered on *Macedon*, being parted from that country by the river *Strymon*. *Pliny* confounds them

Bistones,

Odoman-
tes.

^a PAUL. NOLAN. carm. 17. ad Nicet. ver. 206. ^b EUTROP. l. vi. c. 8. ^c OVID. Trist. l. iv. eleg. i. ^d EUTROP. ibid. OROS. l. vi. c. 3. Hist. Miscel. l. vi. FLOR. in epit. l. xcvi. ^e SUET. in Octav. ^f DION. CASS. l. xlvii. ^g DION CASS. l. iv. FLOR. l. iv. c. 12

with the *Odrysæ*^b; but *Thucydides* speaks of them as a distinct people^b. *Suidas*, upon the authority of *Aristophanes*, tells us, that they used circumcision. In the time of the *Peloponnesian* war they were governed by *Polles*, the only king of the *Odomantes* we find mentioned in history, who, in that war, sided with the *Athenians*, as we read in *Thucydides*^c.

Ciones.

THE *Ciones* inhabited the country lying between the *Hebrus* and the *Mælas*, and are mentioned by *Homer*^k, *Virgil*^l, *Ovid*^m, and *Pliny*ⁿ. The city of *Ænos*, famous on account of the tomb of *Polydorus*, was their capital. *Homer* speaks of three of their kings, viz. *Pirous*, *Imbrasus*, and *Rhigmus*. *Pirous*, if that poet is to be credited, espoused the cause of the *Trojans*, and was killed by *Thoas* the *Ætolian*^o. *Rhigmus*, his son and successor, was killed in the same war by *Achilles*^p.

Edoni.

THE *Edoni* or *Edones* possessed that country which lay between the *Strymon* and the famous city of *Philippi*, and are mentioned by *Herodotus*^q, *Thucydides*^r, *Pliny*^s, &c. *Thamyris*, the celebrated musician, was a native of this country. He is said to have been the disciple of *Linus*, and contemporary with *Hercules* and *Orpheus*. He was so eminent for his skill in music, that he had the confidence to challenge the muses themselves, by whom he was overcome, and deprived both of his art and sight^t. The *Edoni* were governed by kings, like the other *Thracian* nations. The following princes are mentioned by the ancients, viz. *Dryas* I. *Lycurgus*, *Dryas* II. and *Pittacus*. *Dryas* is mentioned by *Apollodorus*^u and *Ovid*^w; *Lycurgus* by *Virgil*^x, *Apollodorus*^y, *Hyginus*^z, and *Diodorus Siculus*^a, who tells us, that he made war with *Bacchus*. *Dryas* II. was killed, according to *Apollodorus* and *Hyginus*^b, by his father *Lycurgus*. *Pittacus* lived in the time of the *Peloponnesian* war, and was murdered, as *Thucydides* informs us^c, by the children of *Goaxes*, another petty prince of *Thrace*.

^b PLIN. l. iv. c. 11. ^b THUCYD. l. 2. ^c Idem, l. v. ^k HOMER. Iliad. β. ^l VIRG. Georg. l. iv. ^m OVID. Metam. x. ⁿ PLIN. l. iv. c. 11. ^o HOMER. Iliad, β & ε. ^p Idem, Iliad. ε. ^q HERODOT. l. vii. ^r THUCYD. l. v. ^s PLIN. l. iv, c. 11. ^t Vide HOMER, Iliad. β. PLATO, dialog. 8. de legib. DIODOR. SICUL. l. iii. c. ult. PAUSAN. in Atticis, & NATAL. COM. l. vi. c. 14. ^u APOLLODOR. l. iii. ^w OVID. in Ibin. ^x VIRG. Æneid. 3. ^y APOLLODOR. ibid: ^z HYGIN. fab. 132. ^a DIODOR. SICUL. l. iii. c. 5. ^b APOLLODOR. & HYGIN. ibid. ^c THUCYD. l. iv.

ALL we know of the *Brygi* is, that they were subdued by *Brygi*.
Mardonius, and served under *Xerxes* when he invaded *Greece*^d.
 Of the *Thyni* we shall have occasion to speak in the history of *Thyni*.
 the *Bithynians*. The *Pieræ* first inhabited part of *Macedon*, *Pieræ*.
 where they consecrated to the muses, from them called *Pierides*,
 the countries of *Pieria*, *Libetrus*, and *Pimplia*, as they
 did also *Helicon* in *Bæotia*, having sent some colonies into
 that country. Being driven out of *Macedon* by the *Temenidæ*,
 they settled under mount *Pangæus* near the banks of the *Stry-*
mon. Those who had settled in *Bæotia*, were likewise
 driven from thence; and on this occasion it was that they set-
 tled in *Phocis*, and consecrated mount *Parnassus* to the mu-
 ses^e. The kings of the *Pieræ*, mentioned by the antients,
 are, *Atlas*, *Tharpps*, and *Oeager*. *Linus* and *Orpheus*, so
 much celebrated by the poets, were the sons of the latter^f.

THE *Odrysæ* possessed great part of that country which *Odrysæ*.
 lies between the mountains of *Hæmus* and *Rhodope*, and were
 by far the most powerful people of all *Thrace*. When this
 kingdom began, is uncertain; *Ovid*^g will have *Eumolpus*,
 who waged war with *Erechtheus* king of *Athens*, to have
 been the founder of the kingdom of the *Odrysæ*. However
 that be, it is certain that the *Odrysæ* made no figure till the
 reign of *Teres*, who was contemporary with *Perdiccas* II. *Kings of*
 king of *Macedon*. He was the son of *Sitalces*, the first king *the Odry-*
 of the *Odrysæ* whom we find mentioned in history. *Sitalces* *sæ*.
 attended *Xerxes* in his expedition into *Greece*, and lost his *Sitalces*.
 life in that war, as we read in *Æschylus*^h. He was succed-
 ed by *Teres*, the first, according to *Thucydides*ⁱ, who raised *Teres*.
 the kingdom of the *Odrysæ* above the other petty states of
Thrace; whence he is called by that writer the first king of
 the *Odrysæ*. He reduced great part of *Thrace*, and made
 himself formidable to the neighbouring princes; but was at
 last overthrown in a great battle by the *Thyni*. He died in
 the ninety-second year of his age, having spent most part of
 his life in waging war with the other kings of *Thrace*^k; for
Plutarch tells us, that he used to say there was no difference
 between a pacific king and a groom^l.

HE was succeeded by his son *Sitalces*, who entered into an *Sitalces*
 alliance with the *Athenians* against the *Lacedæmonians*, and *II*.
 even delivered up to the former the ambassadors who had been

^d HERODOT. l. vi. ^e THUCYD. l. ii. STRABO, l. ix. ^f Vide
 DIODOR. SICUL. l. iii. c. 5. EUSEB. de præpar. evang. l. x.
 c. 2. ^g OVID. l. ii. de Ponto, eleg. 9. ^h ÆSCHYL. Per-
 sis. ⁱ THUCYD. l. ii. ^k THUCYD. l. i. XENOPH. Anab.
 l. vii. ^l PLUT. in apoph.

Scuthes.

Amadocus.
Mesades.
Scuthes
II.

Cotys.

sent to his court from *Sparta*, in order to persuade him to abandon his allies. He received into his kingdom, and entertained with great magnificence, *Scylis* king of the *Scythians*, who had been driven out of his kingdom, for attempting to introduce among his subjects the customs of the *Greeks*; but *Oetamasas*, the banished king's brother, who had been raised to the throne, threatening to invade *Thrace* with a very numerous army, unless *Sitalces* delivered up the fugitive prince into his hands, he chose rather to betray his guest, than engage in so dangerous a war. This prince afterwards made war upon the *Pæonians*, *Macedonians*, and *Chalcedonians*, in which he is said by *Thucydides* to have had one hundred and fifty thousand men under his command^m. In all these expeditions he was attended with good success, which struck such terror into the other princes of *Thrace*, that most of them voluntarily submitted to him; insomuch, that, at his death, he was possessed of all those provinces, which extend from the city of *Abdera*, on the *Ægean* sea, to the mouth of the *Ister*, which discharges itself into the *Euxine* seaⁿ. *Sitalces* dying without children, left the kingdom to *Scuthes*, the son of his brother *Spardocus*, who having married *Stratonice*, the daughter of *Perdiccas* II. king of *Macedon*, entered into an alliance with that prince, and being assisted by him, made several new acquisitions, extending the confines of his dominions even beyond mount *Hæmus*^o. *Amadocus* and *Mesades*, the sons of *Scuthes*, succeeded each other in the kingdom; but performed nothing worth mentioning. *Scuthes* II. who succeeded his father *Mesades*, subdued the *Thyni*, joined the *Lacedæmonians* against the *Persians*, obtained a considerable victory over the *Athenians*, who had made a descent on the coasts of *Thrace*, &c. But as he was obliged to lay heavy taxes on his subjects to defray the expences of the many wars he was engaged in, the chief lords of his kingdom, entering into a conspiracy against him, drove him from the throne; however, he was afterwards restored by *Iphicrates*, and left the kingdom to *Cotys* the son of *Amadocus*^p. *Cotys* was a most voluptuous prince, but at the same time a man of courage and resolution. He maintained, during the whole time of his reign, a war with the *Athenians*, and was at last assassinated by *Python* and *Heraclidas*, both natives of *Ænos*, who, after the murder, flying to *Athens*, were kindly received by the *Athenians*, made free of their city, and presented with crowns

^m THUCYD. l. ii.
DIODOR. SICUL. l. xii.
NORH. ibid.

ⁿ Idem, ibid. HERODOT. l. iv, & viii.
^o THUCYD. ibid. & l. iv. ^p XE-

of gold, for having thus delivered them from so troublesome an enemy ¹. Upon his death his son *Cersobleptes* took possession of the kingdom, which the *Athenians* obliged him to divide with his two brothers, *Berisades* and *Amodocus*. The *Chersonesus* he gave up to the *Athenians*, chusing rather to part with that peninsula, than engage in a war against so powerful an enemy. However, he could not avoid coming to a rupture with *Philip* the father of *Alexander*, by whom he was overcome, and stripped of great part of his dominions ². He died after a reign of eleven years, leaving the kingdom to his son *Scuthes*, who was then an hostage at the court of *Philip* king of *Macedon*, who immediately sent him home to take possession of the throne; but he was scarce well seated in it, when he fell upon the *Macedonians*, who inhabited the countries which had been taken from his father, drove them quite out, and recovered all the provinces which had formerly belonged to the kingdom of the *Odryse*. These he held under *Alexander the Great*, whom he assisted against the *Persians*; but, upon that prince's death, he marched against *Lysimachus* at the head of twenty thousand foot and eight thousand horse, protesting, that he would not submit to the division which the captains of *Alexander* had made. He engaged *Lysimachus* twice; in the first battle no considerable advantage was gained on either side; but in the second *Scuthes* was intirely routed, and his army cut in pieces ³. He died soon after this overthrow, and was succeeded by his brother *Ariopharnes*, who having, on his accession to the throne espoused the cause of *Eumelus* against *Satyrus* king of *Bosphorus*, was by the latter overthrown, with the loss almost of the whole army ⁴; which so grieved him, that he died soon after.

NEXT to him reigned *Scuthes* IV. who, as we read in *Livy*, was attacked in the heart of his dominions by *Philip* the father of *Perfes*, and by that prince reduced to great straits, having lost *Philippopolis* and several other strong-holds ⁵. *Scuthes* was succeeded by *Cotys* II. who joined *Perfes* against the *Romans*, assisting him with a body of a thousand chosen horse; but *Eumenes*, king of *Pergamus*, having stirred up against him a neighbouring prince, named *Attalus*, and sent a body of troops into his dominions, under the command of

¹ DEMOSTHEN. contra Aristocrat. ATHEN. l. xii c. 14. ² DEMOSTHEN. ibid. POLYÆN. l. vii. ISOCRAT. orat. de pace. ³ ÆSCHYN. de fals. legat. DIODOR. SICUL. l. xviii. CURT. l. xi. ⁴ DIODOR. SICUL. l. xx. ⁵ LIV. decad. 5. l. ii. & decad. 4. l. ix.

Corrahus, one of his generals, *Cotys* was obliged to leave *Perjes*, and hasten to the defence of his own kingdom. As he had been ever faithful to *Perjes*, and almost the only ally on whom he could depend, the king of *Macedon* followed him in person, put the *Pergamians* and *Thracians*, who infested his territories, to flight, retook the cities he had lost, and restored tranquillity to his dominions. *Perjes*, on his parting with *Cotys* to return to *Macedon*, distributed two hundred talents among the *Thracians*, who had served under him the last campaign; but as this was only six months pay, whereas he had promised a whole year's, *Cotys*, taking it amiss that his men should be thus defrauded of what was their due, refused to assist him the ensuing year, and no sooner heard he was defeated and taken by the *Romans*, than he sent ambassadors to *Rome* to congratulate the senate on the success of their army, and excuse his joining *Perjes*. The ambassadors were received very kindly by the senate, and the *Thracian* hostages, that had been taken together with *Perjes*, restored to them without ransom w. *Cotys* was succeeded by *Diegylis*, who having led a body of *Thracians* to the assistance of *Prusias* his son-in-law, was defeated and taken prisoner by *Attalus* *; and this is all we know of him. *Sothymus* the son of *Diegylis* reigned at the time of the social war, or the war between *Rome* and her *Italian* allies. These domestic divisions he improved to his advantage, invading *Greece*, and laying waste *Macedon*, whence he returned with an immense booty; but was at last overcome, and obliged to abandon the countries he had possessed himself of, by *C. Sentius*, prætor of *Macedon* y. *Cotys* III. the son of *Sothymus*, succeeding his father, entered into an alliance with *Rome*, and prevailed upon *Piso* proconsul of *Macedon*, by a present of three hundred talents, to put to death *Rabocentus* king of the *Bessi*, and bestow part of his dominions on him. In the civil war of *Rome* he sent five hundred horse to the assistance of *Pompey* z. *Cicero* and *Cæsar* call him *Cottus*; but *Lucan* *Cotys* a. His son *Safales*, after his death, followed the same party, and had great share in the signal victory which was gained over *L. Cassius Longinus*. He distinguished himself in the battle of *Pharsalia*; but nevertheless was pardoned by *Cæsar*. He died not long be-

w LIV. decad 5 l. ii. & 5. ZONAR. TOM. II. EUTROP. l. iv. OROS. l. iv. c. 20 Hist. Miscell l. iv. * STRABO, l. xiii. VAL. MAX l. ix c. 2. y OROS. l. v. c. 18. Hist. Miscel l. v. z CIC in Pison. CÆS. de bell. civil. l. iii. LUCAN. l. v. a CIC. CÆS LUCAN. ibid.

fore the battle of *Philippi*, and left his kingdom, as he had no children, to the people of *Rome*; but *M. Brutus* seized it after *Cæsar's* death ^b. *Plutarch* tells us, that he was still alive at the time of the battle of *Actium*, and served in that war under *Antony* ^c. That writer calls him *Sadalus*, as does also *Cicero*; but we have followed *Cæsar*, who gives him the name of *Sasales*. Tho' he had bequeathed his dominions to the *Romans*, yet *M. Brutus* bestowed them on his brother *Cotys*, who, dying soon after, left them to his son *Rhymetal-* *Cotys IV.*
ces, who being, at his father's death, under age, was carefully *Rhyme-*
educated, together with his brother *Rhasciporis*, by *Rhyme-* *talces*.
talces their uncle by the mother. Both brothers served under *Tiberius* in the *Pannonic* war, and had a great share in the victories he gained over those barbarians. Upon the death of *Rhymetalces*, *Augustus* divided his kingdom between *Rhaf-* *Rhascipo-*
ciporis his brother and *Cotys* his son. In this partition the *ris and*
cities and countries bordering upon *Greece* fell to *Cotys*, *Cotys V.*
and the mountainous and barren provinces to *Rhasciporis*; who thereupon invading his nephew's dominions, seized the most fruitful parts of them for himself. *Cotys*, thus provoked, raised a powerful army; but, while the two princes were ready to take the field, *Tiberius*, who had succeeded *Augustus* in the empire, dispatched messengers to them, ordering them to lay down their arms, and refer the decision of their differences to the arbitration of the *Roman* people. *Cotys* forthwith dismissed his army, and, at the request of *Rhasciporis*, came to an interview with him, where he was treacherously seized, and loaded with chains, *Rhasciporis* pretending that he had formed a design of seizing him. When news of these proceedings were brought to *Rome*, *Tiberius* dispatched messengers to *Rhasciporis* enjoining him to send *Cotys* to *Rome*, and to appear himself in person before the senate, to give an account of the whole matter; since neither he nor the senate could pronounce sentence without hearing the cause. Hereupon *Rhasciporis* caused *Cotys* to be murdered, giving out that he had laid violent hands on himself. This *Tiberius* feigned to believe; but, however, inhibited upon the king's coming to *Rome*; which he refusing to do, *Tiberius* preferred to the government of *Mæsia*, which bordered on the country of the *Odrysæ*, *Pomponius Flaccus*, an intimate friend of the king's, who, having treacherously drawn him into the *Roman* territories, caused him to be

^b DIO. l. xli & xlvii. CÆS l. iii. de bell. civil. LUCAN. l. v.

^c PLUT. in Anton.

Rheme-
talces.

seized, and sent to *Rome*, where he was accused by the wife of *Cotys*, and being convicted of the crimes laid to his charge, condemned to exile, and sent to *Alexandria*. He was soon after put to death by an order from *Tiberius*, for attempting to fly from the place of his banishment ^d. This prince is called by *Dion Cassius Rhascipolis*; by *Tacitus Rhescuporis*; by *Velleius Rhascupolis*. Upon the banishment of *Rhasciporis* the kingdom was divided between *Rhementalces* his son, who had opposed all his father's measures, and the sons of *Cotys*. As these were minors, *Trebellienus Rufus* was appointed their guardian, and charged with the administration. The sons of *Cotys* having some how or other disoblged the emperor *Caligula*, were by him driven out of their kingdom, which was conferred upon *Rhementalces*, who by this means became the sole master of all the countries that had ever belonged to the *Odrysæ* ^e. From this time we find no mention made of the *Odrysæ* till the reign of *Vespasian*, who, as we read in *Suetonius* ^f, reduced their country to a *Roman* province.

The Auto-
nomi.

THE *Autonomi*, so called because every man among them was a law to himself, inhabited the most rocky and barren places of *Thrace*, being separated from *Mæsia* by mount *Hæmus* ^g. *Herodotus* calls them sometimes *Autonomi*, and sometimes *Satræ* ^h. They were according to that writer, the most gallant and warlike people of all *Thrace*. They were, not afraid even to engage *Alexander*, and on that occasion behaved with extraordinary valour; but their army was cut in pieces, their baggage taken, and their wives and children made prisoners. After this overthrow they submitted to the conqueror, who, to prevent them from revolting in his absence, took along with him into *Asia* all the chief men of their nation ⁱ. They served under *Perfes* against the *Romans*; but, however, were allowed to live according to their own laws till the reign of *Vespasian*, who made their country part of the province of *Thrace*.

Crobyzi.

The *Crobyzi* possessed that part of *Thrace* which lay between mount *Hæmus* and the *Euxine* sea. They are mentioned by *Herodotus* ^k and *Athenæus*, the last writer telling us, that they had kings of their own, and amongst others one *Isanthus*, who was one of the most wealthy and comely princes of his age ^l.

^d TACITUS, Annal. l. ii. SUBT. in Tiber. DIO, l. xlv. VELLEI PATERCUL. l. ultim. ^e DIO. CASS. l. lv. TACITUS, Annal. l. ii, iii, iv. ^f SUT. in Vespas. ^g THUCYD. l. ii. ^h HERODOT. l. vii. ⁱ ARRIAN. l. i. FRONTIN. l. ii. c. 11. ^k HERODOT. l. iv. ^l ATHEN. l. xii c. 17.

THE *Mædi* inhabited that part of *Thrace* which bordered *Mædi*. upon *Macedon*, and are mentioned by most of the antients, namely, by *Thucydides* ^m, *Plutarch* ⁿ, *Vegetius* ^o, *Pliny* ^p, *Livy* ^q, *Stephanus*, &c. who all tell us, that they were a brave and gallant nation, strangers to all manner of effeminacy, and inured to the fatigues of war. Their warlike temper gave occasion to poets to feign, as *Vegetius* observes ^r, that *Mars* the god of war was born in their country. However, they were reduced by *Philip* the son of *Amyntas*; but having shaken off the yoke while he was employed against the *Byzantii*, they were anew subdued by his son *Alexander*, who possessed himself of their metropolis, called formerly *Jampharina*; but from him *Alexandropolis* ^s. But notwithstanding the great loss they sustained on this occasion, *Alexander* no sooner left *Macedon*, than they invaded that country anew, and penetrated as far as *Greece*, committing every-where most dreadful ravages; and thus they continued to harass the *Macedonians*, till that kingdom became a *Roman* province, when they were at last after a long war, intirely reduced by the *Romans*, in the consulate of *Cn. Octavius* and *C. Scribonius*, in the year of *Rome* 675. They had some years before plundered the rich temple of *Delphos*, and with part of the booty bribed *L. Scipio*, who had been sent against them, to let them depart unmolested, and even to conclude an alliance with them ^t. To this sacrilegious connivance of the *Roman* general, *Appian* ascribes the civil wars, and the many calamities which not long after fell upon *Rome* ^u.

THE country of the *Sapæi* lay between the rivers *Melas* *Sapæi*. and *Arzus*, bordering on the gulf of *Melas*, on the *Chersonesus*, and the *Propontis*. The *Sapæi* were governed by their own kings. Those, whose names have reached us, are *Olorus*, *Timotheus*, *Rhascipolis*, *Rhascus*, and *Cotys*. *Olorus* gave his daughter *Hegeipole* in marriage to *Miltiades*, the second of this name. From this *Olorus* was descended the father of *Thucydides*, the historian, called also *Olorus*, as *Plutarch* informs us ^w; but at what time, or on what occasion, he settled at *Athens*, is uncertain. *Thucydides* had great possessions and rich mines in *Thrace* ^x; and although they might have come to him by his wife, who was a native of *Sapte-Hyle*, as

^m THUCYD. l. ii. ⁿ PLUT. in Æmil. Paul. ^o VEGET. l. i. c. ult. ^p PLIN. l. iv. c. 11. ^q LIV. decad 3. l. vi. ^r VEGET. ibid. ^s PLUTARCH. in Alexand. ^t Liv. decad. 3 l. vi. POLYB. l. x APPIAN. in Illyric. ^u APPIAN. ibid. ^w PLUT. in Cimon. ^x THUCYD. l. ii.

some have affirmed, yet it is manifest from *Plutarch*^y, *Cicero*^z, and *Ammianus Marcellinus*^a, that the great men of that country looked upon him as nearly related to them before his marriage. *Timotheus* is mentioned by *Ammianus Marcellinus* as reigning in this part of *Thrace*; but neither he nor other writers give us any account of his actions. *Rhascipolis* and *Rhascus* reigned many years, or rather ages, after *Olorus*; that is, in the time of the civil wars between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*; but as to the actions, and even the names, of the intermediate kings, we are quite in the dark, the works of *Callisthenes* and *Socrates*, who wrote a particular and distinct account of the affairs of *Thrace*, as *Plutarch* informs us^b, having been long since lost. *Rhascipolis* and *Rhascus*, in the civil wars, sided with *Pompey*, and afterwards with *Brutus*; but being pardoned by *Octavianus*, assisted *Antony* with three thousand horse, till he fell out with *Octavianus*, when they both declared for the latter. *Cotys* was the son of one of these two brothers, succeeded them in the kingdom, and enjoyed it till the latter end of the reign of *Tiberius*, when he was treacherously murdered by his own subjects, and his kingdom reduced to the form of a province^c.

Celetæ. THE *Celetæ* inhabited part of mount *Hæmus*, and part of mount *Rhodope*, and are called by *Pliny*^d the most savage of all the *Thracians*. *Livy* tells us, that they fell upon *Cn. Manlius*, as he was returning out of *Asia* into *Europe*, and took from him great part of the booty which he had got by plundering some rich cities of *Gallo-Græcia*^e. And this is all we find recorded of them in history.

ⁱ **Kings of the Thracian Chersonesus.** THE *Thracian Chersonesus* had likewise its own kings, among whom mention is made of *Polymnestor*, *Euforus*, and *Acamas*. *Polymnestor* married *Ilione* the daughter of king *Priam*, and, after the destruction of *Troy*, treacherously murdered *Polydorus*, who had been sent by his father *Priam* to be brought up at his court, as in a place of safety^f. *Hyginus* tells us, that *Polydorus*, being sent very young into *Thrace*, *Ilione* his sister brought him up as the son of *Polymnestor*; and that not *Polydorus*, but his own son *Deiphilus*, was murdered by the cruel *Polymnestor*. *Euforus* and *Aca-*

^y PLUT. *ibid.* ^z CIC. l. ii. de orator. ^a AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. l. iii. ^b PLUT. in Parall. ^c APPIAN. l. iv. de bell. civil. ^d PLIN. l. iv. c. 7. ^e LIV. decad. 4. l. viii. ^f PLUT. in Parall. EURIPID. in *Hecub.* VIRGIL. *Æneid.* l. iii. ver. 45. & seq. OVID. *Metam.* l. xiii.

mas are mentioned by *Homer* ^g, and the latter said to have led a body of *Thracians* to the relief of *Troy*, during the siege of which city he was killed by *Ajax*. His daughter *Acete* married *Æneas* a *Theffalian*, by whom she had *Cyzicus*, who built the famous city bearing his name ^h. Before we dismiss this subject, we cannot help observing, that the *Greeks* were chiefly indebted to the *Thracians* for the polite arts that flourished among them; for *Orpheus*, *Linus*, *Musæus*, *Thamyris*, and *Eumolpus*, all *Thracians*, were the first, as *Eustathius* informs us ⁱ, who charmed the inhabitants of *Greece* with their eloquence and melody, and persuaded them to exchange their fierceness for a sociable life and peaceful manners; nay, great part of *Greece* was antiently peopled by *Thracians*. *Tereus* a *Thracian* governed at *Daulis* in *Phocis*, where the tragical story of *Philomela* and *Progne* was acted. From thence a body of *Thracians* passed over to *Eubæa*, and possessed themselves of that island. Of the same nation were the *Aones*, *Tembices*, and *Hyanthians*, who made themselves masters of *Bæotia*; and great part of *Attica* itself was inhabited by *Thracians*, under the command of the celebrated *Eumolpus* ^k. It is not therefore without the utmost ingratitude and injustice, that the *Greeks* style them *Barbarians*, since to them chiefly they were indebted both for the peopling and polishing of their country.

^g HOMER. *Iliad.* β & ζ. ^h Scholiast. *Apollonii*, p. 149.
ⁱ EUSTATH. in *Iliad.* β. ^k STRABO, l. v. p. 392.

C H A P. VIII.

The History of the antient kingdom of
E P I R U S.Name, si-
tuation,
&c.

E P I R U S, the antient kingdom of the *Æacidæ*, was at first called *Epirus Dodonæa*, that is, *the continent of the Dodonæans*, or the continent inhabited by the *Dodonæans*, and afterwards *Epirus*, or *the continent*, without any addition, that being the import of the Greek word *Epeiros*. It was bounded on the north by the *Ceraunian* mountains; on the south by the *Ambracian* gulf; on the east by *Thessaly* and *Macedon*; and on the west by the *Ionian* sea¹. It was antiently divided into three districts or provinces, namely, *Chaonia*, *Thesprotia*, and *Molossis*, to which some authors add *Cassopia* or *Cassiope*, *Cestrine*, and *Pindus*. *Chaonia*, the most northern part of *Epirus*, was so called from its antient inhabitants the *Chaones*, who were descended, according to the scholiast of *Aristophanes*, from the *Thracians*; according to *Aristotle*, from the *Oenotrii*, one of the most antient nations of *Italy*. Cities of note in this part of *Epirus*, were, according to *Ptolemy*, *Oricum* or *Oricus*, situated on the coast of the *Ionian* sea, at the foot of the *Ceraunian* mountains. It was founded, according to *Pliny*^m, by a colony from *Colchis*, had a famous harbour, and was in the *Roman* times a place of great note, but of no strength, as we read in *Livy* and *Cæsar*ⁿ. *Cassiope*, or *Cassope*, famous on account of the temple of *Jupiter Cassius*; whence some are of opinion that it borrowed its name. *Tirrentius* and most of the modern writers confound *Cassiope* in *Epirus* with another city in the island of *Corcyra* bearing an-

Cities.

¹ PROLEM. l. iii. c. 14. PLIN. l. iv. c. 1. SOLIN c. 12. POMP. MELA, l. ii c. 1. ^m PLIN. l. iii. c. 23. ⁿ LIV. l. xxiv. c. 40. CÆS. de bell. civil. l. iii. c. 7, 8, 15.

tiently the same name ^o. This city was the metropolis of the province *Cassopia* or *Cassiope*, which contained, according to *Strabo* ^p and *Pliny* ^q, three other small towns, viz. *Buchæti-um*, *Elatria*, and *Pandosia*. The inland towns of *Chaonia* were, *Antigonia*, founded by *Antigonus*, *Phænice*, *Hecatom-pedum*, *Omphalum*, *Elæus*, and the strong town, or, as *Pliny* calls it ^r, castle of *Chimera*, much frequented on account of its hot baths. The most remarkable cities in *Thesprotia*, which lay between the *Ambracian* lake and the sea, were, *Buthrotum*, *Ephyra*, *Nicopolis* built by *Augustus* after the *Ætiac* victory, and called by *Pliny* ^s a free city and a Roman colony, *Mæandria*, *Cæstria*, *Charadra*, and *Ambra-cia*. The latter city, which was one of the most considerable of *Epirus*, stood not far from the mouth of the river *Arachtus*, near the gulf to which it gave its name. It was in the Roman times a place of great strength, as we have observed in the history of *Greece*, full of people, and about three miles in compass. In antient times it was a free city; but afterwards reduced by the *Æacidæ* kings of *Epirus*, who chose it for the place of their residence ^t. In process of time the *Ætolians* made themselves masters of it, and held it till they were subdued by the *Romans* ^u. *Molossis* was an inland province, and, according to *Scylax*, only forty stades or furlongs in compass ^w. It was called *Molossis* from *Molossus* the son of *Pyrrhus* and *Andromache*, and contained the following cities, *Dodona*, *Pasaron*, *Tecmon*, *Phylace*, and *Horreum*. *Dodona* is placed by some writers in *Thesprotia* ^x, and by others in *Molossis* ^y; but *Strabo* ^z reconciles these two opposite opinions, by telling us, that antiently it belonged to *Thesprotia*, and afterwards to *Molossis*; for it stood on the confines of these two provinces. This city was once famous for the temple and oracle of *Jupiter Dodonæus*, much spoke of by all the antient writers (K). The other cities of *Molossi-*
contained

^o Vide JAC. PALMERIUM, l. ii. Antiq. Græc. c. 4. ^p STRABO, l. vii. p. 223. ^q PLIN. l. iv. c. 1. ^r Idem ibid.
^s Idem ibid. ^t POLYB. legat. 28. POMP. MELA, l. xi. c. 1. STRABO, l. vii. p. 225. ^u FLORUS, l. xi. c. 9. LIV. l. xxxviii. c. 6. ^w SCYLAX, in Periplo. ^x MARCIAN. CAPELLA, l. vi. ^y PAUSAN. in Attic c. xvii. ^z STRABO, l. vii. p. 227.

(K) The city of *Dodona* is said to have been built by *Deucalion*, who, in that universal deluge, retreated to this place, which, by reason of its height, secured him from the waters. Hither resorted to him all those who had escaped from the inundation. With these
he

contained nothing worthy of observation. The kingdom of *Epirus* must have comprehended in the *Roman* times a great many

he peopled his new-built city, calling it *Dodona*, according to some, from a sea nymph of that name, according to others, from *Dodon* the son, or *Dodone* the daughter, of *Jupiter* and *Europa*. At the same time *Deucalion* is said to have founded a temple, which he consecrated to *Jupiter*, who is from thence styled *Dadonæus*. This was the first temple of *Greece*; for the *Epirots* were antiently reckoned among the *Greeks*. But the oracle seems to have been a considerable time before it; for *Herodotus* (83) tells us, that it was the most antient of all the oracles of *Greece*, which could not be true, if it had not been before *Deucalion's* time; for he, having escaped the deluge, advised with the oracle of *Themis* on mount *Parnassus*, about the means he should use to re-people the country; and the same oracle is said to have belonged to the *earth* and *Neptune* before it was possessed by *Themis*. *Herodotus* (84) gives us two accounts of the origin of this oracle: in the first, which he received from the priests of *Jupiter* at *Thebes* in *Egypt*, he tells us, that the *Phœnicians* having carried away two priestesses from that place, and sold one of them in *Libya* and the other in *Greece*, each of them established the first oracles in those nations, the one of *Jupiter Hammon*, the other of *Jupiter Dadonæus*. The other account was given him by the priestesses at *Dodona*, and confirmed by all those who ministred in the temple, viz. That two black pigeons taking their flight from *Thebes* in *Egypt*, one of them arrived in *Libya*, where she commanded an oracle to be erected to *Jupiter Hammon*. The other came to *Dodona*, where she perched on an oak, and admonished the inhabitants with an articulate voice to found an oracle in that place in honour of the same *Jupiter*. Afterwards *Herodotus* delivers his own opinion relating to this subject, viz. that if the *Phœnicians* did really carry away two women from *Thebes*, and sell one of them in *Libya* and the other in *Greece*, the latter was in all likelihood bought by the *Thesprotians*, who inhabited that country, which, in his time, was called *Hellas*; but formerly named *Pelasgia*, where, during her servitude, she consecrated an altar to *Jupiter* under an oak, nothing being more natural than to suppose that she, who had been a priestess of that god in *Thebes*, would not be unmindful of his worship in another place. To confirm this conjecture he adds, that these two oracles had a near resemblance to each other; and moreover tells us, that, in his opinion, the two pigeons, or rather women, were said to be black, because they came from *Egypt*, and called *pigeons*, because they were *barbarians* or *foreigners*, and their speech no more understood than the chattering of birds; but as soon as they learned the *Greek* tongue, they were said to speak with a human voice. *Eusebius* gives two

(83) *Herodot. l. ii.*(84) *Idem ibid.*

many cities, of which no mention is made by the antient historians or geographers, if what *Polybius*, as quoted by *Strabo*,

reasons more for this appellation (85), viz. that they were called ΠΕΛΕΙΑΙ or *doves*, because they made their predictions by the observation of those birds; as those who made use of crows in divination were named ΚΟΡΑΚΟΜΑΝΤΕΙΣ; and secondly, because, in the *Molossian* language, old women were styled ΠΕΛΕΙΑΙ, and old men ΠΕΛΕΙΟΙ; and that those prophetesses being old women, either by a mistake of the word, or a poetical equivocation were called *doves*. Why old persons should be thus termed, the old scholiast upon *Sophocles* informs us (86); for the old prophetesses, says he, were called ΠΕΛΕΙΑΙ, because of their *gray hairs*. *Servius* gives another reason for this appellation (87), viz. that, in the *Thessalian* tongue, the word ΠΕΛΕΙΑΙ signified both *a dove* and *a prophetess*. Others tell us, that, in the hieroglyphical way of writing, by a black pigeon was signified *a widow*, who remained unmarried till death. Some writers say, that this oracle was founded by the *Pelasgians*, who were the most antient of all the nations that inhabited *Greece*. Of this opinion is *Strabo* (88), being led hereunto by *Homer*, who bestows upon the same *Jupiter* the names of *Dodonæus* and *Pelasgicus* (89). The same *Strabo* relates another fabulous opinion concerning the origin of this oracle out of *Su'das's Thessalica*. That writer, says *Strabo* (90), to gratify the *Thessalians* with a new-invented fable, relates, that the oracle of *Dodona* was translated out of *Pelafgia*, a country of *Thessaly*, into *Epirus*, being accompanied by a great number of women, from whom the prophetesses in after-ages were descended; and that from them *Jupiter* received the appellation of *Pelasgicus*. The persons who delivered the oracles were at first men, as *Strabo* and *Eustathius* observe out of *Homer*, who calls them in the masculine gender Προφήτας and Σέλλας (91). The same *Strabo* tells us (92) in his description of *Bæotia*, that, in after-ages, all those who consulted the oracle received answers from women, except the *Bæotians*, who had theirs from men; and of this custom he gives the following reason: In a war between the *Bæotians* and *Pelasgians*, the former consulting the oracle of *Dodona* about the event of the war, received for answer, that their enterprise should be crowned with success, if they acted wickedly. Hereupon the *Bæotians*, suspecting that the prophetess spoke in favour of the *Pelasgians*, seized her, and threw her into the fire. Those who ministered in the temple, immediately apprehended the *Bæotians*; but not thinking it lawful to put them to death in so sacred a place, before they were tried, and juridically condemned,

(85) *Eustath. Odyss. ξ. p. 544, 545.* (86) *Trachin. ver. 176.*
 (87) *Servius in Virg. Eclog. 9. ver. 83.* (88) *Strab. l. vii.*
 (89) *Hom. Iliad π. ver. 235.* (90) *Strabo ibid.* (91)
Homer. ibid. (92) *Strabo, l. ix.*

bo^a, and after him *Livy* ^b, tells us, be true, viz. that *Æmilius Paulus* dismantled and plundered about seventy cities subject

^a STRABO, l. vii. p. 223.

^b LIV. l. xlv. c. 34.

advised them to refer the matter to the two surviving prophetesses. On the other hand, the *Bæotians* alledging, that no laws in the world allowed women to sit upon life and death, it was agreed, that two men should judge them jointly with the two prophetesses. When the judges came to pronounce sentence, the *Bæotians* were found guilty by the women, and cleared by the men; whereupon they were dismissed without any punishment, as was usual when the number of voices was equal on both sides; but on that occasion it was established, that men only should give answers to the *Bæotians*. The prophets of this temple were commonly called *Tomuri*, and the prophetesses *Tomuræ*, from *Tomurus* a mountain in *Thesprotia*, at the foot of which stood the temple. In process of time this word came to be a general name for any prophet; for thus *Hesychius* expounds it, and in this sense *Lycophron* applies it to *Prylis* the son of *Mercury* (93).

Near the temple was a sacred grove of oaks and beeches, which was supposed to be inhabited by the *Dryades*, *Fauni*, and *Satyri*, who, we are told, were often seen dancing under the shades of the trees. Before sowing was invented, when men lived upon acorns, those of this wood were in great request, as appears from the following verses of *Virgil*:

Liber & alma Ceres, vestro si munere tellus
Chaoniam pingui glandem mutavit arista (94).

And again in the same book;

Prima Ceres ferro mortales vertere terram
Instituit; cum jam glandes atque arbuta sacrae
Deficerent sylvæ, & victum Dodona negaret (95).

These oaks or beeches were said to be endued with a human voice and prophetic spirit; for which reason they are called *speaking and prophesying oaks*. *Argo*, the ship of the *Argonauts*, which was built with the timber of this wood, is feigned to have been endued with the same power of speech, whence *Lycophron* calls it *λαληθρὴν κισσάν*, a *chattering magpye* (96). What gave occasion to this fiction was, as some writers tell us, that the prophets, when they gave answers, placed themselves in one of these trees, so that the oracle was thought to be uttered by the oak, which was only

(93) *Lycoph. Cassand. ver.* 223.

27. (95) *Idem ibid ver.* 146.

1319.

(94) *Virgil. Georg. l. v. ver.*

(96) *Lycoph. Cassand. ver.*

pronounced

ject to the *Epirots*. *Strabo* counts the *Athamanes*, *Æthices*, *Tymphæi*, *Orestæ*, *Paroræi*, *Atintanes*, and *Perrhæbi* among the *Epirotic* nations; but *Pliny* ^d and *Livy* ^c reckon the *Athamanes*, *Tymphæi*, and *Perrhæbi* among the *Ætolians*. In *Chaonia* were the *Ceraunian* or *Acroceraunian* mountains, now *monti della Chimera*, parting the *Ionian* and *Adriatic* seas, and so called from their being frequently struck with lightning. In *Thesprotia* were the *Acherusian* lake and the river *Acheron*, much spoke of by the poets. It had its springs, according to *Pliny* ^e, in the abovementioned lake, and emptied itself into the *Ambracian* gulf; but according to *Ptolemy*, *Strabo*, and *Thucydides* ^g, it rose in the country of the *Molossi*, and, passing through the *Acherusian* lake, discharged itself into the *Thesprotian* bay. The rivers *Aphas* and *Aracthus* are mentioned by *Livy* ^h as rising in the same country. The celebrated mount *Pindus* parted *Epirus* and *Thessaly*, and was therefore by some geographers placed in *Thessaly*, by others in *Epirus*. The inland parts of *Epirus* were very barren and full of forests, but the coast pretty fruitful. The horses of this country were in great request among the antients, as were also the mastiffs of *Molossis*, from thence called by the *Latins* *Molossi* ⁱ. The *Epirots* were deemed a very warlike

Moun-
tains,
rivers, &c.

Manners
of the in-
habitans.

^c STRABO, *ibid.* ^d PLIN. l. iv. c. 11. ^e LIV. l. xxxviii.
sub init. ^f PLIN. *ibid.* ^g THUCYD. l. ii. ^h LIV. l.
viii. c. 24. ⁱ Vide VIRG. Georg. l. iii. v. 405. & SERVIVM
ibid.

pronounced out of its hollow stock, or from amongst its hollow branches. Some are of opinion, that the oracles were delivered from the branches of the tree, because the prophetic pigeons are reported by *Herodotus* to have perched upon a tree (97); and the scholiast upon *Sophocles* tells us, that above the oracle there were two pigeons (98). Others are inclined to believe, that the oracles were uttered from the hollow stock, because the prophets could best be concealed there (99). The brazen kettles of this place were no less famous than the *speaking oaks*. Some writers affirm, and others deny, that they were made use of in delivering the oracles; however that be, *Demon* in *Suidas* says, that they were so artificially placed about the temple, that, by striking one of them, the sound was communicated to all the rest. These kettles were consecrated by the *Corcyraeans* to *Jupiter Dodonæus*, as *Strabo* informs us (100). About what time, or on what account, this oracle ceased, is uncertain; but the above mentioned writer, who flourished under *Augustus*, tells us, that, in his time, the gods had deserted that and most other oracles (101).

(97) *Herodot. ibid.* (98) *Trachin. ver. 174.* (99) *Hesiod. Eoa.*
(100) *Strabo, l. vii.* (101) *Idem ibid.*

VOL. IX.

C c c

people,

people, and generally behaved, as we shall see in the history of their kings, with great gallantry; but continued in their former savage condition long after their neighbours were civilized; whence the islanders used to threaten their offenders, as we read in *Athenæus* ^k, with transportation to the continent, namely to *Epirus*.

*Inhabi-
tants.*

THIS country was first peopled by *Dodanim* the son of *Javan*, and grandson of *Japhet*, or at least by some of his posterity, as *Josephus* informs us, ^l. *Eusebius* says, that *Dodanim* first settled in the island of *Rhodes*, and that some of his descendants being streightened there for want of room, passed over to the continent, and fixed their abode in *Epirus*, where they built a city, calling it *Dodona* from their progenitor *Dodanim* ^m. If the opinion of *Eusebius* be true, the *Dodonæans* were originally *Greeks*, and not *Barbarians*, as most of the antients stile them. However, in process of time several barbarous nations settled among them; and hence they are said by *Strabo* ⁿ to have spoke promiscuously the languages of the *Greeks* and *Barbarians*. The various nations we find mentioned by the most antient writers, as inhabiting *Epirus* before they became one people, and were blended under the common name of *Epirots*, are, the *Selli*, *Chaones*, *Molossi*, *Dolopes*, *Paravæi*, *Orestæ*, *Dryopes*, *Hellopes*, *Ænians*, and *Pelasgi*; but as to the origin of these different tribes, there is a great disagreement among authors, whose various opinions it would be too tedious to relate. We shall only observe, that the *Selli* were by prophane authors thought to have been the first inhabitants of *Epirus*, and to have ministred in the temple of *Dodona*. *Homer* speaks of them as priests, living round the abode of the Pelasgian Jove king of *Dodona*, that is, round the temple of *Jupiter Dodonæus*, and insinuates, that they lay on the ground, and never washed their feet ^o; whence *Strabo* concludes, that they were not originally *Greeks*, but sprung from some savage and unpolished nation ^p.

*Form of
govern-
ment.*

THE form of government, which prevailed in *Epirus*, was without all doubt monarchical, the whole country being divided into many small kingdoms quite independent of each other. *Strabo* indeed tells us, that first the *Chaones*, and after them the *Molossi*, were masters of all *Epirus*; but this if true, must have been in the most early ages; for we find several kings mentioned by *Homer* and other antient writers, as reigning at the time of the *Trojan* war, viz. *Aidoneus*,

^k *ATHEN.* l. ii. c. 7. ^l *JOSEPH.* *Antiq.* l. iii. c. 7. ^m *EUSEB.* in *Chron.* ⁿ *STRAB.* l. vii. ^o *HOMER.* *Iliad.* π', v. 235. ^p *STRAB.* *ibid.*

Orcus, Phidon, Echetus, and Harpalicus. The other *Epirotic* nations continued for a long time to be governed by princes of their own blood; but the *Molossi* fell very early under the power of *Pyrrhus*, a foreign prince, whose descendants were from him stiled *Pyrrhidæ*, and from his family *Æacidæ*, they being the progeny of *Æacus*¹. Some of these petty kingdoms in process of time exchanged the monarchical for a republican form of government; for *Thucydides*² tells us, that in his time the *Thesprotæ* and *Chaones* were governed, not by kings, but by annual magistrates. But when, and on what occasion, this change happened, is what we find nowhere recorded. At the beginning of the *Peloponnesian* war the *Paravæi* and *Orestæ* were still ruled by kings of their own nation; the former by *Antiochus*, and the latter by *Oroedus*. But the kingdom of the *Molossi* soon eclipsed all the others, the *Molossian* princes having subjected the whole country, and united the many small kingdoms, of which it consisted, into one, known to the ancients by the name of *Epirus*. And this alone affords us matter for a history, there being nothing upon record relating to the others, but the names of some of their kings, and a few fabulous accounts of their actions; for which we refer our readers to *Hyginus*³ and *Cyrillus*⁴, it being beneath the dignity of history to take notice of them.

WE shall begin the history of the kings of *Epirus* with *Pyrrhus*. *Pyrrhus*, the first of the *Æacidæ* who reigned in that country, the times which preceded his reign being overcast with an impenetrable mist, and the kings, who are supposed to have ruled over the *Molossi* before his arrival, more spoke of by the poets than the historians. *Pyrrhus* was the son of *Achilles*, by *Deidamia* the daughter of *Lycomedes*, king of the island of *Scyros*. Upon the death of his father, who was killed at the siege of *Troy*, he was prevailed upon by *Diomedes* and *Ulysses* to leave his grand-father's court, where he had been brought up, and take upon him the command of the troops, which his father had led against *Troy*. He distinguished himself at the siege of that city, if the poets are to be credited, by his brave and gallant behaviour; and after it was taken killed old king *Priam* with his own hand, threw *Astyanax*, the son of *Hector* and *Andromache*, headlong from a high tower, sacrificed *Polyxena*, the daughter of king *Priam*, on the tomb of his father, and carried *Andromache* with him into *Epirus*, where he settled, by the advice of the famous soothsayer *Helenus*, one of *Priam*'s sons, with the

¹ STRABO, *ibid.*
lib. 193, 252.

² THUCYD. lib. ii.

³ HYGIN.

⁴ CYRIL. l. i. contra Julian.

Myrmidones, who had served, during the *Trojan* war, both under his father and himself. He maintained himself in this new settlement with the assistance of the *Pelopidæ*, to whom he was nearly related, against the natives, who, finding they could not drive him out, submitted at length, and acknowledged him for their king. But his reign was not long; for he had scarce settled the affairs of his new kingdom, when he was murdered by *Orestes* in the very temple of *Delphos*, for marrying *Hermione*, the daughter of *Menelaus*, who had been betrothed to the said *Orestes*. Some writers tell us, that, under pretence of consulting the oracle of *Delphos* about his issue by *Hermione*, he attempted to plunder the temple, and was in that attempt killed by the priests^u. His death gave rise to the proverb *Neoptolemic revenge*, used by the ancients, when one suffered the same evils which he had brought upon others; for *Pyrrhus*, surnamed *Neoptolemus*, had barbarously murdered king *Priam* at the altar of *Jupiter Hercæus*, and was himself murdered at the altar of *Apollo Delphicus*. The surname of *Neoptolemus*, or *the young warrior*, was given him, when he first went to the siege of *Troy*, he being then very young. His body, by command of the oracle, was buried in the temple where he had been murdered; but no honours were there paid to him till the irruption of the *Gauls*, which happened many ages after, when he is said to have appeared among other dead heroes, and to have with his ghastly looks struck great terror into those sacrilegious *Barbarians*. From that time he was honoured with yearly sacrifices, and solemn sports exhibited at his tomb^w. The *Pyrrhica*, a kind of tournament or dance in armour, was so called from him, he having first used it round the tomb of his father *Achilles*^x. *Pyrrhus* had two wives, *Lanassa* the daughter of *Cleodæus*, one of the descendants of *Hercules*, and *Hermione* the daughter of *Menelaus* and *Helena*. By the latter he had no children; but the former brought him three sons, *Pyrrhus*, *Aleuas*, and *Ethnestus*, and five daughters. By *Andromache*, whom some count among his lawful wives, others among his concubines, he had likewise three sons, *Molossus*, *Pielus*, and *Amphialus*. *Pyrrhus*, his eldest son by *Lanassa*, died in his infancy. *Aleuas* was brought up by *Peleus* his great-grand-father, king of *Phthia* in *Thessaly*, and by him appointed his heir and successor in that kingdom^y. *Ethnestus* lived in *Thessaly* with

^u Vide Scholiast. PINDAR. VIRGIL. lib. iii. ver. 333, & seq. PAUSAN in Boeot. EUSEB. in Chron. ^w Vide SER. in 2 Æneid. & CONSTANT. MANASS. ^x PRISCIAN l. xiv. PLIN. l. vii. c. 56. & ERASM. Chiliad. ^y SUIDAS voce Alevadæ. his

his brother, and gave his name to the tribe of the *Ethnestæ* mentioned by *Stephanus*². *Molossus* lived after the death of *Molossus*. his father under the tuition of *Helenus*, the son of king *Priam*, on whom *Pyrrhus* had bestowed *Andromache* in marriage, and with her part of his kingdom, having always shewn a great kindness and particular friendship for that prophet³. *Helenus* brought him up with all possible care, and, at his death, left him that part of the kingdom which had been given him by *Pyrrhus*. As *Molossus* died without children, he bequeathed the whole kingdom to his brother *Pielus*; for *Pielus*. he had succeeded his father *Pyrrhus* as well as *Helenus*. Some authors write, that *Molossus* was succeeded by his son, and that from him were descended the *Æacidæ* or *Pyrrhidæ* of *Epirus*; but we have followed *Pausanias*, who tells us in express terms, that *Molossus* died without children, was succeeded by his brother *Pielus*, and that from him the kings of *Epirus* were by the most antientwriters sometimes stiled *Pielidæ*⁴. *Amphialus*, the third son of *Pyrrhus* by *Andromache*, surnamed *Pergamus*, passed over into *Asia* with his mother, and having there killed in single combat *Arias* king of *Teuthrania*, reigned in his stead, fixing the place of his residence at *Pergamus*, whence he was stiled *Amphialus Pergamus*⁵. *Pausanias* will have the city of *Pergamus* to have been so called from him, but is herein contradicted by most of the antients, who tell us, that this city was built long before his time by the *Mysians*. Among the descendants of *Amphialus* we find one *Præces* mentioned by *Pausanias*⁶, who is said to have founded a temple in honour of *Achilles* in *Laconica*, whither the young men resorted to offer sacrifices to that hero, before they entered the lists in the public combats. The five daughters, which *Pyrrhus* had by *Lanassa*, as we have observed above, were married, according to *Justin*⁷, to the neighbouring princes.

THE descendants of *Aleuas* reigned in *Thessaly*, and are said by *Herodotus*⁸ to have invited thither *Xerxes* king of *Persia*, and betrayed the country to him. When *Alexander* the *Pheræan* attempted to make himself master of all *Thessaly*, they had recourse to *Alexander* king of *Macedon*, who assisted them with a powerful army, as we have related in the history of *Macedon*⁹. They were at last stript of all their dominions, and the cities they possessed declared free, by *Phi-*

² STEPHAN. voce ἰθυσταί,

PINDAR.

³ PAUSAN. in Bœotic.

⁴ PAUSAN. ibid.

⁵ JUSTIN. l. xvii.

⁶ Vol. vii. p. 610.

⁷ PAUSAN in Attic. Scholiast.

⁸ HYGIN. fab. 97.

⁹ HERODOT. l. vii.

hip the brother of *Alexander*, king of *Macedon*, as we read in *Ulpianus*^h, *Diodorus Siculus*ⁱ, and *Polyænus*^k. As to the immediate descendants of *Pielus*, we are quite in the dark both as to their exploits and succession, there being scarce any mention made of them by the antients till the time of the *Persian* war, when *Admetus* reigned in *Epirus*, and was master of the greatest part of that country. *Antonius Liberalis* indeed names the following intermediate princes, viz. *Drius*, *Munichus*, *Aphidas*, *Genous*, and *Alcon*; but upon what authority we know not. *Admetus* reigned, as we have hinted above, in *Epirus*, when *Xerxes* invaded *Greece*, and refused to join either party. Upon the defeat of the *Persians*, he courted the friendship of the *Athenians*, offering to enter into an alliance with the republic; but his proposals were, at the instigation of *Themistocles*, rejected with scorn, because he had not lent them any assistance against their common enemy. Notwithstanding the ill offices done him on this occasion by *Themistocles*, he afterwards received him, when banished from his own country, with great marks of friendship and esteem, refused to deliver him up to the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*, though threatened with war, and plentifully supplied him with money and other necessaries on his leaving *Epirus* to pass over into *Asia*^l.

Tharymbas.

He was succeeded by *Tharymbas*, the only child he had by his wife *Phthia*; but as this prince was very young at his father's death, he was, by a decree of the people, put under the tuition of *Sabylinthus*, a man of great distinction in his country, and of an unblemished character. *Sabylinthus* attended him to *Athens*, where he applied himself with great earnestness to the study of polite literature; for he was reckoned one of the most learned princes of his age, and is said to have been the first who introduced and encouraged learning among the *Epirots* his subjects. He likewise made many wise and wholesome laws, and is on that account reckoned by *Plutarch* amongst the antient lawgivers. He is mentioned by *Plutarch*, *Thucydides*, *Pausanias*, and *Justin*, under the following names, *Tharrytas*, *Tharyps*, *Tharypus*, *Arymbas*, and *Tharymbas*. The *Chaones*, who had been formerly subject to the *Molossian* kings, were in the reign of this prince, as we read in *Thucydides*^m, subject to no king, but governed by their own laws and magistrates; the *Molossians* and the *Anti-*

^h ULPIAN. in Olynthiac.

ⁱ DIODOR. SICUL. l. xvi.

^k POLYÆN l. iv.

^l THUCYD l. iv. DIODOR. SICUL. l.

xvi. ARISTID. in orat. pro quatuor viris. Scholiast. PINDAR.

^m THUCYD. l. ii.

tanians alone acknowledged *Tharymbas* for their king, the several other nations of *Epirus* having either their peculiar kings, or being free from all subjection, as is evident from the abovementioned writerⁿ.

Alcetas is the next king of *Epirus* we find mentioned in history : he was driven from the throne by his own subjects ; on which occasion he fled to *Dionysius* tyrant of *Syracuse*, by whom he was assisted with a body of *Illyrians*, who replaced him on the throne, after having overthrown his rebellious subjects in a pitched battle. His dominions were soon after invaded by *Jason* of *Pheræa* ; but having, by means of *Timotheus*, prevailed upon the *Athenians* to enter into an alliance with him, *Jason* thinking it adviseable not to provoke so powerful a republic, withdrew his forces from *Epirus*, and suffered *Alcetas* to spend the remainder of his reign in peace^a.

Alcetas was succeeded by his son *Neoptolemus*, who, finding that his brother *Arybas* began to raise disturbances, and, dreading the consequences of a civil war, took him of his own accord for his partner in the kingdom. Upon the death of *Neoptolemus*, for we are intirely in the dark as to the particulars of his reign, *Arybas* remained sole master of the kingdom, which, contrary to the expectation of his subjects, he governed with great prudence, equity, and moderation. He was an encourager of learning, and shewed great favour to such as excelled in any branch of polite literature. To him *Xenocrates*, the *Chalcedonian* philosopher, dedicated, as *Laertius* informs us^p, four books, which he wrote on the art of reigning. He brought up with great care his brother's children, viz. *Alexander*, *Neoptolemus*, *Arybas*, *Troas*, *Olympias*, and *Cadmia*, and married his niece *Olympias* to *Philip* king of *Macedon*, who had by her *Alexander the Great*. At his death, which happened after a reign of ten years, his nephew *Alexander*, whom *Gellius* calls *Molossus*, was raised to the sole possession of the throne by the favour of *Philip* his brother-in-law, who gave him in marriage *Cleopatra* his daughter by *Olympias* ; so that *Alexander* was both brother and son-in-law to *Philip*. This marriage was solemnized with the utmost pomp and magnificence at *Ægæ*, but proved fatal to *Philip*, who, on this occasion, was murdered by *Pausanias*, as we have related at length in the history of *Macedon*^q, though *Alexander*, in his letter to *Darius*, says,

ⁿ Idem, ibid.

^a Idem, l. iii. PAUSAN. in Bæotic. DION.

NON. SICUL. l. xvi.

^p LAERTIUS in vita Philosophorum.

^q Vide Vol. viii. p. 53.

that his father was murdered by assassins hired by him for that purpose, as we read in *Curtius*¹ and *Arrian*².

NOT long after the accession of *Alexander* to the crown of *Epirus*, *Archydemas* king of *Lacedæmon* being killed in fighting for the *Tarentini* against the *Lucani* and *Brutii*, the former invited *Alexander* into *Italy* to their assistance. The king of *Epirus*, promising himself nothing less than the subduing of the west with as much rapidity, as *Alexander the Great* his nephew and brother-in-law had begun to conquer the east, readily closed with the proposal, and having made a descent at *Pæstum*, a maritime city near the mouth of the river *Sibarus*, reduced several cities of the *Lucani* and *Brutii*, and became formidable to all the eastern parts of *Italy*. The *Romans* being at that time employed in suppressing the revolt of the *Latins*, and not caring to engage in a war with two so powerful enemies at once, entered into an alliance with the *Epirot*, as did also the *Metapontini* and *Pediculi*, after he had gained a signal victory over the united forces of the *Brutii* and *Lucani*. The success which attended his arms in the two first campaigns, made him believe that he should reap as great an harvest of glory in *Sicily*, *Italy*, and *Africa*, as his nephew was reaping in *Persia* and the rest of *Asia*; but the unhappy prince lost his life, where he hoped to have enlarged his conquests. This memorable event is thus related, and no doubt blended with many fables, by the *Greek* and *Latin* historians³. Before *Alexander* left *Epirus*, say they, he consulted the celebrated oracle of *Dodona*, about the success that was to attend him during the remaining part of his life. The god returned him this answer; viz. that the waters of *Acheron* would prove fatal to him; and at the same time admonished him to avoid the city of *Pandosia*, lest he should there finish his days. *Acheron* was a river of *Epirus*, and *Pandosia* a city of the same country: *Alexander* therefore, not knowing that in the country of the *Brutii* there was a river and a city bearing the same names, willingly complied with the invitation of the *Tarentini*, and left his own country, fearing it might prove fatal to him, to make war in that of the *Brutii*. As he was fully persuaded that his life could be in no danger there, he exposed his person to the greatest dangers, took several cities, namely *Heraclea*,

¹ Q CURTIUS, l. iv. c. 1.

² ARRIAN, l. ii. p. 41.

³ DIODOR SICUL. l. xvii. STRABO, l. vii. PAUSAN. in Boeot. LIV. l. viii. c. 24. OROS. l. vi. PAUL. DIAC. Hist. Miscell.

Cosentia,

Cosentia, Sipontum, Terina, &c. and sent above three hundred hostages to *Epirus*, all chosen out of the best families of the places he had conquered. Having overcome the *Brutii* and *Lucani* in a second battle, to reduce their country the sooner, he divided his army into three bodies, posting them on three hills divided by deep vallies, and sending out from thence numerous parties to ravage the neighbouring countries. One of these vallies was washed by the *Acheron*, on the banks of which stood the small city of *Pandosia*. While *Alexander* continued in this camp, the vallies were by sudden rains laid under water, which broke off the communication between the three bodies of the king's forces. The enemy laid hold of this favourable opportunity to attack first the two posts, where the king was not, and which by reason of the inundation he could not any ways assist. These two bodies being without much ado defeated, and put to flight, the *Brutii* and *Lucani* without loss of time surrounded with all their forces the hill, on which the king himself was encamped. His guard consisted of two hundred *Lucani*, who being driven from their country had fled to him for refuge. These wrote to the generals of their nation, promising to deliver up to them the king of *Epirus* dead or alive, provided they would receive them into favour, and suffer them to return to their native country. The proposal was accepted, and the traitors only waited for a favourable opportunity to put their treachery in execution. As *Alexander* was a prince of great courage and resolution, in spite of all opposition he forced his way through the enemy's army, killed one of their generals with his own hand, and having with a small attendance made his escape, and gained a neighbouring wood, he took his rout from thence to the river, the name of which he knew not, with a design to break down the bridge after he had crossed it. But finding the bridge carried away by the violence of the inundation, he threw himself into the river on horseback, when one of the *Epirots*, who attended him, seeing him in danger of being drowned, cried out, *Cursed Acheron, thou art justly called by a fatal name*; for the Greek word *Acheron* signifies a torrent of grief. At these words *Alexander*, remembering the answer of the oracle, and fearing his fate approached, began to hesitate, being in suspense whether he should go quite cross the river or no. While he was thus wavering, one of his attendants cried out to him, *Hasten, betrayed prince, hasten to the opposite bank; the Lucani, your guard, seek to destroy you*. At these words the king turning about, and seeing the *Lucani* ready to fall upon him, drew his sword, and made what haste he could to reach the

bank, which he had already gained when one of the traitors, discharging a dart at him, killed him on the spot. His body fell into the river, which carried it to the enemy's camp, where it was used with all the indignity which rage and revenge could suggest. After they had barbarously defaced it, they cut it in two, sending one part to *Cosentia*, and setting up the other as a mark for the soldiers to discharge their arrows and darts at. At length a woman, whose husband and children had been taken by *Alexander's* troops, intreating the soldiers with tears in her eyes, to give her the scattered remains of the unhappy prince, since she could easily purchase with them the redemption of her husband and children, that part of the body, which the soldiers possessed, was delivered to her, and conveyed by her means first to *Metapontum*, and from thence removed to *Epirus*, where they were consigned to *Cleopatra* and *Olympias*, the former the wife, the latter the sister of the deceased king. All the antients speak of this prince as no ways inferior either in courage or conduct to his nephew *Alexander the Great*; but he had the misfortune to engage on his first setting out with nations inured to the toils of war, and no less brave than his own *Epirots*; whence he used to say, that the country, which he proposed to conquer, was inhabited by men, whereas the provinces, his nephew *Alexander* went to subdue, were peopled by women only^r: Thus he styled the effeminate nations of *Asia*, which the *Macedonian* had subdued. *Orosius*^t tells us, that he was killed by the *Samnites*, while he was making the necessary preparations for a war with *Rome*, and adds, that he was in such favour with *Philip* his brother-in-law, as made the world believe that the inclination which that prince had for him, was more agreeable to the wickedness of those times, than to the laws of nature. *Theodectes* wrote a panegyric on this king, as *Suidas* informs us; he is also mentioned by *Demosthenes*^u, and cried up as an able and experienced commander by all the antients who mention him.

Æacides. *Alexander* was succeeded in the kingdom by *Æacides* the son of *Arybbas* or *Arybas*, and grandson of *Alcetas*. This prince espousing the cause of *Olympias* against *Cassander*, raised a powerful army with a design to relieve her while besieged in the city of *Pydna*. But having on this occasion forced many of his subjects into the service much against their will, they began to mutiny in the camp, especially after they found all the passes leading to *Pydna* seized on by *Atarctus*,

^r *Aut. Græc.* l. xvii. c. 21.
^u *Demosth.* in orat. de Haloncio.

^t *Oros.* l. vi

^u *Dem.*

Cassander's general. Hereupon *Æacides*, being resolved at all events to attempt the relief of *Olympias*, disbanded all those who seemed unwilling to follow him in this expedition, and taking with him such only as shewed themselves ready to run the same risk with himself, he advanced towards *Pydna*; but he had scarce left *Epirus*, when those he had sent back revolted from him, and drawing their fellow-citizens into the same revolt, declared by a common decree of the state, that *Æacides* had forfeited the crown, banished him the kingdom, and entered into an alliance with *Cassander*. This, as *Diodorus Siculus* observes, was the first rebellion that had happened in *Epirus* from the time that *Neoptolemus*, the son of *Achilles*, had reigned there, the kingdom having ever before descended by right of succession from father to son ^w. *Cassander* immediately dispatched *Lyciscus* into *Epirus* to take upon him in his name the government of that kingdom, injoining him to use the natives with all possible moderation. However, the *Epirots* were soon reconciled to their king, and, recalling him from banishment, replaced him on the throne of his ancestors, which he did not long enjoy, being killed the same year in a battle fought with *Philip* the brother of *Cassander* ^{*}.

UPON his death the crown was conferred upon *Alcetas* his brother, who had been banished by his father *Arybas* on account of his violent temper. As he was an inveterate enemy to *Cassander*, *Lyciscus*, *Cassander's* general in *Acarmania*, marched with an army into *Epirus*, hoping, as the affairs of that kingdom were not yet well settled, to depose him. *Alcetas* hearing of the enemy's march, dispatched two of his sons, *Alexander* and *Teucer*, into all the provinces and cities of his dominions, to raise what forces they could; and in the mean time marched out himself with the few troops he had to make head against *Lyciscus*, whom he found encamped at *Cassopia*. As *Lyciscus's* army was far more numerous than the king's, they fell upon him before he had time to fortify his camp, and obliged him, after he had been abandoned by most of his troops, to shut himself up in the city of *Eurymenas*, where he was closely besieged. But in the mean time his son *Alexander* arriving with powerful succours, a sharp engagement ensued, in which great numbers of *Lyciscus's* men were cut off, and amongst the others *Micythus*, a commander of great reputation, *Lyfander* the *Athenian*, governor of *Leucadia*, and many other persons of distinction. A few days after this victory

^w DIODOR. SICUL. l. xix.^{*} Idem ibid.

Dinias brought new supplies for *Lyciscus*, whereupon a second battle being fought, *Alexander* and *Teucer* with their father *Alcetas* were forced to save themselves by flight, and abandon the city of *Eurymenas* to the enemy, who plundered it, and razed it to the ground. *Cassander*, upon the news of the defeat of his forces, not having received any intelligence of the victory they gained afterwards, hastened into *Epirus* to succour his general; but being informed on his arrival of the success that had attended him in the second engagement, instead of pursuing the war, he thought it adviseable to enter into a treaty with the *Epirots*; and having concluded a peace upon honourable terms, he withdrew his troops, and restored tranquillity to the kingdom of *Epirus*. *Alcetas* being thus disengaged from so troublesome a war, began to exercise, as he was a prince of a most tyrannical temper, all sorts of cruelties over his subjects; which so provoked them, that having made a general insurrection, they murdered both him and his two sons, *Hesioneas* and *Nisus*, who were then very young. *Alexander* and *Teucer* had the good fortune to make their escape, and never afterwards appeared in *Epirus* ¹.

Pyrrhus.

Alcetas was succeeded by *Pyrrhus*, a prince of great fame in history. He was the son of *Æacides*, of whom we have spoke above, by *Philip* the daughter of *Menon* the *Theffalian*, one of the *Heraclidæ*; so that *Pyrrhus* was by the father descended from *Achilles*, and from *Hercules* by the mother ². When the *Epirots* revolted from his father, and drove him from the throne, it was with much difficulty that *Pyrrhus*, then an infant at the breast, escaped falling into the hands of the rebels. He was after various adventures conveyed by *Androcles* and *Angelus*, two *Epirot* lords, to the court of *Glaucias* king of *Illyricum*, who, as some authors conjecture, had married his aunt *Beroa*, the daughter of *Arybbas*, and grand-daughter of king *Alcetas* ³. *Glaucias* hesitated a great while, as *Plutarch* informs us ⁴, before he would admit the young prince into his palace, the fear he was in of provoking *Cassander*, an implacable enemy to *Æacides*, keeping him in suspense. Hereupon those who had rescued the infant prince from the fury of the rebels had recourse to intreaties, and imploring the king's protection, laid the child at his feet, who taking hold of his royal robes, raised himself up, and with his arms grasped the king's knees. Hereupon *Glaucias* tenderly embracing him, and protesting that he

Narrowly escapes falling into the hands of the rebellious Epirots.

¹ Idem ibid. ² PLUT. in Pyrrh. ³ Vide REINER. REINECCIUM, Hist. Jul. tom. 2. in Regno Epiri. ⁴ PLUT. in Pyrrho.

would

would defend him at the hazard of his life and dominions, delivered him to his queen to be educated with his own children ^c. Other writers tell us, that the infant, actuated by some extraordinary impulse, fixed his eyes on the altars of the domestic gods; as if he claimed the protection of those deities, who were lovers of hospitality; and that *Glaucias*, struck at this sight, concluded, that the gods took the young prince under their protection, and thought it his duty to bring up young *Pyrrhus* with all possible care ^d. In the mean time *Cassander*, hearing that the unfortunate prince had found a retreat in the court of *Glaucias*, solicited the king to deliver him up into his hands; but neither his repeated instances, nor the two hundred talents he offered *Glaucias*, could induce him to commit so base an action; he was struck with horror at the proposal, rejected it with indignation; and having given the banished and persecuted prince an education suitable to his rank, as soon as he attained the twelfth year of his age, he sent him back into *Epirus* at the head of a powerful army, and placed him on the throne of his ancestors ^e. *Justin* tells us, that the *Molossians*, his subjects, changing their hatred into compassion, recalled him of their own accord, and assigned him guardians to govern the kingdom in his name till he was of age ^f. He enjoyed the kingdom in great peace and tranquillity till he was seventeen, when thinking himself sufficiently settled on the throne, he left *Epirus* for a while in order to be present in *Illyricum* at the nuptials of one of the sons of *Glaucias*, with whom he had been educated. But he was no sooner gone than the *Molossians*, taking advantage of his absence, revolted anew, drove all his friends out of the kingdom, seized on his treasures, and conferred the crown on *Neoptolemus* his great uncle. *Pyrrhus* being by this unexpected revolt divested of all his dominions, and destitute of sufficient succours, to recover them, retired to *Demetrius*, the son of *Antigonus*, commonly known by the surname of *Poliorcetes*, who had married his sister *Deidamia*. From that great commander he learnt the art of war, serving under him with the companions and fellow-soldiers of *Alexander the Great*. In the famous battle of *Ipsus* he distinguished himself, young as he was, in a very eminent manner, having fought with incredible bravery, and repulsed the enemy on that side, where he was posted ^g. *Demetrius* nevertheless lost the battle; but *Pyrrhus* very seasonably co-

Placed on
the throne
by Glauci-
as king of
Illyricum.

The Epi-
rots place
Neopto-
lemus on
the throne.

^c Idem ibid.

^d PAUSAN. in Attic.

^e PLUT. ibid.

^f JUSTIN. l. xvii. c. 3.

^g PLUT. ibid.

ARRIAN. l. vii.

APPIAN. in Syriac.

vered *Greece*, and saved for his brother-in-law the *Greek* cities, which that prince had confided to his care. Nor was this the only proof he gave of his affection for *Demetrius*; for a peace being at length concluded between him and *Ptolemy* by the interposition of *Seleucus*, *Pyrrhus* consented to be one of the hostages, who were sent into *Egypt* to secure the execution of the treaty.

Recovers
his king-
dom with
the assist-
ance of
Ptolemy
king of E-
gypt.

DURING his abode at the court of *Egypt* he was generally admired for the sweetness of his temper, the regularity of his conduct, and his great dexterity and address in all sorts of manly exercises. His chief aim was to make his court to *Berenice*, who had the greatest ascendant over *Ptolemy*, and surpassed all the other women of the court in beauty as well as prudence. And herein he was very successful, for he so gained her by his noble and obliging behaviour, that she prevailed upon her husband to give him her daughter *Antigone*, in preference to several young princes who demanded her. *Antigone* was the daughter of the favourite queen by *Philip* her first husband, a *Macedonian* lord of no great fame. After *Pyrrhus* had married her, *Berenice*, desirous to see her daughter become a queen, induced *Ptolemy* to supply her son-in-law with sufficient forces to recover his kingdom. With these he sailed into *Epirus*, and having defeated in a battle *Neoptolemus*, whom the *Molossians* had placed on the throne, he recovered his paternal dominions. *Neoptolemus* had recourse to the neighbouring princes; but *Pyrrhus*, to avoid the evil consequences of a civil war, condescended to give him up part of his dominions. *Neoptolemus* at first seemed to be well satisfied with part of the kingdom; but having soon after at the instigation of the enemies of *Pyrrhus* attempted to poison him, he was by his orders put to death^h. *Pyrrhus* having by his death got possession of the whole kingdom of *Epirus*, continued no longer idle in his dominions; but marching into the neighbouring countries performed those great feats we have described in the history of *Macedon*ⁱ, and therefore shall not repeat in this place.

THIS warlike prince being obliged by *Lyfimachus* to abandon the kingdom of *Macedon*, which he had taken from his brother-in-law *Demetrius*, as we have related elsewhere^k, might have passed his days in tranquillity among his subjects, enjoying the sweets of peace, and governing his people agreeable to the rules of justice. But his restless temper, and unbounded ambition, made him seize with joy on the first op-

^h PLUT. *ibid.* & PAUSAN. in Attic.
p 347, & seq.

^k Vide Vol. viii p. 353.

ⁱ Vide Vol. viii.

Portunity that offered of plunging himself into new troubles.

THE inhabitants of *Tarentum* were then at war with the *Romans*, and not finding themselves in a condition to oppose so formidable an enemy with their own strength, they cast their eyes upon *Pyrrhus*, and dispatched ambassadors to him, not only from themselves, but from all the *Greek* cities in *Italy*, enjoining them to acquaint him, that they wanted only a leader of experience and reputation; that *Tarentum* was not the only city, whose forces would join him; that the *Messapians*, *Lucanians*, *Samnites*, *Brutians*, and many other rich and populous nations, weary either of bearing the *Roman* yoke, or of being in continual dread of it, were ready to assist him in exterminating the haughty and imperious republic; that he might depend on being supplied at his arrival with three hundred thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse, &c. The joy, with which *Pyrrhus* received a proposal so agreeable to his disposition, may be easily imagined. His head was filled with the exploits of *Alexander the Great*, and his frequently conversing with the generals, who had served under that conqueror, had strongly inclined him to attempt in the west what *Alexander* had with so much glory performed in the east. He therefore willingly closed with the proposal of the *Tarentine* ambassadors, promising to pass over into *Italy* with all possible expedition, and employ the whole strength of his kingdom in rescuing them from the oppression they groaned under. However, before he began to make the necessary preparations, he is said to have consulted the oracle of *Delphos*, about the success of his intended expedition; on which occasion the answer of the god was uttered in such terms as might equally signify, either that he should conquer the *Romans*, or the *Romans* him; but the desire he had of embarking in this expedition made him interpret the ambiguous answer in his own favour¹.

A *Thessalian* named *Cynas* was at this time *Pyrrhus*'s prime minister and chief favourite. He was a man of most extraordinary parts, being an experienced officer, an able politician, and the most eloquent orator of his age: the art of oratory he had learned under *Demosthenes*, that of war under the companions of *Alexander the Great*, and politics by long experience, having been always employed by *Pyrrhus* in the most difficult negotiations. The art of persuasion, of which he was master, and the secret he had of insinuating himself into the affections of those he dealt with, enabled him to con-

¹ PLUT. *ibid.* & CIC. *de Divin.* l. ii.

Discloses
his design
to Cyneas.

quer all difficulties in the business he transacted for his master ; insomuch, that *Pyrrhus* himself used to say, that he had gained more cities by the eloquence and persuasive discourses of *Cyneas*, than he could possibly have conquered by force of arms. He was by profession a philosopher of the sect of *Epicurus*, which was not then come into disrepute through the ill use that corrupt men afterwards made of the principles they professed. At court he maintained the character of a man of virtue, and a lover of truth, who was not capable of deceiving by mean flatteries, and yet had submission enough to execute, without murmuring, the orders that were given contrary to his advice. *Pyrrhus*, who reposed an entire confidence in this great man, could not help communicating to him the vast projects he was forming : having therefore called him into his cabinet, after he had dismissed the *Tarentine* ambassadors, The *Tarentines*, said he, invite me over into *Italy*, which opens to me a large field of glory. To subdue the *Romans* is to conquer the west : and how easy is it to subdue them ! *Hetrumia* finds them employment on one hand, and all the nations on this side of the *Tyber*, quite to the sea-shore, are ready to take up arms under my command against that ambitious and haughty republic. Tell me impartially what you think of this expedition. *Cyneas*, without disapproving his design upon *Italy*, asked him whither he designed to turn his arms, if the gods should be so gracious as to crown his attempts upon that country with the wish'd-for success. To this question *Pyrrhus* without hesitation answered, that from *Italy* he designed to pass over into *Sicily*, where he should find all things in confusion on account of the death of king *Agathocles*, who had kept the *Sicilians* in awe. And how many fruitful provinces, said he, shall I find there, either ready to receive me after the conquest of *Italy*, or not in a condition to oppose my victorious troops ! And when *Sicily* shall have submitted to you, where do you intend to make war next ? replied *Cyneas*. The thing speaks itself, answered *Pyrrhus* ; from *Sicily* I will sail over into *Africa*. The *Carthaginians* are not invincible. *Agathocles* surprized them with a few ships, and was very near making himself king of *Carthage*. And when I shall have taken that city, who will be able to make head against me ? *Macedon*, which I formerly conquered, and every province of *Greece*, shall be part of my future conquests. And after all these victories, said *Cyneas*, how shall we employ ourselves, and dispose of our time ? I will then, subjoined *Pyrrhus*, take some rest after all my fatigues, and enjoy the pleasures of life with you. At these words the wise philosopher interrupting him, And what prevents you, said



said he, from enjoying that happiness now, which you propose to seek through so many toils and labours, with the hazard of never being able to find it? Why should you purchase at so dear a rate, the gratifications which you may now enjoy without the least trouble? These words made some impression upon the king; but his ambition getting the better of his understanding, he persisted in his design; and covering his ambitious views with the appearance of virtue, It is hereditary in my family, said he, to assist the miserable: we ought not to make war for ourselves alone, but to relieve the oppressed. Being thus unalterably fixed in his design of subjecting all *Italy*, the better to conceal it, he caused a very artful clause to be inserted in his treaty with the *Tarentines*, viz. that when he had once relieved *Tarentum*, he should not be detained in *Italy*, but allowed to return to *Epirus*. He likewise required that some of the ambassadors should continue in his dominions, under pretence of assisting him in making the necessary preparations for war; but in reality, that they might be as so many hostages to secure the fidelity of the *Tarentines* ^m.

*Resolves
on a war
with the
Romans.*

HAVING taken these prudent precautions, he immediately dispatched *Cyneas* with part of his fleet and a detachment of three thousand foot to *Tarentum*, where that artful minister soon changed the face of affairs, the chief men of the city being, notwithstanding the embassy they had sent to *Pyrrhus*, inclined to come to an agreement with the *Romans*; nay, they had even chosen for their chief magistrate one *Agis*, who was a sincere friend to the *Romans*, and acted in concert with *L. Emilius Barbula* the *Roman* general, hoping by that means to reconcile his countrymen to *Rome*, and make them lay aside their design of receiving the king of *Epirus*. But *Cyneas* by his eloquence and insinuating behaviour prevailed upon the *Tarentines* to depose *Agis*, and place one of the ambassadors, who had been sent into *Epirus*, in his room. After this he persuaded them to deliver up their citadel to one *Milo* an *Epirot*, who was arrived a few days before with fresh succours, and the agreeable news, that *Pyrrhus* would soon be there in person at the head of a numerous army. The *Tarentines*, impatient to see the king of *Epirus* among them, upon this advice dispatched their galleys and a great number of transports with all sorts of provisions and a large sum of money, to *Epirus*, in order to convey *Pyrrhus* with his troops and elephants safe to *Tarentum*. The convoy *Pyrrhus* no sooner arrived than the king imbarqued, *Cyneas* and *Milo* <sup>imbarques
for Italy.</sup>

^m PLUT. *ibid.* DION. in excerpt. ZONAR. l. viii.

Year of the Flood, 2719. Before Christ, 280.

having paved the way for him so well, that his authority was already as well established in *Tarentum*, as in *Epirus*. Before the arrival of the *Tarentine* fleet he had settled the government of his dominions during his absence. He left *Ptolemy*, his son by *Antigone* the daughter of *Berenice*, who was then fifteen years old, regent of *Epirus* under the tuition of *Ptolemy Ceraunus* king of *Macedon*. He took his two younger sons *Alexander* and *Helenus* (L) with him into *Italy*, to amuse and entertain him in this long expedition. Before his departure, he had likewise borrowed ships, men, and money, of the kings his friends; so that his army consisted of twenty two thousand foot, three thousand horse, five hundred slingers, and fifty elephants, according to *Justin*ⁿ, which *Plutarch* reduces to twenty^o. Among these troops were about seven thousand of those brave *Macedonians*, who had conquered *Asia* under *Alexander the Great*. His fleet was composed of the ships of *Epirus*, the gallies of *Tarentum*, and those which *Antigonus Gonatus* had sent him. With these he immediately set sail about the end of the winter, the eager desire he had of getting to *Italy*, not suffering him to wait for a more favourable season. But his impatience had like to have cost him dear; for he had scarce got out into the open sea, when a violent storm from the north drove him out of his course, and dispersed his fleet. The ship, on board of which the king was, being large and high built, gained by

His fleet
dispersed
by a storm.

ⁿ JUSTIN. l. xvii. c. 2. ^o PLUT. *ibid*.

(L) After the death of *Antigone*, the daughter of *Berenice*, *Pyrrhus* married several wives. The first was the daughter of *Antoleon*, king of the *Pæonians*. The second by name *Bircenna*, was the daughter of *Bardullis*, king of the *Illyrians*. The third was *Lanassa*, the daughter of *Agathocles*, king of *Syracuse*. The latter brought him the Island of *Corcyra*, which her father had seized, for her portion. By her he had *Alexander*; and *Helenus*, the youngest of all his children, by *Bircenna*. *Plutarch* tells us, that all the children of *Pyrrhus* derived a warlike genius from their father, which was greatly improved by their education, and adds, that one of them having asked him, to which of his children he designed to leave the kingdom of *Epirus*? the king answered, To him who has the sharpest sword. *Lanassa*, who was once his favourite wife, grew at last jealous of him, thinking he preferred his other wives to her, and retiring to *Corcyra*, there married *Demetrius* (102).

(102) *Plut. in Pyrrho.*

the

the care of the pilot and mariners the coast of *Italy* the first, after a voyage of infinite fatigue and danger. The few ships that followed the king struck against the rocks on the *Messapian* shore, and were dashed to pieces. While *Pyrrhus* was preparing to come ashore, the inhabitants having flocked from all quarters to see him, a fresh accident was very near destroying the deliverer of *Italy*, as they stiled him, and disappointing the expectation of the *Tarentines*. For a land wind rising all on a sudden with great violence, drove *Pyrrhus* out to sea again. This new danger was greater than any he had met with in his passage, the mariners expecting that his ship, being furiously beat by huge waves, would founder at each shock it sustained. In this extremity the intrepid *Pyrrhus* did not hesitate a moment, but as the shore was not far off, threw himself into the sea, and was immediately followed by his guards, and those friends he had on board, without doubt, to take care of his person, and save him at the danger of their own lives; but as the night was extremely dark, and the sea ran very high, he struggled with the waves till day-break, when the wind abating, he reached the land with the assistance of the *Messapians*, who stood on the shore. The long fatigue he had sustained during great part of the night, weakened him to such a degree, that he could not stand without being supported by his guards. But what gave him the greatest uneasiness was the apprehension he was under of his army being lost; for he had with him only two thousand men, a few horses, and two elephants, animals which had never before been seen in *Italy*. With these he crossed *Messapia*, and marched directly to *Tarentum* ^{And himself in danger of being lost.}.

Cyneas no sooner heard what had happened to *Pyrrhus*, but he advanced to meet him at the head of a strong detachment, and conducted him safe to *Tarentum*, where he was received with loud acclamations and all possible demonstrations of joy. The *Tarentines*, who were intirely devoted to their pleasures, expected that he should take all the fatigues of the war on himself, and expose his *Epirots* only to danger. And indeed *Pyrrhus* for some days dissembled his design, and suffered the *Tarentines* to indulge without restraint their usual diversions. But his ships, which had been dispersed all over the *Ionian* sea, arriving one after another, and with them the troops which he had put on board of them in *Epirus*, he began to reform the disorders that prevailed in the city. The theatre was the place to which the idle *Tarentines* resorted daily in great numbers, and where the incendiaries stirred up the people to se-

Arrives at Tarentum

Reforms
the man-
ners of the
Taren-
tines.

dition with their harangues ; he therefore caused it to be shut up, as he did likewise the public gardens, porticoes, and places of exercise, where the inhabitants used to entertain themselves with news, and speak with great freedom of their governors, censuring their conduct, and settling the government according to their different humours, which occasioned great divisions, and rent the city into various factions. As they were a very voluptuous and indolent people, they spent whole days and nights in feasts, masquerades, plays, &c. and these *Pyrrhus* absolutely prohibited as no less dangerous than the assemblies of prating politicians. They were utter strangers to military exercises and the art of handling arms ; but *Pyrrhus* having caused an exact register to be made of all the young men who were fit for war, picked out the strongest among them, and incorporated them among his own troops, saying, that he would take it upon him to give them courage. He exercised them daily for several hours, and on that occasion behaved himself with an inexorable severity, inflicting exemplary punishments on such as did not attend, or failed in their duty. By these wise measures he prevented seditions among the citizens, and inured their youth to military discipline ; and because many, who had not been accustomed to such severity and rigour, withdrew from their native country, *Pyrrhus*, by a public proclamation, declared all those guilty of death, who should attempt to abandon their country, or absent themselves from the common musters ¹.

THE *Tarentines*, being now sensible that *Pyrrhus* was determined to be their master, began loudly to complain of his conduct ; but he being informed of whatever passed among them by his spies, who insinuated themselves into all companies, privately dispatched the most factious, and sent those, whom he suspected, under various pretences, to his son's court in *Epirus*. Amongst the latter was *Aristarchus*, a famous orator, whose eloquence gave *Pyrrhus* no small jealousy ; for orators had in those days a great influence over the multitude, especially in the *Greek* cities where popular government obtained. As *Aristarchus* had, we may say, an absolute authority in the city, *Pyrrhus* made it his chief business to lessen his reputation among his fellow-citizens, pretending a strict friendship for the orator, and giving out, that in many things, which were displeasing to the *Tarentines*, he had acted according to his advice. But *Aristarchus* in his private discourses undeceived them, letting them know, that he entertained the same thoughts of *Pyrrhus* as the multitude. The

¹ PLUT. *ibid.* FRONTIN. *Stratag.*

king therefore, thinking it necessary to remove so dangerous an enemy, sent him to his son on an embassy, which, he said, was of the utmost importance. *Aristarchus* saw through the artifice, but pretending to be altogether unacquainted with it, accepted the deputation, and chusing a vessel, the commander of which was intirely at his devotion, set sail, as *Pyrrhus* imagined, for *Epirus*. But he had no sooner lost sight of the land, than he ordered the pilot to return to *Italy*, and put in at some port, from whence he might go safely by land to *Rome*. The pilot obeyed, and *Aristarchus*, on his arrival in that metropolis, acquainted the senate with the state of *Tarentum* and the designs of *Pyrrhus*. Hereupon *Fabrizius* was immediately dispatched to visit the *Roman* colonies and the allies of the republic, to fortify some places, and exhort the cities to continue steady in their alliance with *Rome*. And truly these precautions were necessary, the allies of the republic being in many places inclined to desert her, and ready to join a king famous for his exploits, who promised them a happy deliverance from all manner of subjection^r.

In the mean time *P. Valerius Lævinus* the *Roman* consul, entering the country of the *Lucanians*, who were in alliance with the *Tarentines*, committed great ravages there, and having taken and fortified one of their castles, waited in that neighbourhood for *Pyrrhus*. The king, tho' he had not yet received any succours from the *Samnites*, *Messapians*, and other allies of the *Tarentines*, thought it highly dishonourable to continue shut up in a city, while the *Romans* were ravaging the country of his friends. He therefore took the field with the troops he had brought with him from *Epirus*, some recruits of *Tarentum*, and a small number of *Italians*. But before he began hostilities, he wrote the following letter to *Lævinus*: *Pyrrhus* to *Lævinus* health. I am informed, that you command an army, which is to make war upon the *Tarentines*. Disband it without delay, and lay your pretensions before me. After I have heard both parties, I will give judgment, and know how to make my sentence be obeyed. *Lævinus* answered the king with all the haughtiness of a *Roman*: Know, *Pyrrhus*, that we neither admit you as a judge, nor fear you as an enemy. Does it become you to take upon you to judge us, who have yourself injured us by landing in *Italy* without the consent of our republic? We will have no arbitrator but *Mars*, the author of our race, and protector of our arms. The king, upon the receipt of this letter, immediately marched towards

Writes a haughty letter to the consul Lævinus.

The consul's answer.

^r PLUT. *ibid.* DION in excerpt. URSIN. POLYB. l. i. c. 7.

those

those parts where *Lævinus* was waiting for him. The *Romans* were encamped on the hither side of the river *Siris*; and *Pyrrhus*, appearing on the opposite bank, made it his first business to reconnoitre the enemy's camp in person, and see what appearance they made. With this view he crossed the river attended by *Megacles* one of his officers and chief favourites; and having observed the consul's intrenchments, the manner in which he had posted his advanced guards, and the good order of his camp, he was greatly surprized; and addressing *Megacles*, These people, said he, are not such barbarians as we take them to be; let us try them before we condemn them (M). On his return he changed his resolution of attacking them, and shutting himself up in his intrenchments, waited for the arrival of the confederate troops. In the mean time he posted strong guards along the river to prevent the enemy from passing it, and continually sent out scouts to discover the designs, and watch the motions of the consul. Some of these being taken by the advanced guards of the *Romans*, the consul himself led them through his camp, and having shewed them his army, sent them back to the king, telling them, that he had many other troops to shew them in due time ^f.

Attacked by the Romans. *Lævinus* being determined to draw the enemy to a battle before *Pyrrhus* received the reinforcements he expected, having harangued his troops, marched to the banks of the *Siris*, and there drawing up his infantry in battalia, ordered the

^f PLUR. *ibid.* JUSTIN. l. xviii. c. 2. PAUSAN. in Bœotic.

(M) *Aurelius Victor* and *Florus* make *Pyrrhus* talk in a very different manner on this occasion, and altogether foreign to the purpose. The first tells us, that at the sight of the *Roman* army he cried out, that his fate was like that of *Hercules*, since he likewise had a *hydra* to encounter; and *Florus*, that when he saw the *Roman* troops, he complained of his being born under the same constellation with *Hercules*, since so many enemies, like the heads of the *hydra* of *Lerna*, started up out of their own blood. *Cyneas*, according to *Plutarch*, and not *Pyrrhus*, made this comparison, after he had observed how quickly the *Roman* army was recruited, and the legions filled up, notwithstanding the great loss they had sustained in the first battle. On this occasion the reflection of *Cyneas* was a very sensible one, and the comparison obvious and natural; but it would have been highly absurd in the circumstances in which the above-mentioned authors suppose *Pyrrhus* to have made it, that is, before he had engaged the *Romans*, or gained any victory over them; for how could he then compare them to the *hydra*, whose heads grew up as fast as *Hercules* cut them off?

cavalry to file off, and march a great way about, in order to find a passage at some place not defended by the enemy. Accordingly they passed the river without being observed, and falling upon the guards, which *Pyrrhus* had posted on the banks over-against the consular army, gave the infantry an opportunity of crossing the river on bridges, which *Lævinus* had prepared for that purpose. But before they got over, *Pyrrhus* hastening from his camp, which was at some distance from the river, hoped to cut the *Roman* army in pieces, while they were disordered with the difficulties of passing the river, and climbing up the steep banks. But the cavalry covering the infantry, and standing between them and the *Epirots*, gave them time to form themselves on the banks of the river. On the other hand, *Pyrrhus* drew up his men as fast as they came from the camp, and performed such feats of valour, that the *Romans* thought him worthy of the great reputation he had acquired.

As the cavalry alone had hitherto engaged, *Pyrrhus*, who confided most in his infantry, hastened back to the camp in order to bring them to the charge : but took two precautions before he began the attack ; the first was to ride through the ranks, and shew himself to the whole army ; for his horse having been killed under him in the first onset, a report had been spread that he was killed ; the second was to change his habit and helmet with *Megacles* ; for having been known in the engagement of the horse by the richness of his attire and armour, many of the *Romans* had aimed at him in particular, so that he was with the utmost difficulty taken up and saved after his horse was killed under him. Thus disguised, he led his phalanx against the *Roman* legions, and attacked them with incredible fury. *Lævinus* sustained the shock with great resolution, so that the victory was for many hours warmly disputed. The *Romans* gave several times way to the *Epirots*, and the *Epirots* to the *Romans* ; but both parties rallied again, and were brought back to the charge by their commanders. *Megacles* in the attire and helmet of *Pyrrhus* was in all places, and well supported the character he had assumed. But his disguise at last proved fatal to him : for a *Roman* knight, by name *Dexter*, taking him for the king, followed him where ever he went, and having found an opportunity of discharging a blow at him, struck him dead on the spot, stript him of his helmet and armour, and carried them in triumph to the consul, who by shewing to the *Epirots* the spoils of their king, so terrified them, that they began to give ground. But *Pyrrhus* appearing bare-headed in the first files of his phalanx, and riding through all the

Pyrrhus is in great danger in the beginning of the battle.

the lines, undeceived his men, and inspired them with new courage. The advantage seemed to be pretty equal on both sides, when *Lævinus* ordered his cavalry to advance ; which *Pyrrhus* observing, drew up twenty elephants in the front of his army with towers on their backs full of bowmen. The very sight of those dreadful animals chilled the bravery of the *Romans*, who had never before seen them. However they still advanced, till their horses, not being able to bear the smell of them, and frightened at the strange noise they made, took head, and either threw their riders, or carried them off full stretch in spite of their utmost efforts. In the meantime the archers, discharging showers of darts from the towers, wounded several of the *Romans* in that confusion, while others were trod to death by the elephants. Notwithstanding the disorder of the cavalry, the legionaries still kept their ranks, and could not be broke, till *Pyrrhus* attacked them in person at the head of the *Theffalian* horse. The onset was so furious, that they were forced to yield, and retire in disorder. The king of *Epirus* restrained the ardour of his troops, and would not suffer them to pursue the enemy, an elephant which had been wounded by a *Roman* soldier, named *Minuccius*, having caused a great disorder in his army. This accident favoured the retreat of the *Romans*, and gave them time to repass the river, and take refuge in *Apulia* ^t. *Dionysius Halicarnassæus* make the loss of the *Romans* in this first battle amount to fifteen thousand men ; but *Hieronimus*, quoted by the same historian, reduces it to seven thousand : according to the former *Pyrrhus* lost thirteen thousand, and four thousand only according to the latter. The *Epirot* remained master of the field, and had the pleasure to see the *Romans* fly before him ; but the victory cost him dear, a great number of his best officers and soldiers having been slain in the battle ; whence he was heard to say after the action, that he was both conqueror and conquered, and that if he gained such another victory, he should be obliged to return to *Epirus* alone. He was so far from being elated with the advantage he had got, that when he hung up the spoils he had taken from the enemy, in the temple of *Jupiter* at *Tarentum*, he caused this memorable inscription to be engraved upon them : *Great, Jupiter, I have conquered an invincible nation, and am conquered*

His victory costs him dear.

^t DION, HALICARNASS. l. iii. PLUT. ibid. EUTROP. l. ii. OROS. l. iv. c. 2.

by the same ^u (N). His first care after the action was to bury the dead, with which the plain was covered; and herein he made no distinction between the *Romans* and his own *Epirots*. In viewing the bodies of the former, he observed that none of them had received any dishonourable wounds, that they had all fallen in the posts assigned them, still held their swords in their hands, and shewed even after their death a certain martial air and fierceness in their faces; and on this occasion it was, that he uttered those famous words: *O that Pyrrhus had Romans for his soldiers, or the Romans Pyrrhus for their leader! Together we should subdue the whole world* ^w.

THE king of *Epirus* understood the art of war too well not to reap what advantage he could from his victory. He broke into the countries in alliance with the *Romans* like a torrent, plundered the lands of the republic, and made incursions even into the neighbourhood of *Rome*. Many cities opened their gates to him, and in a short time he made himself master of the greatest part of *Campania*. While he was in that fruitful province, subsisting his troops there at the expence of the *Romans*, he was joined by the *Samnites*, *Lucanians*, and *Messapians*, whom he had so long expected. After having reproached them for their delay, he gave them a good share of the spoils he had taken from the enemy; and having by this means gained their affections, he marched without loss of time to lay siege to *Capua*; but *Lævinus* having already received a reinforcement of two legions, threw some troops into the city, which obliged *Pyrrhus* to drop his design, and leaving *Capua* to march strait to *Naples*. *Lævinus* followed him, harassing his troops on their march, and at length, by keeping his army in that neighbourhood, forced him to give over all thoughts of making himself master of that important city. The king then all on a sudden took his rout towards *Rome* by the *Latin* ^{Takes Fre-} way, surprised *Fregellæ*, and marching through the country ^{gellæ.} of the *Hernici*, sat down before *Prænestæ*. There from the top of a hill he had the pleasure of seeing *Rome*, and is said to have advanced so near the walls, that he drove a cloud of dust into the city. But he was soon forced to retire by the other consul *T. Coruncanius*, who having reduced *Ætruria*, was

^u PLUT. *ibid.* OROS. l. iv. c. i.

^w FLOR. l. viii.

(N) The words of this inscription, as they have been transmitted to us in verse, are,

Qui invicti ante fuerunt viri, pater optime Olympi,

Hos & ego in pugna vici, victusque sum ab iisdem.

Raises the siege of Præneste, and returns to Campania. just then returned with his victorious army to *Rome*. The king of *Epirus* therefore, having no hopes of bringing the *Hetrurians* into his interest, and seeing two consular armies ready to fall upon him, raised the siege of *Præneste*, and hastened back into *Campania*, where, to his great surprise, he found *Lævinus* with a more numerous army than that which he had defeated on the banks of the *Siris*. The consul went to meet him with a design to try the fate of another battle, which *Pyrrhus* being unwilling to decline, drew up his army, and to strike terror into the *Roman* legions, ordered his men to beat their bucklers with their lances, and the leaders of the elephants to force them to make their hideous noise. But the noise was returned with such an universal shout by the *Romans*, that *Pyrrhus*, thinking so much alacrity on the part of the vanquished too sure a prognostic of victory, altered his mind, and, pretending that the auguries were not favourable, retired to *Tarentum*, and put an end to the campaign *.

The Romans send an embassy to him to desire an exchange of prisoners.

WHILE *Pyrrhus* continued quiet at *Tarentum*, he had time to reflect on the valour and conduct of the *Romans*; which made him conclude, that the war, in which he was engaged, must end in his ruin and disgrace, if not terminated by an honourable peace. He was therefore overjoyed when he heard that the senate had determined to send an honourable embassy to him, not doubting but their errand was to propose terms of peace. He pleased himself with the imagination of seeing those haughty republicans at his feet in a suppliant manner, and saying to them with the air of a conqueror, *I grant you peace*. In full expectation of this, he sent *Lycon* the *Molossian* to wait for them with a guard on the frontiers of *Tarentum*; and as they approached the city went out in person to meet them, received them with all possible marks of honour, and appointed them stately lodgings, commanding them to be plentifully supplied at the public expence with all necessaries. The ambassadors were three men of distinguished merit, viz. *Cornelius Dolabella*, who was famous for the signal victory he had gained over the *Senones*, the virtuous *Fabricius*, and *Æmilius Papus*, who had been his colleague in the consulate two years before. When they were admitted to an audience, the only thing they demanded was a surrender of the prisoners, either by way of exchange, or at such a ransom as should be agreed on; for *Pyrrhus* in the late battle had made eighteen hundred prisoners, most of them *Roman* knights, and men of distinction in the republic. They had fought with great bravery, till

* PLUT. & FLOR. ibid. ZONAR. l. viii. c. 4.

their horses, frightened with the roaring of the king's elephants, had either thrown them, or obliged them to dismount; by which unforeseen accident they had fallen into the enemy's hands. The senate therefore pitying the condition of those brave men, had determined, contrary to their custom, to redeem them. *Pyrrhus* was greatly surprised and disappointed when he found that they had no other proposals to make; but concealing his thoughts, he only answered, that he would consider of it, and let them know his resolution^y.

ACCORDINGLY he assembled his council; but his chief favourites were divided in their opinions. *Milo*, who commanded in the citadel of *Tarentum*, was for coming to no composition with the *Romans*; but *Cyneas*, who knew his master's inclination, proposed not only sending back the prisoners without ransom, but dispatching an embassy to *Rome* to treat with the senate of a lasting peace. His advice was approved, and he himself appointed to go on that embassy. After these resolutions the king acquainted the ambassadors that he intended to release the prisoners without ransom, since he had already riches enough, and desired nothing of their republic but her friendship. Afterwards he had several private conferences with *Fabrizius*, whose virtue he tried with mighty offers of riches and grandeur; but finding him proof against all temptations, he resolved to try whether his intrepidity and courage were equal to his virtue. With this view he caused an elephant to be placed behind a curtain in the hall where he received the *Roman* ambassador. As *Fabrizius* had never seen one of those beasts, the king taking a turn or two in the hall with him brought him within the elephant's reach, and then caused the curtain to be drawn all on a sudden, and that monstrous animal to make his usual noise, and even lay his trunk on *Fabrizius's* head. But the intrepid *Roman*, without betraying the least fear or concern, Does the great king, said he, with surprizing calmness, who could not stagger me with his offers, think to frighten me with the braying of a beast? *Pyrrhus*, astonished at his immoveable constancy invited him to dine with him; and on this occasion it was, that the conversation turning upon the *Epicuræan* philosophy, *Fabrizius* made that celebrated exclamation; *O that Pyrrhus, both for Rome's sake and his own, had placed his happiness in the boasted indolence of Epicurus*^z!

EVERY thing *Pyrrhus* heard or saw of the *Romans* increas-

^y DION. HAL. legat.

^z DION. HALICAR. ibid.

Cyneas's
negotia-
tions at
Rome.

ed his earnestness for peace. He sent for the three ambassadors, released two hundred of the prisoners without ransom, and suffered the rest, on their parole, to return to *Rome* to celebrate the *Saturnalia*, or feasts of *Saturn*, in their own families. Having by this obliging behaviour gained the goodwill of the *Roman* ambassadors, he sent the famous *Cyneas* to *Rome* almost at the same time that they left *Tarentum*. The instructions he gave this faithful minister were to bring the *Romans* to grant these three articles: 1. That the *Tarentines* should be included in the treaty made with the king of *Epirus*: 2. That all the *Greek* cities in *Italy* should be suffered to enjoy their laws and liberties: 3. That the republic should restore to the *Samnites*, *Lucanians*, and *Brutians*, all the places she had taken from them. Upon these conditions *Pyrrhus* declared himself ready to forbear all further hostilities, and conclude a lasting peace. With these instructions *Cyneas* set out for *Rome*, where partly by his eloquence, partly by rich presents to the senators and their wives, he soon gained a good number of voices. When he was admitted into the senate, he made an harangue worthy of a disciple of the great *Demosthenes*; after which he read the conditions *Pyrrhus* proposed, and with a great deal of eloquence endeavoured to shew the reasonableness and moderation of his master's demands, asking leave for *Pyrrhus* to come in person to *Rome* to conclude and sign the treaty. The senators were generally inclined to agree to *Pyrrhus's* terms; but nevertheless, as several senators were absent, the determination of the affair was postponed to the next day, when *Appius Claudius*, the greatest orator and most learned civilian in *Rome*, old and blind as he was, caused himself to be carried to the senate, where he had not appeared for many years; and there, what with his eloquence, what with his authority, so prepossessed the minds of the senators against the king of *Epirus* and the conditions he offered, that when he had done speaking, the conscript fathers unanimously passed a decree, the substance of which was, that the war with *Pyrrhus* should be continued; that his ambassador should be sent back that very day; that the king of *Epirus* should not be permitted to come to *Rome*; and that they should acquaint his ambassador, that *Rome* would enter into no treaty of peace with his master till he had left *Italy*^a.

The Ro-
mans re-
fuse to en-
ter into a
treaty
with Pyr-
rhuss till he
has left
Italy.

Cyneas, surprized at the answer given him, left *Rome* the same day, and returned to *Tarentum*, to acquaint the king with the final resolution of the senate. *Pyrrhus*, on hearing

^a PLUT. ibid ENNIUS apud CIC. in Cat. Maj.

it, admired the constancy and intrepidity of a conquered people, who spoke the language of conquerors; and having asked *Cyneas* his opinion of the senate, into which he had been introduced, that minister told him, that the senate seemed to him an assembly of kings, whose appearance filled the spectators with awe and reverence. This answer greatly increased the esteem *Pyrrhus* had for the *Romans*; he would have willingly concluded a peace with them upon any honourable terms; but as the conditions they offered were not by any means consistent with the reputation of his arms, he began, without loss of time, to make all due preparations for the next campaign. On the other hand, the *Romans*, having raised to the consulate *P. Sulpitius Saverrio*, and *P. Decius Mus*, dispatched them both into *Apulia*, where they found *Pyrrhus* incamped near a little town called *Asculum*. There the consuls, joining their armies, fortified themselves at the foot of the *Apennines*, having between them and the enemy a large deep stream, which divided the plain. Both armies continued a great while on the opposite banks, before either ventured to pass it to attack the other. The *Epirots*, being informed that the father and grandfather of the consul *Decius* had, by devoting themselves to the *Dii Manes*, gained victories, when every thing threatened the total defeat of their troops, believed that the *Decii* transmitted from father to son some unaccountable art of necromancy, whereby they secured the victory to their party whenever they lost their lives in the battle. This vain apprehension filled the *Epirots* with terror; and *Pyrrhus*, to destroy so dangerous a prepossession, sent a messenger to *Decius*, acquainting him, that if he attempted to devote himself, he should find the *Epirots* upon their guard; and resolved not to put him to death, but to take him alive, and that the most cruel punishments should be inflicted upon him as an impostor after the battle. To this message the consuls returned the following answer; *Pyrrhus* is not so formidable an enemy as to reduce us to expedients, which we make use of only in the greatest and inevitable dangers. To shew how little we fear him, we offer him his choice, either to pass the river unmolested, or to suffer us to do so; we shall then try in the open field, and upon equal terms, which of us shall have need of employing extraordinary methods to gain the victory. The king could not in point of honour decline the challenge, and therefore chose to continue where he was, and let the *Romans* cross the stream; which they did accordingly, and drew up in the plain. On the other hand, *Pyrrhus* placed his men likewise in order of battle in the same plain; and

*His message
to Decius
the Roman
consul.*

Both armies prepare for a general engagement.

The battle of Aecium.

The Epirots give way.

Pyrrhus is dangerously wounded.

all the antients do him the justice to say, that no commander ever understood better the art of drawing up an army, and directing its motions. In the right wing he placed his *Epirots* and the *Samnites*, in his left the *Lucanians*, *Brutians*, and *Salentines*, and his phalanx in the centre. The centre of the *Roman* army consisted of four legions, which were to engage the enemy's phalanx; on their wings were posted the light-armed auxiliaries and the *Roman* horse. The consuls, in order to guard their troops against the fury of the elephants, had prepared chariots, armed with long points of iron in the shape of forks, and filled with soldiers carrying firebrands, which they were directed to throw at the elephants, and by that means frighten them, and set their wooden towers on fire. These chariots were posted over-against the king's elephants, and ordered not to stir till they entered upon action. To this precaution the *Roman* generals added another, which was, to order a body of *Apulian* troops to attack *Pyrrhus's* camp in the heat of the engagement, in order to force it, or at least to draw off part of the enemy's forces to defend it. At length the attack began, both parties being pretty equal in number; for each of them consisted of about forty thousand men. The phalanx sustained for a long time the furious onset of the legions with incredible bravery; but at length being forced to give way, *Pyrrhus* commanded his elephants to advance, but not on the side where the *Romans* had posted their chariots; they marched round, and falling upon the *Roman* horse, soon put them into confusion. Then the phalanx, returning with fresh courage to the charge, made the *Roman* legions in their turn give ground. On this occasion *Decius* was killed, so that one consul only was left to command the two *Roman* armies. But while all things seemed to favour *Pyrrhus*, the body of *Apulians*, which we have mentioned above, falling unexpectedly on the camp of the *Epirots*, obliged the king to dispatch a strong detachment to defend his intrenchments. Upon the departure of these troops, some of the *Epirots*, imagining that the camp was taken, began to lose courage, and retire; those who were next to them followed their example, and in a short time the whole army gave way. *Pyrrhus* having attempted several times in vain to rally his forces, returned to the charge with a small number of his friends, and the most courageous of his officers. With these he sustained the fury of the victorious legions, and covered the retreat of his own men. But being after a most gallant behaviour dangerously wounded, he retired at last with his small band in good order, leaving the *Romans* masters of the field. As the sun was near setting,

and

And the *Romans* extremely fatigued, and a great number of them wounded, the consul *Sulpicius*, not thinking it advisable to pursue the enemy, founded a retreat, repassed the stream, and brought his troops back to the camp (O). *Sulpicius* appeared in the field of battle the next day, with a design to bring the *Epirots* to a second engagement; but finding they had withdrawn in the night to *Tarentum*, he likewise retired, and put his troops into winter quarters in *Apulia* ^b.

BOTH armies continued quiet in their quarters during winter; but early in the spring took the field anew. The *Romans* were commanded this year by two men of great fame, whom they had raised to the consulate the second time; these were the celebrated *C. Fabricius* and *Q. Æmilius Papus*, who no sooner arrived in *Apulia*, than they

^b PLUT. DION. HAL. FLOR. JUSTIN. *ibid.*

(O) Historians give us very different accounts of the battle of *Asculum*. *Plutarch*, who will have it to have been a double action, relates it thus: *Pyrrhus*, says he, was pent up in a place, where the cavalry could not be of any use; and could not bring up his elephants, the ground being very marshy. In this disadvantageous post many of his men were killed, and more wounded; so that night alone which put an end to the battle, saved him from an intire defeat. The next day the king, to retrieve his reputation, took possession of a more even ground, where he placed his elephants. Early in the morning, having seized those narrow passes, which had proved fatal to his army the day before, he drew up his men in the plain, posting a great number of archers and pikemen among his elephants. In this order he advanced towards the enemy, and charged the *Roman* troops with incredible fury. The legions fought a long time with great bravery; but at length, not being able to withstand the elephants, betook themselves to flight (103). On the other hand, *Eutropius* tells us, that the *Romans* gained a complete victory, that *Pyrrhus* lost his elephants in the action, and was obliged, though wounded, to fly to *Tarentum* to avoid falling into the enemy's hands (104). But his account is contradicted by other historians. *Dionysius Halicarnassens*, as quoted by *Plutarch*, says, that there was but one battle fought near the city of *Asculum*; that the success of this great action was doubtful; that *Pyrrhus* was wounded in the arm with a spear, and that his baggage was plundered by the *Samnites*. The same author makes *Pyrrhus* on this occasion give that famous answer to one, who congratulated him on his victory, *Such another would undo me* (105).

(103) *Plut. ibid.*
Hal. l. iii.

(104) *Eutrop. l. ii.*

(105) *Dion,*

The king's
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marched their troops into the territory of *Tarentum*. *Pyrrhus*, who had received considerable reinforcements from *Epirus*, met them near the frontiers, and encamped at a small distance from the *Roman* army. While the consuls were waiting here for a favourable opportunity to give battle, a messenger from *Nicias*, the king's physician, delivered a letter to *Fabricius*, wherein the traitor offered to take off his master by poison, provided the consul would promise him a reward proportionable to the greatness of the service. The virtuous *Roman*, being filled with horror at the bare proposal of such a crime, immediately communicated the affair to his colleague, who readily joined with him in writing a letter to *Pyrrhus*, wherein they warned him, without discovering the criminal, to take care of himself, and be upon his guard against the treacherous designs of those about him. The letter was couched in the following terms: *C. Fabricius*, and *L. Æmilius* consuls, to king *Pyrrhus*, health. You are unhappy both in the choice of your friends and enemies. This letter will satisfy you, that the former are the worst of men, and the latter persons of honour and probity. You are betrayed, *Pyrrhus*, and the man, who ought to be most faithful to you, offers to poison you. We give you this information, not to curry favour with you, but fearing lest we should be suspected of consenting to an assassination, which we detest and abhor. We do not desire to end the war by secret and wicked attempts, but openly, and with our swords. *Pyrrhus*, out of a deep sense of gratitude for so great a benefit, released immediately without ransom all the prisoners he had taken. But the *Romans*, disdaining to accept either a favour from an enemy, or a recompense for not committing the blackest treachery, declared, that they would not receive their prisoners but by way of exchange; and accordingly sent to *Pyrrhus* an equal number of *Samnite* and *Tarentine* prisoners ^d.

As the king of *Epirus* grew every day more weary of a war, which he feared would end in his disgrace, he sent *Cyneas* a second time to *Rome*, to try whether he could with his artful harangues prevail upon the conscript fathers to hearken to an accomodation, upon such terms as were consistent with his honour. But the embassador found the senators steady in their former resolution, and determined not to enter into any treaty with his master till he had left *Italy*, and with-

^c PLUT. *ibid.* & *anth. de vir. illust.* GELIUS *noct. Attic.*
SENEC. *epist.* 120. EUROP. l. ii. ^d PLUT. *ibid.* & EUROP.
l. ii.

drawn from thence all his forces. This gave the king great uneasiness; for he had already lost most of his veteran troops and best officers, and was sensible that he should lose the rest if he ventured another engagement. While he was revolving these melancholy thoughts in his mind, ambassadors arrived at his camp from the *Syracusians*, *Agrigentines*, and *Lentines*, imploring the assistance of his arms to drive out the *Carthaginians*, and put an end to the troubles which threatened their respective states with utter destruction. *Pyrrhus*, who wanted only some honourable pretence to leave *Italy*, sets sail laid hold of this, and, appointing *Milo* governor of *Tarentum*, for *Sicily* with a strong garison to keep the inhabitants in awe during his absence, set sail for *Sicily* with thirty thousand foot and two thousand five hundred horse, on board a fleet of two hundred ships. We have elsewhere related at length the great success that attended him at first in *Sicily*; but the face of his affairs soon changed there likewise. The *Sicilians*, disgusted at the resolution he had taken of passing over into *Africa*, and much more at the enormous exactions and extortions of his ministers and courtiers, had submitted partly to the *Carthaginians*, and partly to the *Mamertines*. When *Carthage* heard of this change, new troops were raised all over *Africa*, and a numerous army sent into *Sicily* to recover the cities which *Pyrrhus* had taken. As the *Sicilians* daily deserted from him in crowds, he was no ways in a condition with his *Epirots* alone to withstand so powerful an enemy; and therefore when deputies came to him from the *Tarentines*, *Samnites*, *Brutians*, and *Lucanians*, representing to him the losses they had sustained since his departure, and remonstrating, that without his assistance they must fall a sacrifice to the *Romans*, he laid hold of that opportunity to abandon the island and return to *Italy*. His fleet was attacked by that of *Carthage*, and his army after their landing by the *Mamertines*, as we have related in the history of *Syracuse*. But *Pyrrhus* having by his heroic bravery escaped all danger, marched along the sea-shore in order to reach *Tarentum* that way. As he passed through the country of the *Locrians*, who had not long before massacred the troops he had left there, he not only exercised all sorts of cruelty on the inhabitants, but plundered the temple of *Proserpine* to supply the wants of his army. The immense riches which he found there were by his orders sent to *Tarentum* by sea; but the ships that carried them, being dashed against the rocks by a tempest, and the mariners all lost, this proud prince being convinced, says

Returns to
Italy

* Vol. vii. p. 232, & seq.

† Vol. vii. p. 235.

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^c PLUT. *ibid.* & *anth. de vir. illust.* GELLIVS *noct. Attic.* SENECA. *epist.* 120. EUTROP. l. ii. ^d PLUT. *ibid.* & EUTROP. l. ii.

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^e Vol. vii. p. 232, & seq. ^f Vol. vii. p. 235.

*Livy*⁸, that the gods were not imaginary beings, caused all the treasure, which the sea had thrown upon the shore, to be carefully gathered up, and replaced in the temple; nay, to appease the wrath of the angry goddess, he put all those to death, who had advised him to plunder her temple. However, superstition made the antients ascribe to this act of impiety all the misfortunes which afterwards beset that unhappy prince.

Arrives at
Tarentum

Pyrrhus at length arrived at *Tarentum*; but of the army he had carried into *Sicily*, he brought back into *Italy* only three thousand horse and not quite twenty thousand foot, a small body indeed to cope with two consular armies. He therefore reinforced them with the best troops he could raise in the countries of the *Samnites*, *Lucanians*, and *Brutians*; and hearing that the two new consuls, *Curius Dentatus* and *Cornelius Lentulus*, had divided their forces, the one invading *Lucania*, and the other *Samnium*, he likewise divided his army into two bodies, marching with the choice of his *Epirots* against *Dentatus* in hopes of surprizing him in his camp near *Beneventum*. But the consul having notice of his approach,

Attacks

Curius

Dentatus

near Be-

neventum.

went out of his intrenchments with a strong detachment of legionaries to meet him, repulsed his van-guard, put many of the *Epirots* to the sword, and took some of their elephants. *Curius*, encouraged with this first success, marched his army into the *Taurasian* fields, and drew it up in a plain, which was wide enough for his troops, but too narrow for the *Epirot* phalanx, the phalangites being so crowded, that they could not handle their arms without difficulty. But the king's eagerness to try his strength and skill with so renowned a commander, made him engage at so great a disadvantage. Upon the first signal the action began, and one of the king's wings giving way, the victory seemed to incline to the *Romans*. But that wing where the king fought in person repulsed the enemy, and drove them back quite to their intrenchments. This advantage was in great part owing to the elephants, which *Curius* perceiving, commanded a corps-de-reserve, which he had posted near the camp, to advance, and fall upon the elephants. These carrying burning torches in one hand, and their swords in the other, threw the former at the elephants, and with the latter defended themselves against their guides, by which means they were both forced to give way. The elephants being put to flight broke into the phalanx, close as it was, and there caused a general disorder, which was encreas-

⁸ Liv. l. xxix. c. 18.

ed by a remarkable accident : For it is said, that a young elephant being wounded, and thereupon making a dreadful noise, the mother quitting her rank, and hastening to the assistance of her young one, put those, who still kept their ranks, into the utmost confusion. But however that be, it is certain that the *Romans* obtained at last a complete victory ^h. *Orosius* ⁱ and *Eutropius* ^k tell us, that *Pyrrhus's* army consisted of fourscore thousand foot and six thousand horse, including his *Epirots* and allies, whereas the consular army was scarce twenty thousand men strong. Those who exaggerate the king's loss say, that the number of the slain on his side amounted to thirty thousand men ; but others reduce it to twenty thousand. All writers agree, that *Curius* took twelve hundred prisoners and eight elephants. This victory, which was the most decisive *Rome* had ever gained, brought all *Italy* under subjection, and paved the way for those vast conquests, which afterwards made the *Romans* masters of the whole known world.

But is utterly defeated.

Pyrrhus being no ways in a condition, after the great loss he had sustained, to keep the field, retired to *Tarentum*, being attended only by a small body of horse, leaving the *Romans* in possession of his camp, which they so much admired, that they made it ever after a model to form theirs by. And now the king of *Epirus* resolved to leave *Italy* as soon as possible, but concealed his design, and endeavoured to keep up the drooping spirits of his allies by giving them hopes of speedy succours from *Greece*. Accordingly he dispatched ambassadors into *Ætolia*, *Illyricum*, and *Macedon*, demanding supplies of men and money. But the answers from those courts not proving favourable, he forged such as might please those whom he was willing to deceive, and by this means supported the courage of his friends, and kept his enemy in play. When he could conceal his departure no longer, he pretended to be on a sudden in a great passion at the dilatoriness of his friends in sending him succours, and acquainted the *Tarentines* that he must go and bring them over himself. However, he left behind him a strong garison in the citadel of *Tarentum* under the command of the same *Milo*, who had kept it for him during his stay in *Sicily*. In order to keep this governor in his duty, he is said to have made him a very strange present, viz. a chair covered with the skin of *Nicias*, the treacherous

He retires to Tarentum.

^h PLUT. in Pyrrh. PAUSAN. l. i. p. 22. JUSTIN. l. xxiii.

^c 3. LIV. l. xxix. c. 18. DION, HAL. in excerpt. p. 542. ⁱ OROS. l. iv.

^k EUTROP. l. ii.

And from
thence into
his own
dominions.

physician, who had offered *Fabricius* to poison his master ¹. After all these disguises and precautions *Pyrrhus* at last set sail for *Epirus*, and arrived safe at *Acroceraunium* with eight thousand foot and five hundred horse, after having spent, to no purpose, six years in *Italy* and *Sicily* ^m.

Makes
himself
Master of
all Mace-
don.

On his return he found his treasures exhausted, and his people discouraged. To retrieve therefore his reputation, and make his troops some amends for the hardships they had suffered in *Italy*, he resolved to invade *Macedon*, where *Antigonus Gonatus*, who had refused to send him any succours, then reigned; and being reinforced with some companies of *Gauls*, he ravaged the country, took many cities, overthrew *Antigonus* in a pitched battle; and notwithstanding that prince had a great many *Gauls* in his pay, *Pyrrhus* drove him from place to place, and at length made himself master of the whole kingdom of *Macedon*. After the victory which he gained over *Antigonus*, he hung up the spoils of the *Gauls* in the temple of *Pallas* of *Itonia*, a small city between *Phera* and *Larissa*, with the following inscription; *Pyrrhus king of the Molossians, consecrates to the Itonian Minerva these bucklers of the fierce Gauls, after having defeated the whole army of Antigonus. The descendants of Æacus are still the same; brave and valiant* ⁿ. *Pyrrhus* having taken *Æge*, the royal seat of the late kings of *Macedon*, treated the inhabitants with great severity, and on his leaving the place, garisoned it with part of his *Gauls*, who being told that rich treasures were concealed in the tombs of the kings who were buried there, opened them, and after having carried away the wealth they found in them, threw the bones of the princes, whose remains were deposited there, about the streets, and sacrilegiously trampled them under foot. *Pyrrhus* dissembled his knowledge of this infamous action, being unwilling to alienate the minds of those barbarians by inflicting on them the punishment they well deserved; and this shameful connivance raised a general disaffection among the *Macedonians*, who had abandoned *Antigonus* to side with him.

Antigonus after his defeat had retired into *Theffalonica* with the remains of his shattered army, intending to wait there for a favourable opportunity of recovering his kingdom. But *Ptolemy* the son of *Pyrrhus*, a prince who almost equalled his father in bravery, though at that time but twenty two years of

¹ ZONAR. l. viii. c. 7.
3. PAUSAN. in Attic. p. 11.
Attic. p. 11, 12.

^m PLUT. ibid. JUSTIN. l. xxv. c.
ⁿ PLUT. ibid. & PAUSAN. in

age, pursued the unhappy *Antigonus* to his retreat, put to the sword the few troops he had with him, made himself master of *Thessalonica*, and reduced the king of *Macedon* to such straits, that he had no place to retire to in his misfortunes but the forests ^a.

It was natural for *Pyrrhus* after these conquests, which had both enriched and increased his army, to return to the assistance of the *Tarentines* and his allies in *Italy*. But his inconstancy, or rather the fear he was in of the *Romans*, made him take another course. New enemies and new hopes drew him into *Peloponnesus*, whither he took with him his two sons, *Ptolemy* and *Helenus*, instead of leaving at least one of them in *Macedon* to keep that country in awe, and watch the motions of *Antigonus*. He had been invited thither by *Cleonymus* king of *Sparta*, who being driven from his capital by *Arcus* his ambitious nephew, and by the intrigues of his wife *Chelidonis*, had recourse to *Pyrrhus*, whose victories had made him famous all over *Greece*. The king, who was ever passing from one enterprize to another, readily complied with the request of *Cleonymus*, and taking with him five and twenty thousand foot, two thousand horse, and twelve elephants, entered *Peloponnesus*, not so much with a design to re-establish *Cleonymus*, as to make himself master of all *Greece*. But the obstinate resistance he met with at *Lacedæmon*, not only from the men, but also from the women, who, on that occasion, behaved like true heroines, obliged him to drop this enterprize, as we have related at length in the history of the *Lacedæmonians* ^b. He had scarce resolved with himself to retire from before *Lacedæmon*, when a new project made him hasten his departure, in order to try his fortune in another quarter.

Aristippus and *Aristias*, two of the principal citizens of *Argos*, having excited a great sedition in that city, the former to make good his party against his rival, had drawn *Antigonus* into his interest, which was enough for the latter to call *Pyrrhus* to his assistance. The king was overjoyed at the arrival of an express from *Aristias*, inviting him to engage in a new war; and despising *Antigonus*, who had already recovered great part of *Macedon*, he drew off from *Lacedæmon*, and hastened to *Argos*. But *Arcus*, having timely notice of his departure, concealed his troops in the most difficult passes, and having suffered the advanced guard of the *Epirot* ar-

^a JUSTIN. l. xxv. c. 3. PLUT. ibid. DIODOR. SICUL. l. xvii.
^b excerpt. Valesii, p. 266.

^c Vide Vol. VI. p. 400, & seq.
 my,

His son
Ptolemy
killed.

Pyrrhus
revenges
his death.

my, commanded by *Pyrrhus*, to march by, fell unexpectedly on the rear, and cut off a great number of the *Gauls* and *Molossians*, who composed it. Hereupon *Pyrrhus* detached his son *Ptolemy* to their relief; but the young prince, suffering himself to be hurried on by his too great courage, was killed in the engagement by one *Orasus* a *Cretan*. The king being informed of his son's death, which affected him in a very sensible manner, suddenly faced about, and falling upon the *Lacedæmonian* cavalry, who under the command of *Evalcus*, an officer of great reputation, had imprudently advanced into the plain, made a great havock of those troops. He was always dreadful in battles, but on this occasion, when grief and the desire of revenge inflamed his natural ardor, he even surpassed himself. He singled out *Evalcus* in the throng, and breaking through the troops that surrounded him, killed him on the spot at the first blow. The death of so brave a man disheartened the *Lacedæmonians*, who now began to give ground. On the other hand the *Epirots*, being animated by the example of their king, pursued the advantage with such ardor, that the enemy was put into the utmost confusion, and at length obliged to save themselves by a disorderly flight, after having lost the greatest part of their cavalry. After this victory, when the dead body of his son was brought to him, he expressed the deepest concern; but at the same time seemed to blame him on account of his too great boldness, saying, *I am not at all surprized that my son has lost his life; I did not expect he would have lived so long.* *Pyrrhus*, having thus revenged the death of *Ptolemy* with streams of *Lacedæmonian* blood, pursued his march to *Argos*, and arriving before that city, encamped in an advantageous situation at a small distance from *Antigonus*, who had got there before him. The very next morning he sent a herald to *Antigonus*, challenging him to a single combat; but that prince returned him the following answer; *If Pyrrhus is tired of his life, he may find ways enough to put an end to it.* The inhabitants of *Argos* seeing two foreign kings ready to engage at their gates, and not doubting but the conqueror would seize on their city, and from a free people reduce them to a state of slavery, sent ambassadors to both princes, intreating them to withdraw their forces, and suffer the citizens to compose their differences by themselves. *Antigonus* readily consented to this proposal, and, to convince them that he had no design upon their city, delivered up his son to them as an hostage. *Pyrrhus* likewise promised to retire; but as he offered no security for the performance of his promise, the *Argians* began to suspect him of insincerity.

infincerity. And indeed not without reason, the factious *Aristias* having agreed to open one of the gates to him that very night, and put him in possession of the city. The traitor kept his word, opening the gate in the dead of the night, and conveying a body of *Pyrrhus's Gauls* into the market-place, which was in the centre of the city, without being discovered by any of *Aristippus's* party. But *Pyrrhus*, not thinking that body sufficient to make head against the citizens, ordered his elephants to advance, with a design to draw them up likewise in the market-place. But it unfortunately happened, that the gate, which was delivered up to *Pyrrhus*, was not high enough for the elephants to pass with their towers on their backs ; so that it was necessary to take them off, and replace them after they had entered the city. As this could not be effected in the dark without some noise, the *Argians* hearing it ran to arms, and finding the enemy posted in the centre of the city, fled to the fortress, and from thence sent messengers to *Antigonus*, pressing him to advance without loss of time to their assistance. He immediately marched up to the walls, and ordered his son *Alcioneus* to enter the city at the head of his best troops. In this critical juncture *Areus* king of *Lacedæmon* arrived likewise at *Argos*, with a thousand *Lacedæmonians* and the same number of *Cretans* ; and joining the *Macedonians*, charged the *Gauls* with the utmost fury, and threw them into disorder. *Pyrrhus* hastened to their relief with a body of *Molossians* ; but the darkness and confusion were so great, that he could neither be heard nor obeyed. The fight lasted all night, and at break of day the streets appeared covered with dead bodies, and streaming with blood, the *Macedonians*, *Argians*, *Cretans*, *Epirots*, *Gauls*, and *Lacedæmonians*, having fought all pell-mell in the dark, without distinguishing their friends from their foes. *Pyrrhus* was not a little surprized to see the city filled with the enemy's troops ; and imagining all was lost, thought of nothing but a timely retreat. As he was under some apprehension with respect to the gates of the city, which were too narrow, he sent orders to his son *Helenus*, whom he had left without with the main body of the army, to make a large breach in the wall, and be ready to cover his retreat, in case he should be overpowered by the enemy. But the person he sent to his son, misunderstanding his orders, delivered a quite contrary message ; in consequence of which *Helenus*, instead of making a breach in the wall, drew out the flower of his troops, and attempted to get in at the gate in order to assist his father. But the passage being stopt up by an elephant of an enormous size,


Attempts to make himself master of Argos.

Enters Argos.

Attempts to retire.

size, and the *Argians* crowding about the gate to prevent *Helenus* from entering it, a sharp engagement ensued, in which great numbers were killed on both sides. At length *Helenus*, fearing lest his father might be in danger, forced his passage through the thickest of the enemy's ranks, and made way for the rest of his forces to follow him. But he had scarce got in, when he met his father surrounded by the enemy on all sides, and fighting his way through them in order to retire by the same gate out of the city, which he could no longer hold, most of his men being either killed or wounded. The troops which *Helenus* led, were so thronged under the gate, that they wounded one another with their arms, and so obstructed the passage, that it was impossible for *Pyrrhus* to get through them. He often cried aloud to them to retire, and clear the way; but his voice not being heard in that noise and confusion, they still continued to advance pressing upon one another, and putting the few troops that were with the king in great disorder. Hereupon *Pyrrhus* pulling off his diadem, to prevent his being known, faced about, and charged the enemy with the utmost fury. While he was thus fighting in the croud, and making a great slaughter of the enemy, a common soldier of *Argos* attacked and wounded him with his javelin. Hereupon the king, inflamed at the sight of his blood, flew at the aggressor with a rage not to be expressed, and was ready to make him pay dear for his boldness; but the mother of the *Argian*, who with other women beheld the combat from the top of a house, being alarmed at the imminent danger of her son, threw down a tile, the first thing she laid hold of, upon *Pyrrhus*, which falling upon his head, gave him such a blow, that he staggered a while, and fell senseless to the ground; which one *Zopyrus* a *Macedonian* observing, and knowing who he was, dragged him into a porch, and there with a trembling hand cut off his head, and carried it to *Alcioneus*, who rid full speed with it to his father *Antigonus*, and threw it down at his feet. But that prince, reflecting on the instability of human affairs and vicissitude of fortune, severely rebuked his son for thus insulting over the remains of so great a man; and taking up the head covered it with his own garment, and caused it to be honourably interred.

And killed-
Year of
the Flood,
2728.
Before
Christ,
271

 SUCH was the end of *Pyrrhus*, a prince to whom the title of a great captain is justly due, since he was so highly esteem-
His cha-
racter.

1 PRUT. *ibid.* VAL. MAX. l. v. c. 1. PAUSAN. in *ATRIC.* p. 12. JUSTIN. l. xxv. c. 4.

ed by the *Romans* themselves, and by a person the most worthy to be credited with relation to the merit of a warrior, and the best qualified to form a right judgment in that particular. For *Livy* tells us ^r, that *Hannibal*, when asked by *Scipio*, who in his opinion were the greatest generals in the world, named *Alexander* in the first place, *Pyrrhus* in the second, and himself in the third (P). All the antients tell us, that no general understood the art of war better than the king of *Epirus*, who learnt it by principles and rules, as well as by use and experience, and is said to have wrote several volumes on encampments and the different ways of drawing up an army. These books are mentioned by *Tully* ^r; and *Donatus* tells us, that *Pyrrhus* invented a sort of game like that of chess, to re-

^r LIV. xxxv. c. 14.

^r CIC. l. ix. epist. 25.

(P) *Plutarch* in his life of *Pyrrhus* relates this matter in a different way; his words are, *Hannibal said, that of all the great commanders in the world, Pyrrhus was the first both for experience and capacity; the second place he gave to Scipio; and reserved the third for himself, as we have observed in the life of Scipio.* We do not dispute what *Plutarch* may have said in the last mentioned work, which has not reached our times; but only observe, that in the life of *Flaminius* he relates the opinion of *Hannibal* otherwise than he does in the life of *Pyrrhus*. This general, (says he, in the life of *Flaminius*) and *Scipio Africanus* had an interview at *Ephesus*, and the conversation turning upon this question, *Who were the greatest generals?* *Hannibal* named *Alexander* in the first place, *Pyrrhus* in the second, and himself in the third. *Scipio* is here excluded, whereas he is the second in the life of *Pyrrhus*, where no mention is made of *Alexander*. *Livy* likewise gives us an account of this conference, and exactly agrees with *Plutarch* in the life of *Flaminius* (106): For according to him *Hannibal* gave the first place to *Alexander*, the second to *Pyrrhus*, and the third to himself; whereupon *Scipio* seeing himself excluded, said with a smile, *And what place would you claim, if you had overcome me?* *Had I overcome you, replied Hannibal, I should look upon myself as superior both to Alexander and to Pyrrhus;* which was implicitly owning, that *Scipio* had not his equal, and therefore was not to be brought into competition with other generals. The fathers *Catrou* and *Rouille*, disagreeing in this place with the antients, tell us, that *Hannibal* named *Alexander* in the first place, *Pyrrhus* in the second, *Scipio* in the third, and himself in the last (107). It is an unpardonable fault in a writer to pass his own conjectures upon the readers for matter of fact.

(106) LIV. l. xxxv.

(107) Vide hist. Roman ad ann. urb.

4.

present the different ways of making attacks and drawing up armies in battalia ^c. *Livy* gives us the same account of *Pyrrhus*, or rather makes *Hannibal* say as much of him; he was, says that great general, the first, who perfectly understood how to encamp, chuse his ground, and post his men to advantage ^u. He is generally represented by the antient historians as a prince of an uncommon understanding, and of great sagacity and penetration. It is therefore surprizing, that *Tully* should take him to be included in the famous verses of *Ennius*, wherein that poet says, that the whole race of the *Æacidæ* were naturally stupid, and remarkable for nothing but their martial courage ^w (Q). *Pyrrhus* had, besides his military talents, many other commendable qualities, viz. a great deal of good nature, much compassion for the unhappy, and no less gratitude for those who had obliged him. When *Æropus*, one of his chief favourites, who had done him considerable service, died, he wept, and was heard to say, *It is not his death that most afflicts me; he has paid the debt he owes to nature. My concern is, that I so long delayed making him a suitable return for his services, and by that means I am deprived of the pleasure of shewing my gratitude* ^x. *Cicero* commends him even on account of his probity: two great generals, says that writer, disputed the empire of *Italy* with the *Romans*, *Pyrrhus* and *Hannibal*; the probity of the former is still remembered, and spoke of with respect in *Rome*; but the cruelty of the latter has rendered his name and memory odious to this city ^y. His only faults were ambition and inconstancy; the former did not so much proceed from an avaricious desire of enriching himself and possessing vast dominions, as from a love of glory; he had proposed *Alexander the Great* to himself for a model, and in all his enterprizes had no other view, but to equal and even surpass that conqueror. His inconstancy indeed was very remarkable, as is plain from what we have already said of him. He had scarce tried one enemy, when he was for engaging another; scarce undertaken one enterprize, when he was for entering upon another; so that

^c DONAT. in comment. Eunuch. TERENT.

^u LIV. ibid.

^w CIC. de divin. l. ii.

^x PLUT. in Pyrrh.

^y CIC de Amicit.

{ Q } The verses are,

*Sæpius fuit solidum genus Æacidarum,
 Velipotentes magis quam sapientipotentes.*

his whole life was a continued series of new projects succeeding one another. When he had once conquered a country, he neglected all proper measures for the preserving of it, how dear soever the conquest might have cost him. Hence *Antigonus* used to compare him, as *Plutarch* informs us ², to a lucky gamester, who did not know how to make a good use of his fortune; but lavishly spent whatever he got by gaming. Some authors find fault with him; and indeed not without a great deal of reason, for exposing his person in all his battles; without the least precaution; like a common soldier. A good commander, say they, ought to pique himself upon the wisdom and prudence of his conduct, and not upon any action, which only displays strength and intrepidity. A commander who brags of his courage, and rashly exposes himself to danger, confounds his own merit and function with those of a private soldier. It is not the duty of a general to fight in the foremost ranks; but to be vigilant for the common safety of the army. Such were the sentiments of the antients; but most of the generals and kings who flourished in the age we are now writing of, made no distinction between the duty of an officer and a soldier, being led astray by the fortunate temerity of *Alexander*, whom they pretended to imitate.

BUT to return to the *Epirots* in *Argos*; they no sooner heard of the death of their king, but they threw down their arms, and surrendered at discretion. But *Antigonus* treated them with great humanity, and generously sent them back to *Epirus*, together with *Helenus*, the king's son, who was also taken prisoner, delivering to him the body of his unfortunate father inclosed in a golden urn ³. When news of *Pyrrhus's* death was brought to *Tarentum*, the inhabitants sent embassadors to *Carthage*; imploring the assistance of that republic; both against the *Romans* and *Milo*, who still held the citadel with a strong garison of *Epirots*. The *Carthaginians*, desirous to get footing on the coast of *Italy*, sent immediately a powerful fleet to the assistance of the *Tarentines*, pretending, that they had no other view but to drive the *Epirots* out of the citadel. While the *Carthaginians* besieged the city by sea, the *Romans* under the conduct of *Papyrius Cursus* attacked it by land; so that *Milo*, being inclosed on all sides, without any hopes of relief, sent a deputation to the *Roman* camp, offering to surrender the citadel to *Papyrius*, on condition, that he would suffer him and his men to retire to *Epirus* with all their baggage and effects. The consul, to frustrate the

All the Epirots in Argos surrender at discretion.

² PLUT. *ibid.* ³ PLUT. *ibid.* VAL. MAX. l. v. c. i.

Tarentum designs of the *Carthaginians*, willingly granted him all he delivered asked. Whereupon the citadel was by *Milo* delivered up to the Romans, as was also the city soon after by the inhabitants, who gave up their arms, their ships, and themselves, into the consul's hands, and thus put an end to their war with Rome ^b. Year of the Flood, 2727. Before Christ, 272.

Pyrrhus was succeeded in the kingdom of *Epirus* by his son *Alexander*, who soon after his accession to the throne invaded *Macedon*, and there committed great depredations, while *Antigonus Gonatus* lay with his army before *Athens*. Hereupon the king of *Macedon* hastened with all his forces to the defence of his own dominions. But the *Macedonians* deserting him, when he least expected it, and joining the enemy, he was by *Alexander* stript of his kingdom, and obliged to seek for shelter in *Greece*. Upon his retreat his son *Demetrius*, who was then very young, having drawn together a body of troops, engaged *Alexander*, defeated him in a pitched battle, and drove him not only out of *Macedon*, but also out of *Epirus*, his hereditary kingdom. *Alexander* being thus in his turn expelled his dominions, fled to the *Acarnanians*, and having raised among them fresh forces, returned into *Epirus*, where he was joined by such numbers of his own subjects, that *Demetrius* thought it adviseable to quit that kingdom, and withdraw into *Macedon* ^c. He afterwards engaged in a war with the *Illyrians*, and having gained over them a complete victory, passed the remainder of his reign in peace and tranquillity, without molesting his neighbours, or being molested by them ^d. He is celebrated by *Ælian* as a great commander, and said to have wrote a book on the method of drawing up an army ^e. *Athenæus* ^f tells us, that in this king's reign a certain kind of beans blossomed in a lake of *Epirus*, and for two years together brought their fruit to perfection; which seeming very strange to *Alexander*, he placed a guard upon them, with orders to let no one gather them, or even approach the lake. He no sooner took this precaution, but the stalks of the beans withered, and the lake suddenly grew dry (R). *Alexander* left by his sister *Olympias*, whom he had

^b ZONAR. ex DION. OROS. l. iv. c. 3. FRONTIN. Stratag. l. iii. ^c JUSTIN. l. xxvi. c. 3. PAUSAN. in Attic. ^d FRONTIN. Stratag. VAL. MAX. l. v. c. 1. ^e ÆLIAN. var. hist. l. ii. ^f ATHEN. l. iii.

(R) The fathers *Catrou* and *Rouillé*, in their history of *Rome* (108), tel. us, that he was perhaps murdered by the *Locrenses* with

had married, a son and a daughter. His daughter, by name *Phthia*, married *Demetrius II.* king of *Macedon*. His son, named *Ptolemy*, succeeded him in the kingdom, under the Ptolemy-tuition of his mother *Olympias*, he 'being very young at his father's death. He was a prince of great expectation, but died when he was scarce out of his minority, as he was leading his army against the *Ætolians*, who had seized that part of *Acarmania* which belonged to the crown of *Pyrrhus Epirus* ². He left one son, by name *Pyrrhus*, who, III after a short reign under the guardianship of his grandmother *Olympias*, was treacherously murdered by the *Ambracians*, leaving behind him one daughter, called by *Justin*, *Laudamia*, by *Pausanias*, *Athenæus*, and *Polyænus*, *Deidamia*. This princess succeeded her father; but the E- Deidami *pirots*, disdaining to live under the government of a woman, suborned *Nestor*, one of her guards, to murder her; but the assassin's heart failing in the attempt, the unhappy *Deidamia* fled for refuge to the temple of *Diana*, where she was barbarously assassinated by one *Milo*, who being sentenced to death for the murder of his own mother *Philotera*, redeemed himself from the punishment due to his wickedness by murdering his sovereign ³. But he did not long enjoy the fruit of his crime; for being seized with madness, he laid violent hands on himself twelve days after the death of *Deidamia*. As for the *Epirots*, they were severely punished by heaven, first with a dreadful famine, and afterwards with domestic troubles, foreign wars, and many other calamities; which reduced their country to the last extremity. This is the ac-

² JUSTIN. l. xxviii. c. 3. PAUSAN. *ibid.* ³ JUSTIN. *ibid.*
POLYÆN. l. iii. OVID. in *Ibin*.

the *Epirot* garison, which *Pyrrhus* left at *Locris*, when he set out on his expedition into *Sicily*. For we don't see him appear, say they, with his brothers in the last adventures of the king their father. He does not appear, 'tis true, in the last adventures of his father; but had the good fathers remembered what they must have read in *Plutarch's* life of *Pyrrhus*, they would have inferred from thence, that he had been sent back into *Epirus*; for he was there when his father was killed, as is manifest from the above-mentioned writer, who tells us, that *Antigonus* delivered to *Heleneus* the body of his father inclosed in a golden urn, desiring him to carry it into *Epirus* to his brother *Alexander*. The same prince is mentioned, as succeeding his father in the kingdom of *Epirus*, by *Justin*, *Pausanias*, *Frontinus*, *Valerius Maximus*, and *Athenæus*, who give us a particular account of his wars with *Antigonus Gonatus*, with his son *Demetrius*, and also with the *Illyrians*.

count we read in *Polyænus* ^h: but *Pausanias* tells us, that *Deidamia*, after a short and peaceable reign, died quietly in her bed, leaving the *Epirots*, as she had no issue, free to chuse what sort of government they liked best ⁱ. But however that be, it is certain, (for in this the ancients are unanimous) that in this princess ended the family of the *Pyrrhidæ*, or the descendants of *Pyrrhus Neoptolemus*, and that upon her death the *Epirots* formed themselves into a republic, which was governed by annual magistrates, or prætors, chosen in the general assembly of the whole nation: Of this republic we have already given a distinct account in our history of *Greece* from the time it was first formed, till it was reduced by the *Romans* to a province ^k. We shall only observe here, that the *Macedonians* on one side, and the *Illyrians* on the other, taking advantage of the intestine divisions, which, generally speaking, attend a popular government, seized on several provinces belonging to the *Epirots*, and annexed them to their respective crowns; and hence it is, that though the kingdom of *Epirus* made a considerable figure, the republic scarce made any. *Aristotle*, as *Stephanus* informs us, wrote a particular book on the polity of the *Epirots*; whence we may infer, that they were governed by excellent laws; but as that work has not reached our times, we can give no account of them. *Plutarch* tells us, that the *Epirots* enjoyed a kind of liberty; and indeed the best sort of liberty, under their kings; for according to him, a general assembly of the people was yearly convened at *Passaron*, a city in the province of *Molossis*, where the king bound himself by a solemn oath to govern agreeable to the laws, and the people to obey and support him as long as he did so. Their form of government was, it seems, of the same nature with ours, and therefore far preferable to any other. But it is now time to dismiss this subject, and pass to the history of other kingdoms.

^h POLYÆN. *ibid.*
Vol. VII. p. 30, 31.

ⁱ PAUSAN. in *Messeniac.*

^k Vide

C H A P. IX.

The History of B I T H Y N I A.

THIS country anciently known by the names of *Names, si-*
Mysia, Mygdonia, Bebrycia, Mariandynia and *Bi-* *tuation,*
thynia, was bounded on the west by *Bosporus Thra-* *&c.*
cus, and part of the *Propontis*; on the south by
the river *Rhyndacus* and mount *Olympus*; on the north by the
Euxine Sea; and on the east by the river *Parthenius*¹. *Pto-*
lemy extends the confines of *Bithynia* on this side to *Citorum*
on the coast, and to *Juliopolis* in the inland country, com-
prehending under the name of *Bithynia* some provinces be-
longing, according to other geographers, to *Galatia* and
Paphlagonia.

THE chief cities of *Bithynia* on the coast were, *Myr-* *Cities.*
lea on the *Propontis*, not far from the mouth of the *Rhyn-*
dacus. This city was so called from *Myrlus* of *Colophon*
its founder, as *Stephanus* informs us, or, as others will have
it, from *Myrlea* a celebrated *Amazon*, who either found-
ed or embellished it. It was demolished by *Philip* of *Ma-*
cedon the father of *Perses*, and rebuilt by *Prusias* king of
Bithynia, who from his wife called it *Apamea*^m. It was af-
terwards honoured with the title of a *Roman* colony, many
Romans who had served in *Asia* having settled there, as
Strabo and *Pliny*ⁿ inform us: but the latter was certainly mis-
taken, when he placed this among the inland cities. *Daschy-*
los, at a small distance from the *Rhyndacus*. *Cius*, built by
the *Milesians* on a river of the same name, destroyed by *Phi-*
lip the father of *Perses*, and rebuilt by *Prusias*, whose name
it bore ever after^o. *Nicomedia*, the metropolis of *Bithynia*,
so called from *Nicomedus*, the son of *Zipoetes*, its founder^p.
Strabo seems to doubt by which of the *Bithynian* kings it

¹ PLIN. l. v. c. 32. ^m STRABO l. xii. p. 388. ⁿ STRAB.
& PLIN. ibid. ^o PLIN. ibid. POMP. MELA, l. i. c. 19.

^p TZETZES chil. 3, histor. 115. v. 950.

was founded ^a. All the ancients speak of it as a place of great note. *Pliny* calls it a famous and beautiful city ^r; *Ammianus Marcellinus*, the mother of all the cities of *Bithynia* ^s; *Pausanias* the greatest and first city of *Bithynia* ^t; *Libanus* compares it to *Rome*, *Byzantium*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioch*, at that time the four greatest cities of the world; and says, that though it was perhaps inferior to them in bigness, it equalled them all in beauty. This author lived in the time of the emperor *Julian the Apostate*. *Pausanias*, *Marcellinus* ^u, and *Trebellius Pollio* ^w tell us, that this city was formerly called *Astacus*. *Stephanus* will have its ancient name to have been *Olbia*. But *Nicomedia*, *Astacus*, and *Olbia*, are spoke of by *Ptolemy* as three neighbouring, but distinct cities. *Strabo* writes, that *Nicomedes* destroyed *Astacus*, and transferred its inhabitants to *Nicomedia* ^x. In this city the *Roman* emperors resided, when the affairs of the empire called them in to the east. *Constantine the Great* chose *Nicomedia*, as we read in *Nicephorus* ^y, for the place of his abode after he retired from *Rome*, and there remained till the buildings he had begun at *Byzantium* were finished. This city, once so famous, is now but a small village known to the *Turks* by the name of *Schemith*. *Pronectus*, a colony of the *Phœnicians*, as *Stephanus* informs us; *Drepanum* or *Drepane*, spoke of by *Livy*, *Florus*, and most of the *Latin* historians. All these cities stood on the *Propontis*, now the sea of *Marmora*. On the *Bosphorus*, which parts *Europe* from *Asia*, and joins the *Propontis* with the *Euxine* sea, stood the famous city of *Chalcedon* or *Calcedon*, antiently known by the names of *Procerastis* and *Colbusa*. *Pliny* ^z, *Strabo* ^a, and *Tacitus* ^b, call it *the city of the blind*, alluding without all doubt, to the answer which the *Pythian Apollo* gave to the founders of *Byzantium*, who, consulting the oracle about a place where to build a city, were directed to chuse that spot which lay opposite to the habitation of the blind; that is, as was then understood, to *Chalcedon*, the *Chalcedonians* well deserving that epithet, for having built their city in a barren and sandy soil without seeing that advantageous and pleasant spot on the opposite shore, which the *Byzantines* afterwards chose. *Constantine the Great*, if *Cedrenus* is to be credited, had been guilty of the like oversight, had he not been warned by an astonishing pro-

^a STRAB. l. xiii. p. 388. ^r PLIN. l. v. c. ultim. ^s AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. l. xvii. c. 13. ^t PAUSAN. Eliac. l. c. 12. ^u PAUSAN. & AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. ibid. ^w TREBELL. POLL. in Gallienis, c. 4. ^x STRAB. ibid. ^y NICEPHOR. l. vii. sub. fin. ^z PLIN. ibid. ^a STRAB. l. vii. p. 321. ^b TACIT. Annal. l. xii. c. 63.

digy. For that author tells us, that *Chalcedon* being destroyed by the *Persians*, *Constantine* undertook the rebuilding of it with a design to settle there; but that several eagles, appearing unexpectedly, carried away in their talons the lines of the workmen, and let them drop at *Byzantium*. This miracle, which was several times repeated, made *Constantine* alter his mind, and prefer *Byzantium* to *Chalcedon*^c. But what credit *Cedrenus* deserves, we leave our readers to judge. *Chalcedon* in the christian times became famous on account of the council which was held there against *Eutyches*. The emperor *Valens* caused the walls of this city to be levelled with the ground for siding with *Procopius*, and the materials to be conveyed to *Constantinople*, where they were employed in building the famous *Valentinian* aqueduct. The *Pelamides*, or tunny-fish, of *Chalcedon* were in great request among the ancients, as *Gellius* and *Varro* inform us^d, and are to this day thought by some to have a better flavour than any taken elsewhere. It is therefore surprizing, that *Pliny* and *Strabo*^e should tell us, that this kind of fish never came near *Chalcedon*, but kept close to the opposite shore of *Byzantium*, for fear of the white rocks concealed under water on the coast of *Asia*. *Chalcedon* is at present a poor beggarly place known to the *Greeks* by its ancient name, and to the *Turks* by that of *Cadiaci*; or the *Judges town*^f.

ON the *Euxine* sea stood the city of *Heraclea*, once a republic of no small note. It is commonly called *Pontica*, or *Heraclea* on the *Pontus*, to distinguish it from several other cities of the same name. *Pausanias*^g and the scholiast of *Apollonius*^h tell us, that it was founded and peopled by a colony of the *Megarenses* and *Tanagraei* of *Bæotia*. With them *Justin* agrees, and acquaints us on what occasion the *Bæotians* undertook the building of this city. The *Bæotians*, says he, being reduced to great straits by a plague, had recourse to the oracle of *Delphos*, which enjoined them to send a colony into the country bordering on the *Pontus*, and there build a city in honour of *Hercules*. But the *Bæotians* chusing rather to die in their own country, than expose themselves to the dangers of so troublesome a voyage, refused to comply with the injunctions of the oracle. Whereupon the *Phocenses* invading their country, and committing everywhere dreadful ravages, as they were not, by reason of the

Heraclea.

The anti-
ent history
of this city.

^c CEDREN. l. iii. ^d AUL. GELL. noct. Attic. VARRO. de re rustic l. ii. ^e PLIN. & STRAB. ibid. ^f TOURNEFORT voyage au Levant, Vol. II. ^g PAUSAN. l. v. ^h Scholiast. APOLLON. p. 190.

plague which still raged among them, in a condition to defend themselves, they sent anew to consult the oracle, which returned the following answer ; *viz.* that what would put an end to the plague, would likewise put an end to the war. By this answer the *Bæotians* understood that the only means to redeem themselves from the calamities they groaned under was to follow the direction of the oracle ; and accordingly sent a colony into the country bordering on the *Pantus*, which settled on the coast, and built the city of *Heraclea*¹. This city in process of time acquired such wealth and power, especially by sea, that it was not inferior to any of the *Greek* states in *Asia*. *Xenophon* tells us, that in his time the *Heracleans* had a numerous fleet, and that they supplied him with a squadron to convoy his men after their retreat into *Greece*. There are scarce any wars mentioned by the antients as carried on by sea in those parts, in which the *Heracleans* were not concerned, their friendship being courted by all the princes of *Asia* in regard of their maritime power. To them chiefly *Ptolemy Ceraunus* was indebted for the signal victory he had gained at sea over *Antigonus Goratus* ; for they sent him a numerous squadron of ships well manned and equipped, among which some were of an extraordinary size, especially one, called the *Leontifera*, having on each side eight hundred rowers, besides twelve hundred fighting men on board under the command of two experienced officers^k. In the war which *Antiochus* waged first with *Antigonus* the son of *Demetrius*, and afterwards with the *Byzantines*, the *Heracleans* assisted the former against *Antiochus* with thirteen gallies, and the latter with forty^l. They maintained for the space of eleven years a squadron of gallies in the service of the *Romans*, which were of great use to them in their wars with the *Asiatic* princes, and likewise against the *Maruccini*, a people of *Africa*. Many other instances are to be met with in history, which shew that *Heraclea* was once one of the most powerful states, at least by sea, in *Asia*. The *Heracleans* seem to have maintained a good understanding with the kings of *Persia* ; and on that account refused, as *Justin* informs us^m, to pay their quota, when the *Athenians* imposed a tribute on the *Greek* cities of *Asia Minor*, for the equipping and supporting of a fleet to be employed in the defence of the common liberty. Upon their refusal *Lamachus* was sent against them ; but while he was ravaging their country with the troops he had landed, a violent storm shattered his whole

¹ JUSTIN. l. xvi.^k MEMNON. excerpt. c. 14, 15.^l Idem c. 17.^m JUSTIN. l. xvi. c. 3.

fleet, so that he saw himself abandoned to the mercy of those he had provoked, not being in a condition to return to *Athens* either by sea or land. But the *Heracleans*, instead of treating him like an enemy, as he had reason to expect, used both him and his troops with the greatest humanity and kindness, supplying them not only with provisions, but also with ships to convey them safe into *Greece*. They did not complain, says *Justin* ⁿ, of the depredations committed in their territory, but looked upon them as highly advantageous to their state, since they offered them an opportunity of gaining by civilities the friendship of so powerful a republic.

As to their form of government, it was, as we read in *Form of Aristotle* ^o, originally democratical; but democracy soon gave way to aristocracy; for the same writer tells us ^p, that many of the nobles being sent out to lead colonies into distant countries, the people, in whom the supreme power was lodged, began to oppress those who still remained; whereupon they ran to arms in their own defence, and having got the better of their adversaries, took the whole power into their own hands. Soon after new disturbances arising among the nobles, by reason that the most wealthy engrossed the whole management of affairs to themselves, it was agreed, that the supreme power should be lodged in the senate, and that the senate should consist of six hundred members all chosen out of the nobility. This new regulation incensed the common people to such a degree, that with one consent they rose against the nobles, and reduced them to such straits, that they were obliged to implore the assistance first of *Timotheus* the *Athenian*, and afterwards of *Epaminondas* the *Theban*. But neither of these generals caring to interfere with their domestic quarrels, they were forced to recal *Clearchus*, a senator, whom they themselves had banished. But as his banishment had neither improved his morals, nor inspired him with better principles, he made the troubles, in which he found the city involved, subservient to his wicked design of subjecting it, and usurping the sovereign power. With this view he openly declared for the people, and having by their means humbled the nobles, he caused himself to be invested with the whole power, which had been divided among them. Being thus become absolute, he exercised all sorts of cruelty upon such as gave him any umbrage: most of the senators were either barbarously assassinated, or stripped of their estates,

ⁿ Idem ibid.
ibid.

^o ARISTOT. l. v. Politic. c. 5.

^p Idem

His cruel-ty. and banished their native country *. *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that he proposed to himself *Dionysius*, tyrant of *Syracuse*, for his model in the art of government †. The banished senators having stirred up the neighbouring cities against him, he compelled their wives and daughters to marry his slaves, and with the assistance of these having vanquished the troops they led against him, and taken many of them prisoners, he put them all to death after he had made them suffer the most exquisite torments, which his cruel temper and an eager desire of revenge could invent. *Theopompus* of *Scio* tells us, that he frequently obliged, without any provocation, such of the citizens as came to wait on him, and even those he met in the streets, to drink a cup of the poisonous juice of hemlock, and that during his reign, no citizen of any distinction dared venture out of his house till he had armed himself with rue, which is a powerful antidote, according to that writer, against the juice of hemlock, when taken before any other food ‡. *Clearchus*, after he had exercised a most cruel tyranny over his fellow-citizens for the space of twelve years, *Is murdered.* was at last put to death by *Chion* and *Leonides*, two young citizens and disciples of *Plato* §. *Nymphis* of *Heraclea*, as quoted by *Athenæus* ¶, tells us, that *Clearchus*, though he affected to be a god, and caused divine honours to be paid him, yet towards the end of his life was so apprehensive of conspiracies, that he not only kept at home, but gave audience shut up in a strong chest, answering those who applied to him, through holes made for that purpose. But as he was murdered by the conspirators, according to *Plutarch* || and *Diodorus Siculus* **, while he was administering justice in public, we can hardly give credit to *Nymphis*.

Satyrus.

THE conspirators delivered their country from the tyrant; but the tyranny still subsisted. For *Clearchus* having left two sons, *Timotheus* and *Dionysius*, their uncle *Satyrus* seized on the sovereign power, as their guardian and protector, and equalled his brother *Clearchus* in the tyranny of his government. For he not only put to death the conspirators, their children, and all those who were any ways related to them, but likewise such of the citizens as he imagined capable of following their example. However, he brought up his ne-

* JUSTIN. *ibid.* PLUT. de fortun. Alexand. † DIODOR. SICUL. l. xv. ‡ ATHEN. l. iii. c. 5. & ANTIQON. de Mirabil. Narration. p. 144. § DIODOR. SICUL. *ibid.* ¶ SUIDAS, Κλειάρχος POLYÆN Stratag. l. ii. † ATHEN. *ibid.* || PLUT. ad princ. indoct. ** DIODOR. SICUL. l. xvi.

Phews with great care, and resigned the power to *Timotheus* as soon as he was of age, having held it himself seven years *.

Timotheus governed with great equity and moderation ; *Timotheus* whence he had the surnames of *Euergetes* and *Soter*, that is, *us.* *the beneficent, the saviour* of his country. He ruled fifteen years, and was succeeded by his brother *Dionysius*, who, taking advantage of the retreat of the *Persians* after the battle fought on the banks of the *Granicus*, reduced some of the neighbouring provinces, and considerably increased the power of the *Heracleans* †. After the death of *Alexander* he married *Amastris*, the widow of *Craterus*, and daughter of *Oxiathres* the brother of *Darius*. Upon this marriage he assumed the title of king, and maintained it with great dignity, being a prince of a mild temper, and always ready to sacrifice his own ease and private interest to the welfare of his subjects. *Ælian* ‡ and *Athenæus* § tell us, that he grew immoderately corpulent, and fell into a kind of lethargy, from which his domestics could scarce recover him by running long needles, made for that purpose, into his flesh. He died in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and twenty-third of his reign, and is highly commended by all the antients on account of his justice, moderation, good-nature, affability, and other princely qualities. *Strabo* no doubt had this prince and his brother *Timotheus* in view, when he wrote, that *Heraclea* had been governed by tyrants, and also by kings. He left two sons by his wife *Amastris*, viz. *Clearchus* and *Oxatres*, whom *Diodorus Siculus* calls *Zathras*. Upon his death *Amastris* married *Lyfimachus*, one of *Alexander's* captains, who by that means got possession of *Heraclea*, which she governed as guardian to her children ; for they were both very young when their father died. *Lyfimachus* afterwards divorced *Amastris* to marry *Arfinoe* the daughter of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, king of *Egypt* ; but nevertheless kept possession of the city, and brought up the two young princes with great care. They both attended him in his expedition against the *Getæ*, after which he suffered them to return home, and resigned the government of *Heraclea* to *Clearchus* the eldest, allowing him to take upon him the title of king. With this title he governed *Heraclea*, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, seventeen years, and was at last put to death by *Lyfimachus*, with his brother *Oxatres*, for assassinating their mother *Amastris* ¶ ;

* JUSTIN l. xvi. MEMNON excerpt c 17. † DIODOR. SICUL. & MEMNON ibid. ‡ ÆLIAN V. H. l. ix. c 13.

§ ATHEN. l. xii. c. 26. ¶ DIODOR. SICUL. l. xvi. TROG. in prolog. l. xvi. MEMNON. excerpt. c. 19.

Heracli-
tus Cimæ-
us.

The Hera-
cleans re-
cover their
antient li-
berty.

for they both conspired against her, and caused her to be smothered, while she was going by sea from *Heraclea* to *Amastris*, a city which she had built, and called by her own name. Upon their death *Lyfimachus* restored the *Heracleans* to the full enjoyment of their antient liberties. But they did not long continue in that happy condition, *Arsinoe*, who had a great ascendant over her husband *Lyfimachus*, having prevailed upon him to deprive them of the liberty which he had not long before granted them, and appoint one *Heraclitus Cimæus* governor of the place, a man intirely at her devotion. After the famous battle of *Coroupedion*, in which *Lyfimachus* was killed by one *Malacon*, a native of *Heraclea*, the *Heracleans* conspired to shake off the yoke, under which they had groaned for the space of seventy-five years, determined either to recover their former liberty, or die in the attempt. With this resolution the chief citizens went in a body to wait on *Heraclitus*, intreating him to retire of his own accord, and suffer them to live according to their own laws. They offered him all possible security for his person and effects, and besides a large sum of money to defray the charges of his journey. At this proposal *Heraclitus* in a great rage commanded the officers, who attended him, to put immediately to death some of the leading men whom he named. But the officers, to his great surprize, instead of obeying his orders, seized him, and carried him to the public prison. For the *Heracleans* had beforehand gained them over to their party, by making them free of *Heraclea*, and promising to pay them the arrears which were due to them from *Heraclitus*. Having thus secured the tyrant, they demolished the citadel which *Lyfimachus* had built, raised one of their own citizens, by name *Phocrites*, to the chief magistracy, and dispatched an embassy to *Seleucus* king of *Syria*, to acquaint him with what they had done, and implore his protection. *Seleucus* had been greatly prejudiced against the *Heracleans* by one *Aphrodisius*, who being sent by him to visit the cities of *Asia*, had laid many things to their charge, and represented them as disaffected to his person. He was therefore so far from promising them his protection, that he threatened their ambassadors, and let drop some expressions, which gave just grounds to suspect that he had some design upon their city. Hereupon the *Heracleans* entered into an offensive and defensive league with *Mithridates* king of *Pontus*; the *Byzantines* and *Chalcedonians* recalled all their exiles, and put themselves in a pos-

• JUSTIN. l. xvii. c. 3. MEMNON. ibid. c. 8, & 10.

ture of defence. But the death of *Seleucus* soon delivered them from their apprehensions ^d. From this time the *Heracleans* enjoyed their liberties undisturbed for many years. When the *Romans* became formidable in *Asia*, they made an alliance with them, the articles of which were engraved on tables of brass, and lodged at *Rome* in the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, and at *Heraclea* in a temple of the same god. Notwithstanding this alliance, the *Heracleans* suffered greatly by the wars which they engaged in for the defence of their liberties, against the *Bithynians* and *Galatians*. However, they held out against their utmost efforts, and obliged them to withdraw their forces with disgrace. In the war which the *Romans* waged with *Mithridates the Great*, they resolved at first to observe a strict neutrality, and accordingly refused to admit that prince's fleet into their harbour. But, on the approach of his general *Archelaus*, they thought fit to change their measures, and side with him, after having murdered all the *Romans* who resided among them. Their treachery cost them dear; for *Cotta*, or rather *Triarius*, having after a two year's siege taken their city, pillaged and reduced it to ashes, as we have related in the history of *Pontus* ^e. *Cotta*, on his return to *Rome*, was severely reprimanded by the senate for suffering so great and wealthy a city to be destroyed. *We gave you orders*, said the senate, *to take Heraclea, but not to destroy it*. All the captives were sent home without ransom, and the inhabitants restored to the possession of their lands, and allowed the use of their harbour, and the freedom of commerce. *Britagoras*, one of the chief citizens, spared no pains to repeople it; but could not obtain for his fellow-citizens the restitution of their liberty and antient privileges. *Strabo* tells us, that many of the citizens being killed during the siege, and more after the place was taken, a numerous colony was sent from *Rome* to repeople it. Some of the new comers settled in the city, and some in the country; but the former were all to a man massacred by *Adioterix*, the son of *Demeneceus*, king of the *Galatians*, not without the privity, as was then suspected, of *Marc Antony* the triumvir, who had bestowed on the *Galatians* that quarter of the city which was inhabited by the *Romans* ^f. But his cruelty did not go long unpunished; for *Octavianus* having taken him prisoner after the famous battle of *Actium*, carried him in chains to *Rome* to grace his triumph, and afterwards caused both him and his son to be put to death. From this

Enter into
an alliance
with
Rome.

Heraclea
destroyed
by Tri-
arius.

Made af-
terwards
a Roman
colony.

^d MEMNON. *ibid* c 11, 12. ^e See before, p. 285. ^f STRABO. l. xii.

time *Heraclea* continued subject to the *Roman* emperors till the downfall of the empire, being with its territory made part of the province of *Pontus*. It did not lose its antient splendor even after the loss of its liberty, as appears from some antient inscriptions, and also medals, which have reached us, and were struck under the emperors^g. Near this city was the famous cave, through which *Hercules* is feigned to have descended to the infernal regions, and brought up from thence the fabulous *Cerberus*. This cave was still to be seen in *Xenophon's* time; but is now quite closed up, tho' once two furlongs deep^h. The antient history of *Heraclea* was wrote by *Pisander*, *Timagenes*, *Panyasis*, *Domitius*, *Callistus*, *Cynæthon*, *Nymphis*, and *Memnon*; for to these *Athenæus*, *Suidas*, *Stephanus*, and the scholiast of *Apollonius*, refer us for a more full account of what they briefly relate of the *Heracleans*. But the works of these authors have been long since lost, nothing now remaining of them but an extract of *Memnon* preserved by *Photius* in his *Bibliothèque*; and from him we have in great part copied what we have said here of *Heraclea*. This city is at present a very inconsiderable place, known to the *Greeks* by the name of *Pendrachi*, and to the *Turks* by that of *Eregri*. We cannot, with a modern traveller, take either of these names to be a corruption of *Heraclea Pontica*, or *Heraclea*ⁱ.

The inland
cities of
Bithynia.

THE inland cities of *Bithynia*, which it may be proper to take notice of, were, *Prusæ* at the foot of mount *Olympus*, built, according to *Strabo*^k, by *Prusias* king of *Bithynia*, who waged war with *Cræsus* and *Cyrus*, and not by *Hannibal*, as *Pliny*^l would make us believe. Nay, this city must have been founded long before the times of *Cræsus* and *Cyrus*, if the tradition be true, which the inhabitants have transmitted to us in several medals, viz. that *Ajax* stabbed himself here with his sword. 'Tis surprizing, that *Livy*, who has so well described the neighbourhood of mount *Olympus*, where the *Gauls* were defeated by *Manlius*, should not mention this place. *Prusa* was the place where the *Othoman* princes resided before they extended their conquests into *Europe*, and is still one of the most beautiful and populous cities of *Asia*. We must not, with some geographers, confound the city of *Prusa* with that of *Prusias*, of which we have spoke above. *Libyssa*, famous for the death of *Hannibal*, and the tomb of that great commander, which was still ex-

^g Vide *TOURNEFORT. voyage, &c. Vol. II.* ^h *XENOPH. Exped. Cyri Minor. l. vi. p. 220.* ⁱ *EUSTATH. ad DIONYS. v. 791.* ^k *TOURNEFORT. ibid.* ^l *STRAB. l. xii. p. 333.*
^l *PLIN. l. v. cap. ult.*

tant in *Pliny's* time ^m. Some writers place *Libyssa* on the coast, but *Strabo*, and with him *Stephanus*, and most of the antients, count it among the inland cities. *Cellarius* conjectures, that it stood three or four miles distance from the sea, and was on that account called by some a maritime, by others an inland city, or rather castle. *Nicæa*, or *Nice*, which stood on the lake *Ascanius*, now the lake of *Isnich*. This city was built, according to *Strabo*, who calls it the metropolis of *Bithynia* ⁿ, by *Antigonus* the son of *Philip* of *Macedon*, and from him called at first *Antigonia*. Afterwards it was repaired and embellished by *Lyfsmachus*, who gave it the name of his wife *Nicæa*, the daughter of *Antipater*. *Stephanus* tells us, that *Nicæa* was originally a colony of the *Botticæi*, a people of *Thrace*, and called in the earliest times *Anchore*. *Pliny* speaks of two cities in *Bithynia* bearing this name, the one he places twenty five miles east of *Prusa*, now *Bursa*; the other forty four north of *Nicomedia* on the lake *Ascanius*. But *Strabo*, *Ptolemy*, *Stephanus*, *Mela*, &c. speak of one city only in *Bithynia* bearing that name (S), which they place on the lake *Ascanius* lying to the north of mount *Olympus*,

^m PLIN. l. v. cap. ult. ⁿ STRAB. l. xii. p. 389.

(S) The reverend fathers *Catrou* and *Rouille* in their description of *Nice*, tell us (110) that the antient geographers place it on the lake *Ascanius*, which, say they, is now called the lake of *Isnich*; and, a few lines after, question, whether there ever was a lake of that name, thinking it very natural to suppose, that *Pliny*, the only author, say they, who mentions it, by the lake *Ascanius* meant the gulf of *Olbia*, now the gulf of *Nicomedia*. If the antient geographers place *Nice*, as they say, on the lake *Ascanius*, *Pliny* is not the only author who mentions such a lake; and if it be true, that the lake *Ascanius* is by the modern geographers called the lake of *Isnich*, how can we doubt whether there ever was a lake of that name? Besides, it is so far from being natural to suppose *Pliny* to have meant the gulf of *Olbia* by the lake *Ascanius*, that his words evidently destroy such a supposition; for in the very passage, which the above-mentioned writers quote, *Pliny* distinguishes the lake *Ascanius* from the gulf, on which he places the antient city of *Olbia* (111). Lastly, *Pliny* is not the only author who makes mention of the lake *Ascanius*. *Strabo* tells us in express terms (112), that *Nicæa*, the metropolis of *Bithynia*, stood on the lake *Ascanius*; and *Ptolemy* speaks of it as falling into the *Euxine* sea, between *Prusias* and the promontory *Posidium*.

(110) *Ad. Ann Urb.* 607.

(111) *Plin. l. v. cap. ultim.*

(112) *Strab. l. xiii. p. 389.*

and at a small distance from the river *Gallus*. *Nicæa*, according to *Strabo*, stood in a large and fruitful plain, was sixteen furlongs in compass, well peopled, and in the *Roman* times declared the metropolis of the second *Bithynia*, *Nicomedia* being the capital of the first. For *Pontus* and *Bithynia* were by *Augustus* made one province, but by his successors divided into two, called the *first* and *second Bithynia*. The first general council held here, by the appointment of *Constantine the Great*, against *Arius*, gave new lustre to this city; for it was ever after honoured with the title and privileges of a metropolis, as appears from the acts of the council of *Chalcedon*.

Rivers.

THE chief rivers of *Bithynia* were the *Pfyllis*, *Golpas*, *Sangarius*, or *Sagaris*, *Hypius*, *Rhebas*, and the *Lycus*, all discharging themselves into the *Euxine* sea between *Chalcedon* and *Heraclea*. *Livy* was certainly mistaken when he wrote that the *Sangarius*, the chief river of *Bithynia*, falls into the *Propontis*. It springs from mount *Dindymus*, in *Phrygia*, at a small distance from a town, which *Strabo* calls *Sangia*; waters *Phrygia* and *Bithynia*, and receiving in its course the *Thymbrus* and the *Gallus*, falls into the *Euxine* sea over-against the small island of *Thynias*. Some geographers place the river *Parthenius* in *Bithynia*; but these extend the bounds of this country a great way into *Paphlagonia*. As *Bithynia* lies between the forty-first and forty-third degrees of north latitude, and is watered by a great many rivers, it once abounded with all the necessaries of life. The antients compare some of the inland provinces to the fruitful and delicious vales of *Tempe* itself; but at present it lies in great part neglected and unmanured.

Inhabitants.

Bithynia was antiently inhabited by various nations, differing in their manners, customs, and language, namely the *Bebryces*, the *Mariandyni*, the *Caucones*, the *Dolliones*, the *Cimmerii*, &c. But to inquire into the origin of these different nations would be both a tedious and useless task. *Xenophon*^o and *Strabo*^p are of opinion, that the *Bithynians* and the *Mariandyni* were originally *Thracians*, who, crossing the *Bosphorus*, made themselves masters of this country, which from them was antiently called the *Asiatic Thrace*. Some modern writers derive them from *Ashkenaz*, one of *Gomer's* sons; but the only proof they alledge to support their opinion is, the small likeness they discover between *Ashkenaz* and *Aseanius*, the name of a lake in this country. *Stephanus* says, that the

^o XENOPH. l. vi. de expedit. Cyri.
p. 373.

^p STRABO, l. xii.

Mariandyni were so called from one *Mariandynus*, a native of *Æolis*, who, with some of his countrymen, settled in that part of *Bithynia*, which lies between the rivers *Hypius* and *Parthenius* ⁹. *Theopompus*, as quoted by *Strabo* ^r, will have this *Mariandynus* to have been a petty king of *Paphlagonia*, and to have subdued that part of *Bithynia*, then called *Bebrycia*, which bordered on his dominions. These different nations were antiently governed by kings of their own, *Bithynia* being, in the earliest times, divided into as many kingdoms as nations or tribes. For *Plutarch*, *Polyænus*, and *Stephanus*, mention *Mandron* and *Bysnus* as reigning over the *Bebryces*; and *Hyginus* speaks of one *Lycus* king of the *Mariandyni*. But all we know of these small kingdoms, and the princes, who ruled over them, is, that in process of time they were reduced by the more powerful kings of the *Bithynians*. But as to the beginning of this kingdom, we are quite in the dark. *Diodorus Siculus* pretends, that the *Bithynians* were governed by their own princes in the time of *Ninus* king of *Assyria*, who, according to him, subdued their country. *Pherecydes*, as quoted by the scholiast of *Apollo-nius*, mentions *Amycus* and *Phyneus* as reigning in *Bithynia* at the time of the *Argonautic* expedition; and *Appian* tells us, that nine and forty kings had reigned in *Bithynia* before the *Romans* were acquainted with *Asia*. If what these authors write be true, the kingdom of *Bithynia* must have been erected before the *Trojan* war; which we can hardly believe, since *Homer*, who is so exact in enumerating the nations in the neighbourhood of *Troas*, never once mentions the *Bithynians*. From his silence some have concluded, that *Bithynia* was uninhabited in the time of the *Trojan* war, and add, that the *Thracians*, who marched with *Rhesus* to the relief of *Troy*, after the death of their king and the taking of the city, settled in that part of *Asia*, which was afterwards known by the name of *Bithynia*. This name, say they, the newcomers gave to the provinces, in which they settled, from the *Bithyas*, a river in their own country. *Strabo* ^r speaks of one *Prusias* reigning in *Bithynia* in the time of *Cræsus*, the last king of *Lydia*, by whom he was conquered. From this time the *Bithynians* continued subject first to the *Lydians*, and afterwards to the *Persians*, till the reign of *Alexander the Great*; for we find them mentioned by *Herodotus* among the many nations that attended *Xerxes* in his expedition into *Greece*. While they were subject to the *Persians*, they were

⁹ STERN. ad Dionys. v. 788.
10, ibid.

^r STRABO, ibid.

^r STRABO

*Kings of
Bithynia,
Dædalsus,
Boteras,
and Bas.*

still governed by their own princes; for *Memnon and Strabo* tell us, that *Dædalsus* or *Dydalsus*, *Boteras*, and *Bas* ruled in *Bithynia* with sovereign power in the time of the *Persian* monarchy. Some writers place in the reign of *Dædalsus* the invasion of the *Byzantines*, *Chalcedonians*, and *Thracians*, who, entering *Bithynia*, committed there, as *Diodorus Siculus* informs us^c, most dreadful ravages; and, having taken several towns, made a great many captives, whom they inhumanly murdered, when they found themselves obliged to leave the country. *Boteras* was, according to *Memnon*, the son of *Dædalsus*, and died in the seventy sixth year of his age. He was succeeded by his son *Bas*, who, having overcome *Calantus*, one of *Alexander the Great's* generals, peaceably enjoyed the kingdom of *Bithynia* for the space of fifty years, and died in the seventy first of his age^d.

Zipætes.
Year of
the Flood,
2718.
Before
Christ,
281.

Bas was succeeded by *Zipætes*, who waged war first with the *Heracleans*, and afterwards with the *Chalcedonians*. Over the former he gained no considerable advantage, but reduced the latter to great straits, besieged their metropolis, and, having drawn them to a battle, killed eight thousand of them on the spot^e. He was prevented from pursuing the victory, which would have soon put him in possession of *Chalcedon*, by *Patrocles*, one of *Antiochus Soter's* generals; who, entering *Bithynia*, put all to fire and sword. *Zipætes* marched against him, and, having concealed his men in an ambush, fell upon him unexpectedly, and cut him off with his whole army, as we have related in the history of *Syria*^f. *Zipætes* was so overjoyed at this victory, that he died soon after in the seventy sixth year of his age, and forty eighth of his reign^g. He left four sons, of which the eldest, called *Nicomedes*, took possession of the throne, and caused, out of jealousy, two of his brothers to be put to death. But the youngest, called by *Memnon* *Zipætes*, by *Livy*^h *Zibæas*, having saved himself by a timely flight, seized on the coast of *Bithynia*, which was then known by the names of *Thracia*, *Thyniacia*, and *Thracia Asiatica*, and there maintained a long war with his brother; who, being informed that *Antiochus Soter*, king of *Syria*, was making great preparations to attack him at the same time, because he had declared for *Antigonus Gonatus*, called in the *Gauls* to his assistance; and on this occasion it was that this people first passed over into *Asia*. The terms agreed on between them and *Nicomedes*

Nicomedes.

^c DIODOR. SICUL. l. xii.

^d MEMNON excerpt. c. 8, & 10.

^e Idem, ibid. c. 11.

^f Vide Vol. viii. p. 459.

^g MEM-

NON ibid. c. 21.

^h LIV. l. xxxviii.

were, 1. That they should ever maintain a strict friendship with *Nicomedes* and his successors in the kingdom of *Bithynia*: 2. That they should not, without his privity and consent, lend assistance to any other prince or state: 3. That they should at the same time enter into an alliance with the *Tiansians*, *Heracleans*, *Chalcedonians*, and *Cierians*; for these states had assisted *Nicomedes* against his brother *Zipætes*^a. Upon these terms the *Gauls* passed over into *Asia* in the third year of the hundred and twenty fifth olympiad, as we read in *Pausanias*^b, *Nicomedes* having with their assistance repulsed *Antiochus*, overcome his brother, and acquired the possession of all his father's dominions, bestowed upon them that part of *Asia Minor* which was called from them *Gallo-Græcia*, and *Galatia*. As for *Zipætes*, he died in banishment, his army being routed by the *Gauls*, and the cities, which he possessed on the coast, obliged to submit to the conqueror. *Livy*^c and *Justin*^d tell us, that the *Gauls*, having laid waste the dominions of *Zipætes*, kept the spoils for themselves, but divided the country with *Nicomedes*, calling their portion *Gallo-Græcia*; and herein they agree with *Demetrius Byzantius*, who informs us, that *Gallo-Græcia* was not given by *Nicomedes* to the *Gauls*, but held by them against his will after they had driven out his brother *Zipætes*^e. *Demetrius Byzantius* wrote thirteen books on the migration of the *Gauls* out of *Europe* into *Asia*; but none of them have reached our times. *Nicomedes* having no enemies to contend with after the defeat of his brother, and the advantages gained over the king of *Syria*, applied himself to the enlarging and embellishing of the city of *Astacus*, which he called after his own name *Nicomedia*. This is what we read in *Pausanias*^f, *Trebellius Pollio*^g, *Ammianus Marcellinus*^h, and *Eusebius*ⁱ. But *Memnon* says, that he built *Nicomedia* over-against the city of *Astacus*; so that *Nicomedia* and *Astacus* were according to this writer^k, two distinct cities. *Nicomedes* had two wives, viz. *Ditizele* and *Etazeta*, the former brought him two sons, *Zela* and *Prusias*, and one daughter by name *Lysandra*; by the latter he had one son named *Tibites*, to whom, at the instigation of his mother *Etazeta*, he left the kingdom. But *Tibites*. *Zela*, who at the time of his fathers's death was in *Armenia*, *Zela*.

^a MEMNON *ibid.* c. 21. LIV. l. xxxviii. STRABO, l. xii. p. 566.

^b PAUSAN. in Phoc. p. 340.

^c LIV. l. xxxviii.

^d JUSTIN. l. xxv. c. 2.

^e LAERT. in vita Demet. Phal.

^f PAUSAN. in Eliac. l. ii. p. 159.

^g TREBELL. POLL. in Gallienis.

^h AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. l. xxiii.

ⁱ EU-

SEB. in Chron.

^k MEMNON. *ibid.* c. 21.

whither

whither he had been banished by the intrigues of his step-mother, having hired an army of *Galatians*, returned into *Bithynia*, drove out *Tibites*, and peaceably enjoyed the crown till his death. He was taken in a snare which he had laid for the *Galatians*; for suspecting their fidelity, he invited their leading men to a banquet with a design to cut them all off; but they, upon private intelligence of what was preparing against them, were before-hand with the treacherous prince, murdering him in the beginning of the banquet¹.

Prusias.

HE was succeeded by his son *Prusias*, surnamed *Cholos*, or *the lame*, and also *Cunegos*, or *the hunter*. This prince in the very beginning of his reign entered into an alliance with the *Rhodians* against the *Byzantines*, whom he reduced to great straits, as we have related at length in the history of *Rhodes*^m. Not long after he engaged in a war with the *Galatians*, whom *Attalus* I. king of *Pergamus* had invited over into *Asia*, defeated them in a pitched battle, took several of their strong holds, and put all the *Galatians* he could get into his power to the sword without distinction of sex or age. When the war broke out between *Antiochus the Great* and the *Romans*, he was solicited by the former to join him against those powerful republicans; but *Scipio* by a letter, and *Livius*, admiral of the *Roman* fleet, by the promises he made him in the name of the republic, fixed him in the interest of *Rome*, as the reader will find in the history of *Syria*ⁿ. But notwithstanding his engagements with the *Romans*, he invaded the territories of *Eumenes* their constant friend and ally, being induced thereto by *Hannibal*, who had taken refuge in his dominions. The advantages he gained over *Eumenes* in this war were chiefly owing to *Hannibal*, who not only prevailed upon *Ortyagon*, one of the kings of the *Galatians*, and *Philip* king of *Macedon*, to send him powerful supplies, but took upon him the command of his forces, and in several encounters put the king of *Pergamus* to flight by some stratagem or other^o. This awakened the jealousy of the *Romans*, who thereupon sent *T. Flaminius*, *Scipio Africanus*, and *Scipio Nasica* into *Asia* to adjust the differences between the two kings, and to persuade *Prusias* to deliver *Hannibal* up to them^p. On their arrival at the court of *Bithynia*, *Hannibal* retired to *Libyssa*, a strong castle, which he had been allowed by *Prusias* to repair in such manner as best suited the state of his affairs.

¹ MEMNON. *ibid.* ATHEN. l. ii. c. 18 PLIN. l. viii. c. 4. Vide Vol. vii. p. 337. ⁿ Vide Vol. viii. p. 528. ^o JUSTIN. l. xxxii. c. 4. ÆMIL. PROBUS in Hannib. ^p POLYB. legat. 47. LIV. l. xxxvi.

He had dug several private ways under ground, which led from his lodgings to so many different issues, through which he could make his escape either by sea or land upon the first alarm; for he had reason to suspect that the king's inclinations might change with his interest. *Flaminius* after having proposed a plan of accommodation between *Prusias* and *Eumenes*, acquainted the former, that *Rome* would never look upon him as a sincere friend unless he delivered up *Hannibal*, that irreconcilable enemy to their republic, who made no other use of his liberty and talents, but to draw kings and nations into the same dangerous enterprizes which had proved his ruin. *Prusias* refused at first to comply with the request of the ambassadors, pleading in excuse the laws of hospitality, and the age of *Hannibal*, which was too great for him to give any farther umbrage to the *Roman* senate. He also insisted on the reputation of that great general, whom he could not deliver up without drawing upon himself the indignation of all ages. But *Flaminius* threatening to treat him as an enemy if he persisted in favouring and protecting one who had sworn an eternal hatred to *Rome*, the king thought it adviseable to sacrifice his guest to the revenge of the republic, and his own interest. But *Hannibal*, without hesitating a moment between death and captivity, disappointed the designs of his enemies in a manner worthy of his great courage¹, as we have related in the history of *Pergamus*.

Prusias delivers up Hannibal to the Romans.

Prusias having by thus abandoning his guest and ally to the revengeful temper of the *Romans*, gained their protection, in order to engage them still more in his favour, assisted them both with men and money in their war with *Perses*, king of *Macedon*; and upon the reduction of that country was not content, like the other princes of the east, with sending an embassy to *Rome*, to congratulate the senate on the success of their arms; but went thither in person, and dishonoured the royal dignity with his mean and servile flatteries. The senate no sooner heard of his arrival in *Italy*, but they sent *Lucius Cornelius Scipio* the son of *Scipio Asiaticus*, as far as *Capua* to meet him, with orders to defray his charges and conduct him to the capitol. Before he entered the city, he caused his head to be shaved, and took the pileus, or cap which slaves wore after they had obtained their freedom, and in that odd dress advanced towards the forum, stopped at the tribunal, where the prætors used to administer justice, and there declared with a loud voice, that he had crossed the seas,

Goes to Rome.

¹ ÆMIL. PROB. in Hannib. Liv. l. xxxix. c. 4. PLUT. in Flam. APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 97.

His mean
behaviour
at Rome.

on purpose to return thanks to the *Roman* gods, and congratulate the republic on her late victories. His arrival being notified to the senate, they sent deputies to receive and introduce him. These *Prusias* received with such mean flatteries and submissions as were well suited to the attire he had assumed; *I have taken the habit and appearance of one of your freed-men*, said he, *and am indeed no better than a Roman slave set at liberty by your favour*. The deputies were for introducing him to the senate immediately, but he desired that his audience might be put off for two days, being desirous to see first the city and temples, and visit his friends. The third day he was introduced, and on that occasion betrayed a baseness of mind unworthy of the rank and title he bore. For when he entered the senate, he kissed the threshold, saluted the senators with the titles of *visible deities, saviours, deliverers*, and pronounced an harangue suitable to that prelude; in the close of which he related what he had done for the republic in the course of the war, and desired the protection of the senate both for himself and his son. After this he presented to the conscript fathers a petition, which contained two articles; whereof the first was, that he might be allowed to offer up sacrifices in the capitol and at *Prænestæ*, by way of thanksgiving to *Jupiter* and *Fortune*, for the success which had attended the arms of the republic in the late war; the second article was, that the senate would grant him a small territory, which had formerly belonged to *Antiochus the Great*, but was then held by the *Galatians*, who had seized it without the consent of the republic. The senate returned *Prusias* the following answer: We give the king of *Bithynia* leave to offer sacrifices at *Rome* and *Prænestæ*, and order that the expences of the victims and all other things for the sacrifices be defrayed by the public, in the same manner as if our own magistrates were to offer up sacrifices. As to the territory which the king desires, we shall send commissioners to judge of the affair on the spot after both parties shall have been heard. After this the senate presented him with some silver vessels, and made over to him two hundred and twenty five small ships, which had been taken from *Gentius* king of *Illyricum*. Then *Prusias* left *Rome*, embarked at *Brundisium*, and set sail with a squadron of twenty gallies to take possession of the fleet, which the republic had given him. Some years after that war broke out between him and *Eumenes II.* which we have described in the history of *Pergamus*, where we have also related in what manner, and on what provocation, he

was first driven from the throne, and afterwards assassinated by his own son *Nicomedes* ^c. *Polybius* tells us, that he was a ^{His death} monster rather than a man; that he had not one single virtue ^{and cha-} to make amends for the many vices which rendered him insupportable to his subjects, and contemptible to foreigners. He was a stranger to all principles of honour or honesty, of a most cruel and savage temper, timorous, cowardly, and so addicted to pleasures of all sorts, that he seemed another *Sardanapalus*. His most important business was to dress himself, says our historian, to conceal the deformity of his ill-shaped and disfigured body. He was not ashamed to appear publicly in the attire of a woman, and shew his subjects a figure no less hideous than ridiculous, in a dress no-ways suited to it ^d. As he was himself unacquainted with the liberal arts, he despised all kinds of knowledge, discountenanced the study of philosophy, and polite literature, and carefully avoided the conversation of such persons as could form his mind, or improve his taste ^e. *Livy*, in his account of the audience which the senate gave him, takes no notice of his submissions to the senators; perhaps he thought they reflected no less dishonour on the senate, who suffered them, than on the king who acted so mean a part. But *Polybius*, after having given us, as it were, a specimen of the speech the slavish king made on that occasion, breaks it off abruptly, saying, that he was ashamed to repeat the expressions he made use of before that venerable assembly ^f. He had two wives, viz. *Apame*, the daughter of *Dieglis*, one of the kings of *Thrace*, who brought him two sons, *Nicomedes* and *Prusias*: The latter was surnamed *Monodous*, or *the single-toothed*, because, instead of distinct teeth, he had one continued semicircular bone in each jaw. *Prusias* married to his second wife the daughter of *Philip* king of *Macedon*, and had by her also children; for *Justin* tells us, that he intended to prefer his issue by the daughter of *Philip* to *Nicomedes* his eldest son by his first wife; and that *Nicomedes*, provoked at this unjust partiality, took up arms against his father, and drove him from the throne; but herein he disagrees with other writers, whom we have quoted elsewhere in our account of this revolution ^g.

Nicomedes II. succeeded his father, and proved a no less *Nicomede*. cruel tyrant; for he had scarce ascended the throne, when he des II.

^c See before, p. 351. *POLYB.* in excerpt *Valesii*. ^d *ATHEN.* l. iii. c. 7. *SUIDAS* voce *Prusias*. ^e *POLYB.* legat.

^f See before, p. 351.

^g VOL. IX.

I. 11

sacrificed

sacrificed all his brothers to his jealousy and ambition ¹. He assumed the name of *Epiphanes*, or, *the illustrious*, though he performed nothing worthy of this title, or even of notice, during the whole time of his long reign. According to the accounts given us, by *Strabo*, *Justin*, and *Memnon*, he began to reign in the 607th year of *Rome*, and was still on the throne in the 649th. All we know of him, besides what we have related in the history of *Pergamus*, is, that he built a city, calling it by his mother's name, *Apame*, or *Apamea*. *Strabo* tells us ², that he was killed, but by whom, or in what manner, we find no-where recorded. Some writers conjecture, that as he had murdered his father, so he was treated in the same manner by his son *Nicomedes*, who on that account was by antiphrasis surnamed *Philopator*.

Nicomedes III.

HE was succeeded by his son *Nicomedes* III. who, entering into an alliance with *Mithridates the Great*, invaded *Paphlagonia*, and having seized on that country, attempted to make himself master likewise of *Cappadocia*, at that time subject to *Mithridates*, who thereupon marching into *Bithynia* at the head of a mighty army, drove *Nicomedes* from the throne, and raised his brother *Socrates* to it in his room. The dethroned prince had recourse to the *Romans*, who drove out the usurper, and restored him to his hereditary dominions. For this favour they pressed him, and at length prevailed upon him, contrary to his own inclination and the opinion of his friends, to make inroads into the territories of *Mithridates*, with whom *Rome* wanted to pick a quarrel. The king of *Pontus* bore for some time the devastations committed by *Nicomedes* with great patience, that he might not seem to be the aggressor; but at last he made him pay dear for them; for having intirely routed his army on the banks of the *Amnius*, he drove him a second time from the throne, and obliged him to seek for shelter in *Paphlagonia*, where he led a private life till the time of *Sylla*, who replaced him on the throne ³.

Nicomedes IV.

He died not long after, and was succeeded by his son *Nicomedes* IV. who performed nothing which the many writers, who flourished in his time, have thought worth transmitting to posterity. His too great familiarity with *Julius Cæsar*, while that young *Roman* was making his first campaign in *Asia* under the prætor *Thermus*, gave occasion to several lampoons and severe satires, some of which were sung by the soldiery at

¹ APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 147.
² APPIAN. in Mithridatic.

² STRAB. l. xii.

³ AP-

Cæsar's triumph over the *Gauls*, according to the liberty allowed them on such occasions * (T). As he died without issue male, he left his kingdom by his last will to the *Romans*, who reduced it to the form of a province †. *Sallust*, disagreeing with the antients, tells us, that *Nicomedes* left a son, by name *Musa*, or *Myſa*, and introduces *Mithridates* as complaining of the *Romans* to *Arsaces* king of *Parthia*, for seizing on the kingdom of *Bithynia*, and excluding the son of a prince, who had on all occasions shewn himself a steady friend to their republic ^b. But this *Musa* was the daughter, and not the son, of *Nicomedes*, as we are told in express terms by *Suetonius*, *Velleius Paterculus*, and *Appian* ^c. All we know of her is, that upon the death of her father she claimed the kingdom of *Bithynia* for her son as the next male heir to the crown, but without success, no motives of justice being of such weight with the ambitious *Romans*, as to make them part with a kingdom. *Cæsar* espoused her cause, and supported her claim in the senate with his usual eloquence. But as he was enumerating the many obligations he owed her father, *Cicero* interrupting him, *You need not*, said he, *O Cæsar; enlarge on this topic; we all know how kind Nicomedes was to you, and what favours you granted to him* ^d. The name of *Musa's* son, so far as we can conjecture from *Hircius* and *Appian*, was *Nicomedes*; but as to the name and condition of his father, history has left us quite in the dark. After the defeat of *Pharnaces*, *Cæsar* appointed *Nicomedes* high-priest of *Comana* in *Pontus*, deposing *Archelaus*, whom *Pompey* had raised to that dignity, to make room for the grandson of his old friend *Nicomedes IV.* in whom ended the succession of the *Bithynian* kings, that country continuing subject to *Rome* from this time to the division of the empire.

* Vide SÆTON. in Cæsar. DION. l. xliii. CATULL. &c.

† LIV. l. xciii. VELLEI. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 4. & 39. APPIAN. l. i. bell. civil. p. 420. & Mithridatic. p. 175. 218.

^b SALLUST. histor. l. iv. ^c VELLEI. PATERCUL. SÆTON. APPIAN. ibid. ^d SÆTON. ibid.

(T) The verses were,

*Cæsar Gallias subegit, Nicomedes Cæsarem.
Ecce Cæsar nunc triumphat, qui subegit Gallias;
Nicomedes non triumphat, qui subegit Cæsarem.*

Before we dismiss this subject, we must acquaint the reader, that some writers mention only three kings of *Bithynia* bearing the name of *Nicomedes*, and will have that *Nicomedes* to have died without issue, and bequeathed his kingdom to the *Romans*, who, at their instigation, made war upon *Mithridates*. But we have followed *Appian*, who seems to have wrote on this subject with the greatest exactness.

C H A P. X.

Of the kingdoms of Colchis, Iberia, Albania, Bosporus, Media, Bactria, Edeffa, Emefa, Adiabene, Characene, Elymais, Commagene, and Chalcidene.

COLCHIS, now *Mingrelia*, was bounded on the Colchis. east by *Iberia*, on the west by the *Euxine* sea, on the south by *Armenia* and part of *Pontus*, and on the north by mount *Caucasus*, parting it from *Sarmatia Asiatica*. Cities of note in this country were, *Pityus*, called by *Strabo* *Cities. the great City* ^e, and by *Pliny* ^f, *a place of great wealth*. It stood on the frontiers of the *Bosporani*, and was on that account in the *Roman* times well fortified and garisoned, as we read in *Zosimus* and *Procopius*, who tell us, that it served as a barrier to keep out the *Sarmatians* and other barbarous nations ^g. *Dioscurias*, or *Dioscorias*, on the *Euxine* sea, built either by *Castor* and *Pollux*, two of the *Argonauts*, as *Mela* will have it ^h, or by *Amphitus* and *Cercius* their charioteers, as we read in *Ammianus Marcellinus* ⁱ, and *Isidorus* ^k. It was named *Dioscurias* from *Castor* and *Pollux*, whom the *Greeks* called *Dioscuroi*. This name was, according to *Arrian* ^l and *Ptolemy* ^m, in process of time changed into that of *Sebastopolis*; but *Pliny* ⁿ will have *Dioscurias* and *Sebastopolis* to be two different cities. Be that as it will, *Dioscurias* was antiently a place of great trade, and resorted to by merchants

^e STRAB. l. xii. p. 378. ^f PLIN. l. vi. c. 5. ^g PROCOP. l. iv. bell. Goth. c. 4. & ZOSIM. l. i. c. 32. ^h MELA, l. i. c. 19. ⁱ AMMIAN. MARCEL. l. xxii. c. 15. ^k ISIDOR. Orig. l. xv. c. 1. ^l ARRIAN. in Pont. periplo. ^m PTOL. in Colch. l. v. c. 10. ⁿ PLIN. l. vi. c. 4.

from most parts of the world ; for *Pliny* ^o tells us, that three hundred different languages were spoke there ; and that the *Romans*, who traded to *Colchis*, were obliged to maintain constantly in *Dioscurias* a hundred and thirty interpreters. This city is at present known by the name of *Savatopoli*. *Aea*, on the *Phasis*, and about fifteen miles from the *Euxine* sea, called by *Pliny* ^p and *Apollonius* ^q a famous city. Some writers take this to be the same with the city of *Æopolis* mentioned by *Ptolemy*. *Phasis*, so called from the river on which it stood. Here the *Argonauts* landed; which gave rise to the *Greek* proverb, *to sail to Phasis*, expressing a long and dangerous navigation ; for such was that of the *Argonauts* esteemed in those early times. *Cytæ*, at the mouth of the river *Cyaneas*, the birth-place of the famous *Medea*, called from thence by the poets *Cytæis* ^r. The cities of *Saracæ*, *Zadris*, *Surium*, *Madia* and *Zalissa*, are mentioned by *Pliny*, *Strabo*, and *Ptolemy*, but contained nothing worthy of notice. *Colchis* was watered by a great many rivers, viz. the *Corax*, the *Hippus*, the *Cyaneus*, the *Charistus*, the *Phasis*, the *Absarus*, the *Cissa*, and the *Ophis*, all emptying themselves into the *Euxine* sea. The *Phasis* does not spring from the mountains of *Armenia*, near the sources of the *Euphrates*, the *Araxes*, and the *Tigris*, as *Strabo*, *Ptolemy*, *Pliny*, *Dionysius*, and after them *Hadrian*, *Reland*, *Calmet*, and *Sanson*, have wrongly informed us ; but rises on mount *Caucasus*, and flows, not from south to north, but from north to south, as appears from the map of *Colchis* or *Mingrelia* in *Thevenot's* collection, and the account which *Sir John Chardin* gives us of that country. This river forms in its course a small island, called also *Phasis*, whence the pheasants, if *Isidorus* is to be credited ^s, were first brought into *Europe*, and thence called by the *Greeks* *phasianoï*. The other rivers of *Colchis* are scarce worthy notice.

Rivers.

Inhabitants.

THE *Colchians* were, according to *Herodotus* ^t, originally *Egyptians*, *Sesostris* having left part of the army with which he invaded *Scythia*, in *Colchis*, to people that country, and guard the passes. The *Colchians*, says our historian, are undoubtedly of *Egyptian* descent, as is visible from the personal similitude they bear to the *Egyptians*, being, like them, swarthy, and frizzle-haired ; but more especially from the conformity of their customs, for they use circumcision, as the

^o Idem ibid.
& 1096.
693, &c.

^p Idem ibid.

^q APOLLON. l. xi. ver. 424.

^r PROPERT. l. i. eleg. 1. VAL. FLAC. l. vi. ver.

^s ISIDOR. Origin. l. iii.

^t HERODOT. l. ii.

Egyptians

Egyptians do, and many other ceremonies practised by the inhabitants of *Egypt*. There is likewise, says the same historian, such an affinity between the language of *Colchis* and that which is commonly spoke in *Egypt*, as leaves us no room to doubt of their coming originally from that country. *Apollonius* ^u, *Diodorus Siculus* ^w, *Strabo* ^x, *Eustathius* ^y, and *Marcellinus* ^z agree with *Herodotus*. *Bochart* ^a takes the *Colchians* and the *Castubim* of *Moses*, from whom the *Philistines* were descended, to be one and the same people, forgetting therein, that the *Philistines* did not use circumcision, which *Herodotus* assures us the *Colchians* did. In process of time many other nations settled in *Colchis*, viz. the *Heniochi*, the *Ampreutæ*, the *Lazi*, the *Ligures*, the *Marfi*, the *Istri*, the *Moschi*, and the *Manralæ*. From the latter people some derive the present name of *Mingrelia*. The whole kingdom of *Colchis* was, in antient times, very pleasant and fruitful, abounded with all necessaries of life, and was enriched with many mines of gold; which gave occasion to the fable of the golden fleece, and the *Argonautic* expedition so much spoke of by the antients.

THE *Colchians* were governed by their own kings in the Govern-
earliest ages; for *Pliny* tells us, that *Sesostris* king of *Egypt* ment and
was overcome and put to flight by the king of *Colchis* ^b; kings.
which, if true, shews, that the *Colchians* not only had kings
in those times, but were a very powerful people. We have
observed above, that *Herodotus* derives the *Colchians* from
the *Egyptians*; but that writer must have meant the *Colchians*
of his own time, and not the first inhabitants, since *Colchis*,
even according to his own account, was peopled before the
arrival of the *Egyptians* in those parts. It is not therefore
improbable, that the descendants of *Hul*, who are said to
have settled in *Armenia*, passed from thence into the neigh-
bouring country, calling it *Colchis*, from their progenitor
Hul or *Cholc*. But of their kings we know very little. The
names of those we find mentioned in history, are *Helius*,
Æetes, *Æetes II.* *Salauces*, *Eusubopes*, *Olthaces*, and *Aristarchus*. *Helius* is mentioned by *Diodorus Siculus*, *Pausani-* *Helius.*
as, *Strabo*, and *Cicero*, as reigning before the *Argonautic*
expedition; but what they relate of him is altogether fabulous,
and therefore not worthy of notice in history. He was suc-
ceeded by his son *Æetes*, whom he had, according to some, *Æetes.*

^u APOLLON. l. iv. ^w DIODOR. SICUL. l. i. ^x STRABO, l. i. & xvi. ^y EUSTATH. in Dionys. ^z MARCELLIN l. iii. ^a BOCHART. Phaleg. l. iv. c. 31. ^b PLIN. l. xxxiii. c. 3. ^c Vide BOCHART. Phaleg. l. ii c. 9.

by *Ephyre*, according to others, by *Antiope* or *Persa*. *Æetes* received *Phryxus* flying with his sister *Helle* from their step-mother *Ino* in a ship, on whose head was a golden, or rather a gilt, ram. In his reign happened the famous expedition of the *Argonauts*, of which we have spoke elsewhere ^d. The *Argonauts* were a company of *Greek* adventurers, who hearing of the gold mines of *Colchis* and the immense riches of king *Æetes*, resolved to sail thither, in hopes of making their fortunes by one voyage. Accordingly they caused a ship to be built at *Pegasa* by one *Argus*, from whom they called it *Argos*; and hence they were styled *Argonauts*. On this ship they embarked, and having one *Typhis* for their pilot, they steered their course through the *Ægean* sea, the *Hellspont*, the *Propontis*, the *Thracian Bosphorus*, and, after many adventures entering the *Euxine* sea, landed at *Phasis*, where king *Æetes*, who then resided there, received them with great kindness. As that prince had great store of gold in his palace, the *Argonauts*, those heroes so much cried up by the antients, conspired among themselves, either to seize on his treasures by force, or to steal them privately, and, saving themselves on board their ship, return with the booty into *Greece*; but finding them to be too well guarded to be either taken by force, or privately conveyed away, they corrupted the guards by means of *Medea* the king's daughter, who was in love with *Jason*, got into the palace undiscovered, and carrying off the treasures, returned into *Greece* with *Medea*, whom *Jason* had promised to marry. This is according to *Natalis Comes* ^e, the genuine account of the *Argonautic* expedition, which the poets, as it was the most remarkable voyage the *Greeks* undertook in those early days, have embellished and disguised with innumerable fictions, but not without some ground as to the golden fleece; for *Strabo* tells us ^f, that as the rivers issuing from the mountains of *Colchis* carried with them great quantity of gold ore, it was a custom among the inhabitants to lay fleeces in the water, and by that means stop the ore. *Pasiphae* and the famous *Circe* are said by some to be the daughters of *Helius*, by others of *Æetes*. Of them many things are related by the poets, which it is beneath the dignity of history to take notice of. The reader will find the fables of the poets relating to *Circe*, *Medea*, and *Pasiphae* very ingeniously explained by *Natalis Comes* in his mythology ^g. Upon the death of *Æetes*, *Colchis*, as *Strabo* informs us ^h, was divided into several petty king-

^d See. Vol. v. p. 508, & seq. ^e NATAL. COM. l. vi. c. 7.
^f STRAB. l. xi. ^g NATAL. COM. ibid. ^h STRABO, ibid.
doms;

doms; but on what occasion we know not; for we find no further mention of the affairs of *Colchis*, or the princes who reigned there, till the time of *Xenophon*, who tells us, that the son of *Æetes*, the second of that name, reigned in *Colchis*, while he was making war in *Asia*¹. *Salauces* and *Eusubopes* are mentioned by *Pliny*², and said to have discovered rich mines of gold in the country of the *Savani*; but that writer leaves us quite in the dark as to the time in which they reigned. *Colchis* was afterwards subdued by *Mithridates the Great*; but revolted from him while his forces were employed against the *Romans*. The king of *Pontus* had no sooner concluded a peace with *Sylla*, than he marched against the *Colchians*, who offered to submit, upon condition that he would appoint his son to reign over them, with the title of king of *Colchis*. This proposal provoked *Mithridates* to such a degree, that he caused the son, whom they had demanded, to be arrested and loaded with chains of gold, sacrificing him soon after to his jealousy and ambition. Hereupon the *Colchians* obstinately refused to submit upon any terms; which obliged *Mithridates* to draw together all his troops in order to reduce them by force: but as he passed through the country of the *Achæans*, that people attacked him with so much vigour, and defended the passes with such resolution, that he was forced to return into *Pontus*, after having lost great part of his army, what by the enemy's ambuscades, what by the excessive cold of the country³. These *Achæans* were originally *Greeks*, and are said to have settled on the eastern coast of the *Euxine* sea, whither they had been driven by a storm, as they were returning from the siege of *Troy*. *Colchis*, while subject to *Mithridates*, was governed by prefects sent thither by him. One of these was *Moaphernes*, great uncle to *Strabo* the geographer, as that writer informs us⁴. *Memnon* tells us, that *Mithridates* complied with the request of the *Colchians*, and appointed his son *Mithridates* to reign over them; but soon after caused him to be put to death. Be that as it will, it is certain, that the *Colchians* sided with *Mithridates* against *Pompey*, and were, during that war, governed by a king of their own, viz. by *Olthaces*, who was overcome, *Olthaces* taken prisoner, and led in triumph by *Pompey*⁵. *Olthaces* was succeeded by one *Aristarchus*; but all we know of him *Aristarchus* is, that *Pompey* conferred upon him the kingdom of *Colchis* chus.

¹ XENOPH. *Anab.* l. v.
² PLIN. in *Mithridat.*
³ FLOR. l. iii. c. 5.

⁴ PLIN. l. xxxiii. c. 3.
⁵ STRABO, l. xi.

¹ AP-
² APPIAN. *ibid.*

for his eminent services during the *Mithridatic* war^o. *Pharnaces* II. king of *Pontus* seized on the kingdom of *Colchis*, and recovered great part of *Pontus*, while *Cæsar* was diverting himself with *Cleopatra* in *Egypt*; but was soon obliged to abandon his conquests, and retire into the country of the *Bosporani*, where he was killed by *Asander*, as we have related in the history of *Pontus*. From this time we find no mention made of the *Colchians* till the reign of the emperor *Trajan*, to whom they submitted of their own accord^p. Perhaps they were governed by their own kings; for *Strabo* makes the river *Phasis* the northern boundary of the *Roman* empire. Under the emperors *Colchis* was subject to the prætors who governed *Bitthynia* and *Pontus*; but never was made part of any province.

I B E R I A.

Iberia. *IBERIA*, now *Georgia*, was bounded on the west by *Colchis* and part of *Pontus*; on the north by mount *Caucasus*; on the east by *Albania*; and on the south by *Armenia*. It contained the following cities, *Nubium*, *Varica*, *Sura*, *Artanissa*, *Mestleta*, *Zalissa*, *Armattica*, and *Phryxum*, called afterwards *Idiessa*. These cities are mentioned by *Strabo*^q, *Pliny*^r, and *Ptolemy*. The only rivers of note in *Iberia* are the *Cyrus*, of which we shall have occasion to speak in the description of *Albania*, and the *Aragus*, which springs from the mountains separating *Iberia* from *Colchis*, and falls into the *Cyrus*. *Pliny* mentions another river, which he calls *Iberus*, and from which some writers derive the name of *Iberia*. Of mount *Caucasus*, which separates *Iberia* from *Sarmatia Asiatica*, we have spoke elsewhere^s; and in the history of *Pontus* and *Armenia* described the *Paryadrian* and *Moschian* mountains. This country was anciently inhabited by the following nations or tribes enumerated by *Pliny*^t, viz. the *Moschi*, and *Armenochalybes*, the *Sacassani*, the *Macrones*, the *Sylvi*, the *Diduri*, and the *Sodii*. *Iberia* was first peopled, according to *Josephus*^u, by *Tubal* the brother of *Gomer* and *Magog*. His opinion is confirmed by the septuagint; for

Rivers.

Inhabitants.

^o APPIAN. *ibid.* EUTROP. l. vi. SEX. RUF. in epitom. JORNAND. de regnor. success.

^p EUSEB. in Chron. SEX. RUF. in epitom. Eutrop. l. vi.

^q STRABO, l. xi. p. 344. & l. i. p. 31.

^r PLIN. l. vi. c. 10.

^s Vol. i. p. 209. and Vol. v. p. 281.

^t PLIN. l. vi. c. 10.

^u JOSEPH. Antiq. l. i. c. 7.

Masfesch and *Tubal* are by those interpreters rendered *Maschi* and *Iberians* ^w. Some have taken the *Iberia* which was peopled by *Tubal*, according to *Josephus*, for Spain, called also *Iberia*; but this opinion we have confuted elsewhere ^x, *Strabo* ^y, and after him *Eustathius* ^z, derive the *Iberians* in *Asia* from the *Iberians* in *Celtiberia* or Spain; others, as *Appian* informs us, derive the latter from the former. As these two nations lay at a great distance from one another, and greatly differed in their manners, customs and language, some were of opinion, as we read in the same *Appian* ^a, that they were no ways related to each other. *Tacitus* supposes, both the *Iberians*, and the *Albanians*, their neighbours, to have come originally from *Thessaly* with *Japhet* ^b; but whatever their origin was they were a very brave and warlike nation, and maintained their independency, if *Plutarch* is to be credited ^c, against the utmost efforts of the *Medes*, *Persians*, and *Macedonians*. *Strabo* gives us the following account of their customs and polity ^d. The *Iberians*, says he, are divided into four ranks or classes; the first consists of the nobility, the second of priests; the third of soldiers and husbandmen; and the fourth of the common people. Out of the first class they chuse their king, and, upon his death, raise always to that dignity the eldest of his relations. The next in age to him of the royal family administers justice and commands the army. The common people are employed in the lowest ministries, and treated no better than slaves. The priests, besides their peculiar function, hear causes, and decide such controversies as arise between the natives and foreigners. The *Iberians* who inhabit the champaign country, are very industrious, and well skilled in agriculture; but those who live on the mountains, are a wild and savage race, and in their manners bear a great resemblance to the *Scythians* and *Sarmatians*; whereas the former imitate both the dress and customs of the *Medes* and *Armenians*. Thus far *Strabo*. The monarchical form of government prevailed among them, as is plain from this passage; but we find no mention made of their kings till the reign of *Mithridates the*

Govern-
ment and
kings.

^w In Ezech. c. 27, 32, 38, 39.

^x Vide Vol. I. p. 370.

& Vol. v. p. 279.

^y STRABO. l. ii.

^z EUSTATH. in

Dionys.

^a APPIAN. in Mithridat.

^b TACITUS, l. v.

^c PLUT. in Pomp.

^d STRABO. l. xi.

dates by *Pompey*, *Artoces* sent ambassadors to the Roman camp, enjoining them to conclude a peace with *Pompey* upon honourable terms, and, in the mean time, drew together an army of seventy thousand men, with a design to fall upon the Romans unawares, in case they did not grant him the conditions he required; but *Pompey*, being informed of the measures he was taking, advanced by long marches into *Iberia*, took *Heropolis*, a city or fort, built as appears from the name, on the summit of a mountain, penetrated into the very heart of the kingdom, and obliged *Artoces* to shelter himself in the most remote parts of his dominions. From thence he sent ambassadors anew to *Pompey*, and by their means obtained a peace upon very reasonable terms; but notwithstanding this agreement, *Artoces* still kept his troops together, designing to fall upon the Romans as they passed the river *Pelorus*. This *Pompey* suspected, and therefore following him close, came up with him before he reached the above-mentioned river, and drew him to an engagement in which the Iberians behaved with great gallantry, but were obliged to give way to the superior valour of the Romans, who killed nine thousand on the spot, and took above ten thousand prisoners. Great numbers were drowned, as they attempted to save themselves by swimming over the *Pelorus*. Many fled to the forests, and climbing up to the tops of the tallest trees, defended themselves from thence with their arrows; but the Romans setting fire to the forest, obliged them to surrender at discretion. After this defeat, *Artoces*, suing for a peace in good earnest sent from beyond the *Pelorus* rich presents to *Pompey*, viz. his bed, his table, and his throne, all of massy gold, which the Roman general accepted, and delivered to the quæstor of the army; but would not hearken to any terms of an accommodation, till the king had delivered to him his sons as hostages; and then he concluded a peace upon terms no ways dishonourable to the Iberian nation. This king is called by *Appian Artocus*, by *Eutropius*, *Arthaces*, by *Sextus Rufus Arsaces*, and lastly, by *Dion Florus*, and *Orosius*, whom we have followed, *Artoces*. He was succeeded by his son *Pharnabazus*, who being overcome by *Canidius*, *Marc Antony's* lieutenant, joined the Romans against *Zoberes* king of *Albania*^b. The other kings of *Iberia* mentioned by the

^a PLUT. in Lucul. & Pomp. DION. l. xxxvii. FLOR. l. iii. c. 5. ZONAR. Tom. II. ^b PLUT. DION. FLOR. ibid. EUTROP. l. vi. OROS. l. vi. c. 4. ^c PLUT. in Anton. APPIAN. in Parthic. DIO, l. xlix.

ancients, are, *Mithridates*, *Pharasmenes*, *Mithridates*, II. *Rhadamistus*, and *Pharasmenes* II. But as these were also lords of *Armenia*, we have spoke of them in the history of that kingdom. *Pharasmenes* II. reigned in the time of the emperor *Adrian*, went to *Rome* with his wife and children, to clear himself before the emperor, of several things laid to his charge by *Vologeses* II. king of *Parthia*, and was there not only allowed to offer sacrifices in the capitol, but honoured with an equestrian statue erected in the temple of *Bellona*^b. From this time, to the division of the empire, there is a profound silence among authors with respect to the affairs of *Iberia*. They continued in all likelihood to be governed by their own kings, who were tributaries to *Rome*; for we do not find *Iberia* counted by any writer, or mentioned in the antient notitias, among the provinces of the empire; and besides, we know, that, long after the division of the empire, they were subject to their own princes; for *Procopius* tells us, that after they had embraced the *Christian* religion, *Gyrgenes*, their king, being threatened with a war by *Cavades* king of *Persia*, in case he did not conform to that of the *Persians*, implored the assistance of the emperor *Justin*, which kindled a war between the two empires. *Zonabarzes*, another of their kings, came to *Constantinople*, as the same author informs us, in the time of the emperor *Justinian*, to be baptized, with his queen, his children, and several noblemen of his court. *Iberia* is at present subject to the king of *Persia*, and known to the *Persians* by the name of *Gurgistan*, that is, the land of the *Georgians*; for *tan* is an ancient *Celtic* word, signifying a country, and still in use among the eastern nations, as appears from the modern names of *Curdistan*, *Indostan*, &c. that is, the country of the *Curdes*, of the *Indians*, &c. As to the name of *Georgia*, some writers are of opinion, that the ancient *Iberia* was so called, either from *St. George* the famous *Cappadocian* martyr, held here in great veneration, or from *George* a *Cappadocian* bishop, by whom the inhabitants were first converted to christianity. Others, supposing the country to have been called anciently *Gordiæa*, and the inhabitants *Gordiæans*, from the *Gordiæan* mountains, take the words *Georgia* and *Georgians* to be a corruption of *Gordiæa* and *Gordiæans*; but this opinion is intirely groundless, the *Gordiæan* mountains being placed by all the antient geographers in *Armenia*, at a considerable distance from *Iberia*.

^b THEODOS. MINOR, in fragment.

Some think, that the inhabitants were called *Georgi*, from their skill in husbandry, the Greek word *georgos* signifying a husbandman, and that the country was from them named *Georgia*. *Pliny*, enumerating the *Caspian* nations, mentions the *Georgi* from whom perhaps the ancient *Iberia* borrowed the name of *Georgia*, that country lying at a small distance from the coasts of the *Caspian* sea, which was inhabited, according to *Pliny*, by the *Georgi*, who, in process of time, may have settled in *Iberia*, from which they were parted by the small kingdom of *Albania*.

A L B A N I A.

Albania.

ALBANIA was bounded on the west by *Iberia*; on the east by the *Caspian* sea; on the north by mount *Caucasus*; and on the south by *Armenia*¹. It contained anciently a great many cities, but not of any note. The following are mentioned by *Strabo*, *Ptolemy*, and *Pliny*; *Telaba*, *Thalbis*, *Gelda*, *Thiauna*, *Thabilaca*, *Albana*, *Chadata*, *Misia*, *Boziata*, and *Cabalica*, which *Pliny* calls the metropolis of *Albania*. The rivers which it may be proper to take notice of, are, the *Cyrus* or *Cyrnus*, the *Albanus*, the *Cassus*, the *Gerrhus*, the *Soana*, the *Cambyses*, and the *Alazon*², all emptying themselves into the *Caspian* sea. The *Cyrus*, now the *Kür*, springs from the *Moschian* mountains, which separate *Colchis* from *Armenia*, waters the country now called *Mokan*, receives into its channel the *Aragas* and the *Araxes*, and falls into the *Caspian* sea, within, but at a small distance from, the southern borders of the ancient *Albania*. There is a great disagreement among the ancient geographers about the mouths of this river; *Strabo*, *Platarch* and *Appian* say, that it discharges itself into the sea by twelve mouths. *Strabo* indeed, who advances nothing for certain in his descriptions of countries but what he has seen, speaks with great reserve, and only tells us, that the *Cyrus* is said to discharge itself by twelve mouths into the *Caspian* sea. *Herodotus* will have this river to fall into the sea by forty mouths; but *Pliny*, with whom all our modern travellers agree, allows it but one. The whole country, now known by the names of *Scirwan* and *East Georgia*, is extremely fruitful and pleasant. *Strabo* describes the ancient *Albanians* as tall and strong-bodi-

¹ STRABO, l. xi. p. 345. & PTOLEM. l. v. c. 12. ² STRABO & PTOLEM. *ibid.* PLIN, l. vi. c. 13. & c. 10. POMPON. MELA, l. iii. c. 5.

ed men, and add, that they had, generally speaking, a very graceful mien, and far excelled all other nations in comeliness, as well as in stature. Our modern travellers cry up the women of *Georgia* and *Scirwan* for perfect beauties, but find nothing extraordinary in the men; whereas the antients admired the men, without taking any notice of the women. The same *Strabo* tells us, that the manners of the *Albanians* were very simple; that they were unacquainted with weights, measures, and the use of money; that they could not count above a hundred; and that trade was carried on among them only by exchange. *Pliny* tells us, that they held old age in great veneration; that they were of a very fair complexion, and thence, according to some, called *Albani*; that they could see as well by night as by day; and that not only the men were stout and courageous, but also the women, whom, he pretends to be descended from the antient *Amazons*. As to their origin, *Tacitus*¹ and *Pliny*^m derive them from the *Thessalians* who attended *Jason* in his expedition into *Colchis*, and settled in this part of the isthmus between the *Euxine* and *Caspian* seas. *Justin*ⁿ will have them to be descended from the inhabitants of *Alba* in *Italy*, who followed *Hercules* into those parts, after he had overcome *Geryon*. *Amnianus Marcellinus* takes the *Albani* and *Alani* to be one and the same people, and derives them both from the *Maffagetae*, of whom we have spoke elsewhere^o. As to their form of government, the country was in antient times divided into a great many small kingdoms. *Strabo* tells us, that no fewer than twenty six different languages were spoke formerly in *Albania*; and that there were as many different kings and kingdoms as languages, each tribe having their peculiar king^p. But the *Albani*, in process of time, prevailed over the other petty princes, and made themselves masters of the whole country. In *Pompey's* time they could bring into the field, as *Strabo* informs us^q, sixty thousand foot and twenty thousand horse. We find no mention made of their kings till the reign of *Alexander the Great*, to whom the king of *Albania* is said by *Pliny*^r and *Solinus*^s, to have presented a dog of an extraordinary fierceness and size. The next king of *Albania* we find mentioned in history is *Orxes*, who, entering into an alliance with *Tigranes* the son of *Tigranes the Great*, obliged *Pompey* to march against him. *Cops*, the king's brother, a

Govern-
ment.

Kings.

Orxes.

¹ *TACITUS*, l. v. ^m *PLIN.* l. vi. c. 13. ⁿ *JUSTIN.* l. xlii. ^o *Vol V.* p. 281. ^p *STRABO*, l. xi. ^q *Idem* ibid. ^r *PLIN.* l. viii. c. 4. ^s *SOLIN.* l. ix. brave

brave and enterprizing prince, commanded the *Albanians*, and waited for *Pompey* on the banks of the *Cyrus*, which he fortified at certain distances with high palisadoes. Hereupon *Pompey* feigning to return to *Armenia*, marching his army a great way about, and drawing up his cavalry and beasts of burden in the bed of the river, to break the force of the stream, passed it without being discovered by the enemy. From the *Cyrus* he pursued his march to the *Cambyfes*, through a dry country, where his army suffered much for want of water. At length, after having rambled far out of the way, being led astray by his guides, who were *Albanians*, he reached the *Cambyfes*, where his soldiers were seized with strange distempers, occasioned by their drinking too greedily of the water of that river while they were hot after their march; however, he still advanced, with the precaution of carrying ten thousand skins full of water, lest he should be again reduced to the same straits. He heard no news of the enemy till he had passed the *Abas* or *Albanus*, when he was informed, that *Cosis* was advancing full march against him, at the head of threescore thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse. Upon his approach he concealed the legionaries among the thick bushes, with which the whole plain was covered, commanding them to cover their helmets with their bucklers, lest the rays of the sun reflecting on them, should discover them at a distance. Then he detached the cavalry, with orders to attack the enemy, and, retiring before them, draw them into the ambuscade. The stratagem had all the success *Pompey* could expect; for the legionaries starting up all on a sudden, and widening their ranks to let the cavalry retire, surrounded the *Albanians* on all sides, and put them to flight with great slaughter. On this occasion *Cosis* behaved with great valour and intrepidity; for he kept close to *Pompey* during the whole time of the engagement, and having had at last an opportunity of discharging a blow at him, pierced his breast-plate. Hereupon *Pompey* facing his adversary, threw his javelin at him with such vigour, that he laid him dead at his feet. The *Albanians*, disheartened by the death of their general, fled in disorder to the neighbouring forest, which the *Romans* set on fire, crying aloud, while the forest was burning, *Saturnalia, Saturnalia*, to remind the *Albanians*, that they had attempted to surprize them in their quarters during the feasts of *Saturn*, and therefore ought to expect no quarter. *Oræses*, after the defeat of his troops, retired to mount *Caucasus*, and from thence sent ambassadors to strike up a peace with the conqueror, who willingly granted it, being desirous to put an end to this war, and turn his

arms

arms against the king of *Parthia*, who had entered *Gordyene* at the head of a mighty army^t. It was constantly reported before the engagement we have spoke of above, that there were many *Amazons* in the *Albanian* army; but the *Romans*, who had given credit to that rumour, in stripping the dead on the field of battle, found none of those warlike females among them; whence they concluded this republic of military women to be a mere fable, adopted on too slight grounds by many credulous historians. *Oræses* is by some writers called *Orodes*, and said to have fought three unsuccessful battles with *Pompey*^u.

Oræses was succeeded by his son *Zoberes*, who, having ventured an engagement with *P. Canidius*, *Marc Antony*'s lieutenant, was by him intirely defeated, and obliged to sue for peace. In this war *Canidius* was powerfully assisted by *Pharnabazus* king of *Iberia*^w. The next king of *Albania* we find mentioned in history is *Pharasmenes*, who, in the time of the emperor *Adrian*, committed great devastations in *Armenia*, *Cappadocia*, and *Media*, and was on that account summoned by the emperor to *Rome*. *Pharasmanes* refused to comply with the summons; but in the mean time, to appease *Adrian*, sent him some valuable presents, among which were many great coats, such as were wore in those days by military men, all of cloth of gold. These alone the emperor accepted, but with no other view than to affront the king who had sent them; for he caused three hundred criminals to be clad with them, and in that attire fight the wild beasts in the public theatre. Upon *Adrian*'s death the king of *Albania* came to *Rome*, upon the first summons from his successor *Antoninus Pius*, who received him with great marks of esteem, and sent him back loaded with presents to his kingdom^x. *Trebellius*^y and *Marcellinus*^z speak of two kings of *Albania*, whom they do not name, the one contemporary with *Sapor I.* king of *Persia* and the emperor *Valerian*; the other reigning in the time of *Sapor II.* and entering into an alliance with him against *Constantius*, the son of *Constantine the Great*. The *Albanians* continued to be governed by their own prin-

^t DIO, l. 'xxxvi. PLUT. in Pomp. APPIAN. in Mithridat. FLOR. l. iii. c. 5. EUTROP. l. vi. OROS l. vi. c. 4. SEX. RUF. in epitom. FRONTIN. Stratag. l. ii. c. 3. ^u FLOR. OROS. SEX. RUF. ibid. JORNAND. de regnor. success. ^w PLUT. in Anton. DIO, l. xlix. ^x DIO, ibid. ZONAR. & SPARTIAN. in Adrian. CAPITOLIN. in Antonino Pio. ^y TREBEL. in Valer. ^z MARCELLIN. l. xviii.

ces till the reign of *Justinian II.* who is said by *Zonaras*^a, and other writers^b, to have subdued *Albania* by his general *Leontius*. The three kingdoms, which we have here described, viz. *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania*, took up the whole isthmus between the *Caspian* and *Euxine* seas, and extended from the borders of *Media Atropatene*, *Armenia*, and *Pontus*, on the south, to the mountains *Corax* and *Caucasus* on the north. These mountains have been the subject of many poetical fables; but nothing has been feigned by the poets more improbable than what we read in some of the antient geographers, viz. that they were so high as to be illuminated by the rays of the sun even at midnight, it being certain that they are not much above two perpendicular miles in height. They are known to the present inhabitants by the names of *Cocas* and *Cochias*, which are, without doubt, a corruption of the antient name *Corax*. The *Arabs* call them the mountains of *Raf*. We shall conclude our account of these three kingdoms with the words of *Sir John Chardin*, who, in describing the present *Georgia*, which comprehends the greater part of the antient *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania*, speaks of it thus: “ *Georgia* is as fertile a country as can be seen; the bread is as good there as in any part of the world; the fruit of an exquisite flavour, and of different sorts; no place in *Europe* yields better pears and apples; no place in *Asia* better pomegranates. The country abounds with cattle, venison, and wild fowl of all sorts; the river *Kûr* is well stocked with fish; the wine is so rich, that the king of *Persia* has always some of it for his own table, &c. The inhabitants are robust, valiant, and of a jovial temper, great lovers of wine, and esteemed very trusty and faithful, endowed with good natural parts, but, for want of education very vicious. The women are generally fair and comely, and by their beauty recommended to the court of the king of *Persia*, whose wives and concubines are for the most part *Georgian* women. Nature has adorned them with graces no-where else to be met with; it is impossible to see them and not love them; they are of a full size, clean limbed, small waisted, fair, and well-proportioned.” Thus far *Sir John Chardin*, to whose words, or rather panegyric on the *Georgian* women, we beg leave to subjoin a passage out of another modern tra-

^a ZONAR. in Justin. ^b Hist. Misc. l. xix. ^c Vide Vos. in Melam, l. ii. c. 2. KIRCHER. in mundo subter. l. i. c. 14. VAREN. in Geog. l. ii. c. 30.

veller of no mean character^d: “As to the *Georgian* women,
 “ (says he) they did not at all surprize us; for we expect-
 “ ed to find them perfect beauties; they are not at all dis-
 “ agreeable, and may be counted beauties, if compared with
 “ the *Curdes*; they have an air of health that is pleasing e-
 “ nough; but, after all, they are neither so handsome nor
 “ so well-shaped as is reported. Those who live in the
 “ towns have nothing extraordinary more than the others;
 “ so that I may, I think, venture to contradict the accounts
 “ that have been given us of them by most travellers.” But
 it is now time for us to take our leave of *Georgia*, and pass
 into the neighbouring kingdom of *Bosphorus*.

B O S P O R U S,

THE antient kingdom of *Bosphorus*, comprehending all *Bosphorus*.
 the provinces that were subject to the *Bosporan* princes,
 was bounded on the east by *Colchis*; on the west by
 the gulf *Carcinites*; on the south by the *Euxine* sea; and on
 the north by the *Tanais*, where that river falls into the *Palus*
Mæotis; so that it comprised the *Chersonesus Taurica* in *Eu-*
rope, and in *Asia* all that tract which lies between the *Palus*
Mæotis and the *Euxine* sea. *Diodorus Siculus*^e confines the
 kingdom of *Bosphorus* within the *Bosporus Cimmerius*, the
 boundary of *Europe* and *Asia* on that side; but *Strabo*^f,
 whom we have followed, extends it to the gulf *Carcinites*,
 which, with the *Palus Mæotis*, forms the isthmus of the
Chersonesus. Cities of note in the *Asiatic Bosphorus* were an- Cities.
 tiently *Phanagoria*, placed by some geographers on the *Eu-*
xine sea, by others on the *Palus Mæotis*; but by *Pliny*^g
 and *Mela*^h, at some distance from both, on a peninsula,
 which they call *Corocondama*. Near this city was formerly
 a famous temple dedicated to *Venus Apatura*, so called from
 the *Greek* word *apate*, signifying *deceit*; for she is feigned
 to have overcome the giants here by a stratagem suggested to
 her by *Hercules*. This city was, according to *Strabo*ⁱ, the
 metropolis of *Bosphorus* in *Asia*. *Cepi*, *Hermonassa*, *Sratoctlea*,
 and *Cimmerium* stood on the *Bosphorus*, and are said by *Pliny*
 to have been once remarkable cities. From the latter the
Bosporus Cimmerius borrowed its name. *Strabo*, *Pliny*, and

^d TOURNEF. Voyage, &c. Vol. II. epist. 6. ^e DIODOR.
 SICUL. l. xii. ^f STRABO, l. vii. ^g PLIN. l. vi. c. 6.
^h POMP. MELA, l. i. c. 19. ⁱ STRABO, l. xi.

Pomponius Mela tell us, that *Cimmerium* was the chief city of the *Cimmerians*, a people famous for their robberies as early as in the days of *Homer*. These barbarians being driven out of their country by the *Scythian Nomades*, ravaged the finest provinces in the east, and penetrated as far as *Sardis* in *Lydia*, which they reduced; but being afterwards overcome by *Halyattes* king of *Lydia*, some of them returned to their antient habitation; and others, as most historians conjecture, advanced towards the north as far as the *Baltic*, and settled in the *Cimbrica Chersonesus*, now *Jutland*; for the *Cimbri* and *Cimmerii* are by most historians thought to be one and the same people. The other cities taken notice of by the antients in the *Asiatic Bosphorus*, are *Sinda* on the *Palus Mæotis*; *Tanais*, at the mouth of the river bearing that name, where the city of *Asoph* now stands; *Paniardis*, *Tyrambe*, and *Gerasum*, called by *Ptolemy* a *Cimbrian* village. The coast of the *Euxine* sea was inhabited by the *Cercetæ*, the *Heniochi*, the *Moschi*, and the *Achæi*, of whom we have spoke above. *Strabo* enumerates on the coast of the *Palus Mæotis* the following nations, the *Sindi*, *Dandarii*, *Agri*, *Arrichi*, *Tarpetes*, *Obidiaceni*, *Sittaceni*, *Dosci*, and *Aspungitani*. To these *Scylax* adds the *Coraxi*, the *Coraci*, or, as *Vossius* will have it, the *Colici*, and the *Melanchleni*. The country bordering on the *Palus Mæotis* and the *Bosphorus*, which was inhabited by the *Cimmerii*, is represented by the antients as an inhospitable place, covered with thick forests and continual fogs, which the rays of the sun could not break through. This frightful description gave *Cicero* and *Ovid* occasion to say, that an eternal night reigned in this gloomy climate, and that sleep had taken up its abode here; and hence *Cimmerian darkness* became, according to *Lactantius*, a proverb, signifying an impenetrable darkness, and likewise a gloomy and stupid mind. *Lycophron*, *Pliny*, *Eustathius*, *Servius*, and others, have planted a colony of *Cimmerians* in *Italy* between *Cumæ* and *Baiæ*, near the lake *Avernus*, and tell us, that the sun never shined on that small canton; but *Strabo*, who was better acquainted with the countries we are speaking of, describes them as abounding with all the necessities of life, and rather pleasant than disagreeable. The rivers mentioned by the antient geographers in this tract are, the *Articites* or *Fandarus*, the *Pjathis*, the greater and lesser *Rhombites*, and the *Marubius*, most of them springing from the mountains of *Sarmatia Asiatica*, and all emptying themselves into the *Palus Mæotis*.

Inhabi-
tants.

Rivers.

Taurica
Chersones-
sus.

THE *Taurica Chersonesus*, so named from its being a peninsula, antiently inhabited by the *Tauri*, or *Tauroscythæ*, as *Pliny*

Pliny and *Ptolemy* call them, lies between the *Euxine* sea, the *Palus Mæotis*, and the *Bosporus Cimmerius*; extends, according to *Sir John Chardin*, sixty one leagues from east to west, and about thirty five from north to south, and is joined to the continent by a narrow isthmus about a mile over. The cities here of note in former times were, *Taphræ* or *Taphrus*, on the isthmus, where the present city of *Przekop* or *Prekop* stands. The modern city is so called from the word *przekop* signifying a ditch; for it was built on the ditch which the *Tartars* cut across the isthmus. *Cherronesus*, or as the more modern *Greek* writers call it, *Cherson*, was, according to *Strabo*, built by the *Greeks* on the gulf *Carcinites*, now the gulf of *Nigropoli*, on the west coast of the *Chersonesus*. Of this city, now called *Topetarkan*, there are still many ruins to be seen. *Theodosia*, or *Theudofia*, another *Greek* city, on the east coast of the peninsula, once a place of great note. It is now known by the name of *Caffa*, and is the capital of *Little Tartary*. From this city the *Bosporus Cimmerius* of the ancients is called by the present inhabitants the streights of *Caffa*. *Sanfon* places *Theodosia* where the modern city of *Tuscha* stands. *Nymphæum*, *Lagyra*, *Charax*, &c. stood on the *Euxine* sea, and *Panticapæum* on the *Bosporus*. This city was, according to *Strabo*, the metropolis of the *European Bosporus*. It was founded by the *Milesians*, and for some ages governed by its own laws; but at length subdued by the kings of *Bosporus*. Some writers have confounded the cities of *Panticapæum* and *Bosporus*; but *Pliny*, *Strabo*, and *Stephanus* speak of them as two different cities. *Procopius* often mentions the latter; but never takes any notice of *Panticapæum*, tho' the capital of *Taurica Chersonesus*. This peninsula is at present possessed by the *Tartars*, and commonly known by the name of the *Crim*, which it borrowed from the city of *Krym*, antiently called *Cremnos*. The *Bosporus Cimmerius*, now the streights of *Kertzi* or *Caffa*, which divides *Europe* and *Asia*, or the *Crim* and *Kuban*, is not above four leagues over. The *Palus Mæotis* extends from south-west to north-east about one hundred and thirty leagues, having on the north and west *Little Tartary*; on the south-west the *Chersonesus Taurica*, now the *Crim*; and on the east and south-east *Sarmatia Asiatica*, now *Circass Tartary*. This sea or lake was called by the ancients *Palus Mæotis*, from the *Mæotæ* or *Mæotici*, a people inhabiting the *European*, and part of the *Asiatic* coast, and also *Palus Sarmatiæ*, *Cimmeriæ Paludes*, *Scythica Stagna*, and *Ponti Euxini mater*, or the mother of the *Euxine* sea; but its modern name is the sea of

of *Zabach*, borrowed from a fish taken there at certain seasons of the year.

*Kings of
Bosphorus.*

THE *Bosporani* were governed by princes of their own in the earliest times; but as the works of *Trogus Pompeius*, who wrote the history of the *Bosporan* kings ^k, have not reached us, we can give but a very indifferent account of them. The first we meet with in history is *Leucon*, who is mentioned by *Strabo* ^l; but we are quite in the dark both as to his reign, and to that of *Parisades*, whom *Strabo* calls the last of his race. *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that many kings had reigned in *Bosphorus* before the consulate of *M. Genutius Augurinus* and *P. Curvius Philo*. Hence it is plain, that *Leucon* and *Parisades* were not, as some authors have thought, the founders of the *Bosporan* kingdom, but preceded by a long series of princes of the same race. *Spartacus* I. succeeded *Parisades*, and is said by *Diodorus Siculus* in one place to have reigned seven years, and in another seventeen ^m. He had two sons, viz. *Seleucus* and *Spartacus*. He left the kingdom to the former, who reigned four years, and dying without children, was succeeded by his brother *Spartacus* II. and he, after a reign of twenty-six years, by his son *Satyrus*, who reigned fourteen years ⁿ. After him came *Leucon* II. who waged war with one *Mnemom*, probably a neighbouring prince, by whom he was overcome, and with the *Heracleans*, over whom he gained considerable advantages. He had a particular regard for the *Athenians*, whom he supplied with a great quantity of corn in the time of a famine, and allowed their merchants a free trade to all the parts of his dominions. The *Athenians*, in return for his kindness, made him and his children free of *Athens*, and granted to his trading subjects the same privileges and exemptions in *Attica*, which their citizens enjoyed in *Bosphorus*, erecting three pillars in memory of the good understanding that passed between the two states, viz. one in the city of *Bosphorus*, another in the *Piræus*, and the third near the temple of the *Argonauts*. He was a great encourager of trade, granting ample privileges to all foreign merchants settling at *Theodosia* in the *Chersonesus*; by which means that city became one of the most rich and populous of the east ^o. His exploits were celebrated by *Chrysippus* the philosopher, as *Plutarch* informs us, but have not reached our times. He left two sons, *Spartacus* and *Parisades*. The

^k Vide Prolog. lxxxvii. ^l STRABO, l. vii. ^m DIODOR. SICUL. l. xii. c. 4, & 5. ⁿ Idem, l. xiv. ^o DEMOSTHEN. contra Leptin. DIODOR. SICUL. l. xiv, & xvi. STRABO, l. vi. c. 4. & 5. DIOD. CHRYSOST. orat. 2. de regno.

former, surnamed *Satyrus*, succeeded him in the kingdom, and is called by *Dinarchus* the tyrant of *Bosporus*. He restored *Hecataeus*, a neighbouring prince, to his kingdom, obliging him to marry his daughter, and murder *Tirgataone* his former wife, in order to make room for her. This kindled a bloody war between him and the subjects of *Hecataeus*, in which he lost his son, with whose death he was so sensibly affected, that he did not long out-live him ^P. *Dinarchus* tells us ^Q, that both he and his brother *Parisades* sent yearly to *Demosthenes* a thousand bushels of wheat. He reigned only five years, and was succeeded, according to some, by his younger son *Gorgippus*; according to others, by his brother *Parisades*. Of *Gorgippus* we find nothing upon record. *Parisades* is said by *Diodorus Siculus* ^R to have reigned thirty-eight years. He left three sons, *Satyrus*, *Eumelus*, and *Prytanis*, who made war upon one another. *Satyrus* II. the eldest, succeeded his father; but his brother *Eumelus*, being assisted by *Ariophanes* king of *Thrace*, attempted to drive him from the throne. *Satyrus* had recourse to the *Scythians*, who sent to his assistance twenty thousand foot and ten thousand horse. With these, two thousand *Greeks*, and an equal number of *Thracians*, he engaged and put to flight *Eumelus*, whose army consisted of two and twenty thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse, all *Thracians*, under the command of *Ariophanes* or *Ariopharnes* their king. After this defeat *Eumelus* and the *Thracian* king retired to a strong hold, where they were closely besieged by the conqueror. While *Satyrus* continued before this place, *Meniscus*, who commanded the mercenaries, being surrounded by the enemy while he was attempting to storm the fort, *Satyrus* hastened to his relief, and rescued him from the imminent danger he was in; but was himself run through the arm with a spear, and died of the wound the night following, after a short reign of nine months. Upon his death *Meniscus*, breaking up the siege, retired with the army to the city of *Gargara*, and from thence carried the king's body to *Panticapæum*, and there delivered it to his brother *Prytanis*, who having buried it with great pomp, took upon himself the command of the army, and the title of king. *Eumelus* sent embassadors to the new king, offering to disband his forces, upon condition that he would divide the kingdom with him; but *Prytanis* not hearkening to his proposals, by the assistance of the neighbouring barbarians, he made himself master of *Gargara*, and several other cities.

^P DIODOR. SICUL. XVI. POLYEN. I. VIII. ^Q DINARCH.
in orat. contra Demosthen.

^R DIODOR. SICUL. I. XVI.

Hereupon

Hereupon *Prytanis* marched against him, at the head of a numerous army ; but was overcome in a pitched battle, and being shut up within a narrow neck of land, between the *Palus Mæotis* and a lake, was forced to surrender, give up his army, and depart the kingdom ; but he soon returned, and, by the assistance of his friends, made himself master of some strong holds. Whereupon *Eumelus* marched against him anew, and having put his army to flight, pursued him to a place called *the gardens*, where he endeavoured to make head against his brother's victorious army, but was killed in the attempt. Upon his death *Eumelus* ordered all the friends and children of his two brothers *Satyrus* and *Prytanis* to be murdered. *Parisades* alone, the son of *Satyrus*, had the good luck to make his escape to the court of *Agaras* king of the *Scythians* ; all the others were inhumanly massacred. This cruelty incensed the people, who were ready to revolt, and revenge the death of their friends with that of the tyrant, when *Eumelus* calling them together, promised to alter his conduct, restored to the cities their former privileges, freed them from all kind of taxes, and having by that means regained their affections, governed the kingdom with great equity and moderation to his death. He is celebrated by the ancients as the greatest king who had ever reigned in *Bosphorus* ; for he not only defended his dominions against the neighbouring barbarians, who, at different times, invaded it with numerous armies, but would have brought all the nations round him under subjection, as *Diodorus* informs us, had he not been prevented by death, after a reign of five years, and as many months ; for as he was returning out of *Scythia*, in a chariot covered with a canopy, the horses taking fright, and the driver not being able to stop them in their career, the king threw himself out, but his sword intangling in one of the wheels, he was hurried away with the violent motion of the chariot, and killed. We are told, that he had been forewarned by an oracle to beware of a moving house, and therefore never ventured to go into any house, till his servants had thoroughly examined both the roof and foundation ; but when they understood that the horses had been frightened at the canopy placed on his chariot, they concluded that the prophecy was fulfilled^c. He was succeeded by his son *Spartacus* III. who reigned twenty years. Many years after we read of *Leucanor* reigning in the *Bosphorus Cimmerius*, and paying a yearly tribute to the *Scythians*. He was treacherously murdered by one *Arsacomas*, a *Scythian* prince, for having re-

^c DIODOR. SICUL. l. xx.

fused him his daughter in marriage^c. Upon his death *Euboeus*, his brother by a concubine, was placed on the throne by the *Sarmatians*, and maintained on it by them and by the *Alani*, and the *Greek* states of *Asia*, who willingly joined him against the *Scythians*, who began to be too powerful in those parts; however, he could never enjoy his kingdom in peace and tranquillity, till he submitted to pay the *Scythians* a double tribute^d. The next prince we find reigning in *Bosphorus* is *Parisades* III. who not being able to pay to *Scilurus* king of *Scythia* the unreasonable tribute he exacted, nor withstand so powerful an enemy, voluntarily resigned the kingdom to *Mithridates the Great*, king of *Pontus*, after it had been held by his ancestors for the space of four hundred years, as *Lucian*, *Diodorus Siculus* ^w, and *Strabo* inform us^e. In the time of the last *Mithridatic* war the *Bosporans* revolted from *Mithridates*, and admitted *Roman* garisons into the cities of *Phanagoria*, *Theodosia*, *Chersonesus*, and *Nymphæum*; but, upon the death of that prince, the whole country was restored by *Pompey* to his son *Pharnaces*, whom he honoured with the title of a friend and ally of the *Roman* people. During the civil war between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, *Pharnaces*, not satisfied with the kingdom of *Bosphorus*, attempted the recovery of his father's dominions, crossed the *Euxine* sea, and reduced *Colchis*, *Armenia Minor*, and several places in *Cappadocia*, *Pontus*, and *Bithynia*^f. After the battle of *Pharsalia*, *Cæsar* sent *Domitius Calvinus* against him with part of his army; but *Domitius* being overcome in a pitched battle, *Pharnaces* made himself master of the remaining part of *Pontus* and *Cappadocia*, and of all *Bithynia*; whence he was preparing to advance into *Asia* properly so called; but in the mean time *Cæsar* leaving *Egypt*, where he was passing his time in banquets and revels with *Cleopatra*, and crossing *Syria*, came unexpectedly upon *Pharnaces*, and having attacked him, without allowing any respite either to his own men or to the enemy, gained a complete victory; an account whereof he wrote to one of his friends in the celebrated words, *veni, vidi, vici*, *I came, I saw, I conquered*; which, as they well expressed the expedition by which he obtained so signal a victory, he caused to be wrote in capital letters, and carried before him in his triumph^g. *Pharnaces*, after this defeat,

^c LUCIAN. in *Toxari*.^d Idem *ibid*.^w LUCIAN. &DIODOR. SICUL. *ibid*.^e STRABO, l. vii.^f PLUT. in *Cæs.*HIRT. de bell. *Alexandrin*.

DIO. CASS. l. xlii.

APPIAN.

de bell. *Civil*. l. ii.^g APPIAN. l. ii. p. 485. PLUT. in *Cæs.*SUET. in *JULIO*.

fled to *Sinope* with a thousand horse, and from thence sailed back into *Bosporus*; where he no sooner landed but *Asander*, whom he had appointed governor of that country during his absence, seized him, and put him to death, taking upon himself the title of king of *Bosporus*^a. Hereupon *Cæsar* bestowed the kingdom of *Bosporus* on *Mithridates* the *Pergamian*, in regard of the eminent service he had done him in *Egypt*, as we have related in the history of that country^b. At the same time he appointed him tetrarch of *Galatia*, which he had a title to in right of his mother, who was descended from one of those tetrarchs. He might also have laid claim to the kingdom of *Bosporus* in right of his father; for he was supposed to be the son of *Mithridates* the Great, his mother having been one of that prince's concubines, after the death of *Menodotus* of *Pergamus* her husband. But *Cæsar*, in appointing him king of *Bosporus*, gave him only an empty title; for *Asander* being in possession of the whole country, he was to settle himself on the throne by force of arms. With this view he raised what forces he could; but instead of gaining the kingdom, lost his life, being overcome and slain in battle by *Asander*, who, after his death, held the kingdom without any further molestation, the *Romans* not being at leisure, on account of their intestine broils, to give him any disturbance. He was a man of great courage and skill in the military art, and in neither reckoned inferior to any of the age he lived in; however, the emperor *Augustus* distrusting him, gave the command of the *Bosporan* troops, who served in the *Roman* army, to *Scribonius*; which *Asander* took so much amiss, that he abstained from all food, and by that means put an end to his life in the ninety third year of his age^c. Upon his death, *Scribonius* giving out that he was the grandson of *Mithridates*, married *Dynamis* the daughter of *Pharnaces*, and possessed himself of the kingdom of *Bosporus*; but was soon driven out by *Polemon*, on whom *Augustus* had bestowed that kingdom. *Polemon* was the son of *Zeno*, a famous orator of *Laodicea*, and, after the battle of *Philippi*, had been by *Marc Antony* rewarded for his gallant behaviour, with that part of the kingdom of *Pontus* which lay next to *Cappadocia*. He attended the same *Marc Antony* in his expedition against the *Parthians*, by whom he was taken prisoner. He was afterwards sent by the king of *Media* to negotiate a peace between him and *Antony*; which he concluded to the great satisfaction

^a APPIAN. HIRT. & PLUT. *ibid*.

152, & seq.

^b See before, p. 148, & APPIAN. in *Mithridat.* p. 254. STRABO, l. xiii. p. 625. HIRT. *ibid*.^c STRABO, & DIO, *ibid*. LUCIAN. in *Macro-*

of the triumvir, by whom he was on that consideration made king of *Armenia Minor*. After the battle of *Actium*, in which he fought with great bravery for *Antony*, he was not only pardoned by *Augustus*, but sent by him, or rather by *Agrippa* against *Scribanius*, whom he defeated, and drove from the throne. He engaged in several wars with the neighbouring barbarians, whom he kept in awe, preventing them from making incursions into the *Roman* territories; but was at length overcome, taken, and put to death by the *Aspungitani*, whom *Strabo* reckons among the nations that bordered on the *Palus Mæotis*. He had been honoured by *Augustus* some time before his death with the title of a friend and ally of the *Roman* people ^a. He left two sons, *Zeno* and *Polemon* II. The former, surnamed *Artaxias*, was by *Germanicus* made king of *Armenia*, to the great satisfaction of the *Armenians*, among whom he had been brought up ^f. The latter succeeded his father in the kingdom of *Bosporus*, which he afterwards exchanged in the reign of *Claudius* for part of *Cilicia*. We find no further mention in history of the *Bosporani* till the reign of *Trajan*, who, as *Eutropius* informs us ^g, received the king of *Bosporus* under his protection. In the time of *Antoninus Pius*, one *Rhymetalces* reigned in the *Bosporus Cimmerius*, and came to *Rome* to treat with the emperor about the affairs of his kingdom, as we read in *Capitolinus* ^h. *Lucian* tells us ⁱ, that the *Bosporans*, in his time, were governed by a king named *Eupator*; but what fate attended them thenceforth to the division of the empire, we find no-where recorded; and therefore shall proceed to a succinct account of the other kingdoms mentioned in the title prefixed to this chapter.

M E D I A.

WE have delivered elsewhere ^k the history of *Media*, *Media*. from the earliest account of time to its being reduced by the *Persians*, by whom it was held to the reign of *Darius Codomannus*, when the other provinces of *Media* fell under the power of the *Macedonians*; but that which lay between

^a STRABO, l. xi. PLUT. in Anton. APPIAN. de bell. civil. l. v. DION. l. xlix. liii. liv. ^f TACIT. Annal. l. ii. c. 54, 56. ^g EUTROP. l. viii. ^h CAPITOL. in Antonin. Pio. ⁱ LUCIAN. ibid. ^k Vol. IV. p. 355, & seq.

mount *Taurus* and the *Caspian* sea withstood *Alexander*, being defended by one *Atropatus*, who, upon the downfall of the *Persian* monarchy, kept it for himself, and transmitted it to his posterity, who held it as sovereigns to *Strabo's* time ^l. From *Atropatus* it was called *Media Atropatia*, or simply *Atropatene*. In process of time it became a very considerable kingdom; for *Strabo* tells us ^m, that the kings of *Atropatene* could bring into the field forty thousand foot and twenty thousand horse. The metropolis of this kingdom is called by *Strabo*, *Gaza*; by *Plutarch*, *Phrabata*; and by *Dion* *Praaspa*. But as we have described elsewhere ⁿ this country, and given an account of the cities it contained, we shall proceed to the history of its kings. The first who reigned here was *Atropatus*, who being governor of this province in the time of *Darius Codomannus*, as we have hinted above, defended the narrow passes leading into it against *Alexander*, and upon his departure caused himself to be acknowledged king of the country. Upon the death of *Alexander*, *Perdiccas*, who had married his daughter, suffered him to enjoy his new kingdom without molestation. The other kings of *Media* we find mentioned in history, are *Timarchus*, *Mithridates*, *Darius*, and *Artuafdes*. *Timarchus* reigned in the time of *Demetrius Soter* king of *Syria*, who attempted, but without success, to reduce *Media*, as *Trogus* informs us ^o. *Mithridates* was contemporary with *Mithridates the Great* king of *Pontus*, whom he assisted against *Lucullus*. He married the daughter of *Tigranes* king of *Armenia*; but dying without issue, left the kingdom to his brother *Darius*, who likewise sided with *Mithridates*; but was overcome by *Pompey* ^p. *Darius* was succeeded by his son *Artuafdes*, or *Artauafdes*, on whom *Marc Antony* made war at the instigation of *Artabazes* king of *Armenia*; but was therein attended with bad success, as we shall relate in the history of *Parthia*. Upon the retreat of *Marc Antony*, *Artuafdes* falling out with his allies the *Parthians*, about the division of the *Roman* spoils, sent ambassadors into *Egypt*, acquainting *Antony*, that he was ready to join him with all his forces, and assist him to the utmost of his power in the reduction of *Parthia*. Hereupon the triumvir resolved to return into *Parthia* by the way of *Media*, and to attach *Artuafdes* more firmly to his interest, first sent him as a pre-

^l STRABO, l. xi. p. 523. ^m Idem ibid. & seq. ^o TROG. POMP. Prolog. l. xxxiv. PLUT. in Pomp. APPIAN. in Mithridat.

ⁿ Vol. IV. p. 355

^p DION, l. xxxv

sent the head of *Artabazes* his inveterate enemy, whom he had treacherously seized, and afterwards contracted a marriage for *Alexander*, one of his sons by *Cleopatra*, with a daughter of the king of *Media*; but in the mean time the civil war breaking out between *Antony* and *Octavianus*, *Artasdes* sent his forces to join the former, which gave the *Parthians* an opportunity of invading his dominions, and driving him from the throne. After having lived some time in *Syria*, he had recourse to the clemency of *Octavianus*, who received him into favour, and bestowed upon him the kingdom of *Armenia Minor*¹. As for the kingdom of *Media*, it continued subject to the *Parthians*, who held it for many years, as we shall see in the history of that people. Some authors indeed speak of kings reigning in *Media* long after the times we are now writing of; but these princes were probably of the race of the *Arsatidæ*; for *Dion*, *Tacitus*, and *Josephus* tell us, that the *Parthian* kings sometimes suffered their younger brothers to reign in *Media*.

B A C T R I A.

BACTRIA or *Bactriana*, now *Chorassan*, was bounded Bactria. on the west by *Margiana*; on the north by the river *Oxus*; on the south by mount *Paropamisus*; and on the east by *Asiatic Scythia* and the country of the *Massagetæ*. It was a large, fruitful, and well-peopled country, containing, if *Ammianus Marcellinus* is to be credited², a thousand cities; but of these we find only the following mentioned by the ancients, *Bactra*, the metropolis of the country, called antiently *Zariaspe*. Some writers indeed make *Bactra* and *Zariaspe* two different cities; but *Strabo*³ and *Pliny*⁴ tell us in express terms, that *Bactra* and *Zariaspe* were two names of one and the same city. *Pliny* places *Bactra* on the river *Zariaspa*; and *Curtius* on the *Bactrus*, at the foot of mount *Paropamisus*; but *Ptolemy*, disagreeing with both these writers, describes it as standing on the river *Dargidus*, in the heart of the country, at a great distance from mount *Paropamisus*, which was the southern boundary. From the river *Bactrus*, *Curtius*⁵ will have both the city and country


¹ DION. l. xlix. p. 415. ZONAR. Tom. II. ² AMMIAN. MARCEL. l. xxiii. ³ STRABO, l. xi. ⁴ PLIN. l. vi. c. 15, 16. ⁵ Q. CURT. l. vii. c. 4.

to have borrowed their names. The other cities of *Bactria*, mentioned by the antient geographers, are *Alexandria*, probably built by *Alexander*; *Darapsa* or *Adraspa*, the same city which *Arrian* calls *Drapsaca* ^w; *Eucratidia*, *Cariata*, both spoke of by *Strabo* ^x; the latter was destroyed by *Alexander*; *Sisimethræ Petra*, where *Alexander* solemnized his marriage with *Roxana* who was kept there; *Maracanda*, repaired, but not built, as *Æneas Sylvius* and *Cambinus* have imagined, by *Tamerlan*. The same writers tell us, that *Maracanda* was the birth-place of that great commander, but are therein contradicted by *Chalcocondyles* ^y. This city is now known by the name of *Samaracanda*; whence the present kings of *Persia* style themselves princes of *Samaracanda*, as *David Chytræus* informs us ^z. *Ebusmi* and *Charracharta*, now *Chiariachar*, were once two places of great note, being called by *Ptolemy* royal cities. The chief rivers of *Bactria* were, the *Ochus*, the *Oxus*, the *Orgomenes*, or, as *Ptolemy* calls it, *Dargomenes*, the *Zariaspa* or *Zariaspes*, the *Artimis*, and the *Dargidus*. Most of these rivers fall into the *Ochus*, which springs from mount *Paropamisus* and discharges itself into the *Caspian* sea. *Paropamisus*, or *Parapamisus* is a part of mount *Taurus*, and not of mount *Caucasus*, as those who attended *Alexander* in his expedition into *India* were pleased to call it ^a. That part of *Bactria* which was watered by the river *Oxus*, is described by the ancients as a very fruitful country, abounding with pastures, and well stocked with cattle of a very large size; but the southern parts were nothing but sandy deserts, without any tract or beaten way; infomuch, that travellers used to rest in the day-time, and pursue their journey in the night, guiding themselves by the stars, as on the sea, not without danger of being buried in the sand. The country was inhabited by the following nations, *viz.* the *Salataræ*, *Zariaspæ*, *Chomatri*, *Comi*, *Acinacæ*, *Tambyzæ*, *Thocaræ*, *Marycæi*, *Amarispîi*, and several others of less note. The *Bactrians* in general were reckoned good soldiers, being always at war, either among themselves or with the neighbouring nations, and enemies to all manner of luxury. *Pliny* tells us, that they used to expose their old people, when they attained to a certain age, to be devoured by fierce mastiffs, which they kept for that purpose, and called *sepulchral dogs*. The same author adds, that they allowed their daughters to keep company with whom they pleased, and that in-

^w ARRIAN. l. iii. c. 29. ^x STRABO. l. xv. p. 498. ^y CHALCOCOND. l. iii. ^z CHYTRÆUS in Chron. ^a STRABO, l. xi. p. 348. ARRIAN, Indic. c. 11.

continency was no ways disreputable even to the women ^b. As to their government, they were ruled by kings in the earliest ages. *Zoroaster* is said by *Eusebius* ^c to have reigned in *Bactria*, and to have been contemporary with *Ninus*, who made war upon him, and subdued his country. But *Ctesias* mentions one *Oxyartes* as reigning in *Bactria*, when that country was reduced by *Ninus*, and will have *Zoroaster* to have been contemporary with *Cyrus the Great*. *Pliny* questions whether he ever reigned in *Bactria*; but of him and his writings we have spoke elsewhere ^d. All authors agree, that *Bactria* was subdued, first by the *Affyrians*, and afterwards by the *Persians* under *Cyrus the Great*, as we have related in the history of those two empires. It fell afterwards under the power of the *Macedonians*, and was held by the successors of *Seleucus Nicator* till the reign of *Antiochus* ^e *Theas*, when *Theodotus*, from governor of that province, became king, and strengthened himself so effectually in his new kingdom, while *Antiochus* was engaged in a war with *Ptolemy Philadelphus* king of *Egypt*, that he could never afterwards dispossess him of his new acquisitions ^f. He was succeeded by his son, named also *Theodotus*, who entering into an alliance with *Arfaces*, the founder of the *Parthian* monarchy, considerably enlarged his kingdom, while the two brothers *Seleucus Callinicus* and *Antiochus Hierax* were wasting their strength against each other ^g. *Theodotus* was overcome in battle, and driven out by *Euthydemus* his brother, who, as he was a very valiant and prudent prince, maintained a long war against *Antiochus the Great*, in defence of his country, obliging him at last to lay aside all thoughts of ever reducing it, as we have related in the history of *Syria*. *Euthydemus* was succeeded by his brother *Menander*, who, passing the river *Hypanis*, subdued the kingdom of *Sigertis*, the large province of *Pattalena*, and several other countries unknown even to *Alexander the Great*; but while he was preparing to make new conquests, and invade the *Syrian* dominions, he was taken off by a violent fever, to the great grief of his subjects, among whom his ashes were distributed, to quell the disturbances that arose on account of his body, which many cities laid claim to. By this means magnificent monuments were erected to his memory in most cities of *Bactria* ^h. He was

Revolt of
the Bactri-
ans.
Year of
the Flood,
2699.
Before
Christ,
300.



^b *PLIN.* *ibid.* ^c *EUSEB.* in *Chron.* ^d *Vide* Vol. IV. p. 506, & Vol. v. p. 151, & seq. ^e *ARRIAN.* in *Parthic.* apud Phot. cod. 58. *SYNCEL.* p. 284 *JUSTIN.* l. xii c. 4. *STRABO* l. xi p. 515. ^f *JUSTIN.* l. xli. c. 4. ^g *ARRIAN.* *Peripl.* p. 32. *TROG* in *Prolog.* l. xli.

succeeded

succeeded by his nephew *Demetrius*, the son of *Euthydemus*, in whose name he had governed, that prince being very young at his father's death. *Demetrius* was no ways inferior to his uncle in courage and bravery; for he had not only maintained himself in the possession of the provinces which *Menander* had reduced, but made several new acquisitions, and at his death left the kingdom of *Bactria* in a most flourishing condition. His son *Eucratides* built the city of *Eucratidia*, and having invaded *India*, made himself master of all those provinces which had been subjected by *Alexander*. On his return to his own dominions, he was treacherously murdered by his son, named also *Eucratides*, to whom he had committed the government of the kingdom during his absence. So wicked an action did not go long unpunished; for the *Scythians* invading *Bactria* on one side, and the *Parthians* on the other, *Eucratides* was driven from the throne, and soon after killed in attempting to recover it. Upon his death the *Parthians* seized on the provinces of *Aspionia* and *Thuriva*, leaving all the rest to the *Scythians*, who held the kingdom of *Bactria* till the invasion of the *Huns*, of whom we shall have occasion to speak in a more proper place. The kings, whom we find mentioned as reigning in *Bactria* in the times of the emperors *Adrian*, *Antoninus Pius*, and *Valerian*, were all of *Scythian* extraction; but the *Scythians* were in their turn driven out by the *Huns*, who reigned in *Bactria*, as we read in our modern historians, in the time of *Ladislau* IV. king of *Hungary*.

E D E S S A.

Edessa.

THE ancient city of *Edessa* is placed by geographers in *Mesopotamia*, on the banks of the *Scirtus*, between mount *Mafius* and the *Euphrates*, into which the *Scirtus* empties itself. It was once a place of great note, and famous for a temple of the *Syrian* goddess, which was reckoned one of the richest in the world, nations and princes sending thither presents and offerings from all parts of the east. From this temple *Edessa* was styled *Hierapolis*, or *the holy city*. During the intestine broils, which greatly weakened the kingdom of *Syria*, one *Augarus* or *Abgarus* seized on the city of *Edessa* and its fruitful territory, which he erected into a new kingdom, styling himself king of *Edessa*, and transmitting the same title to his posterity. Under which of the *Syrian* kings this revolution happened, we find no-where recorded. All we know of the founder of this new kingdom is, that he often defeated

defeated the *Syrians*, to whom the country which he possessed had been long subject, and in spite of their utmost efforts, left at his death his small principality, as *Egnatius*^h and *Xylander* style itⁱ, in a very flourishing condition. He was succeeded by his son *Ariamnes*, or *Abgarus* II. for the name of *Abgarus* was common to all the kings of *Edessa*. This prince made himself master of the whole province of *Osroene*, and entering into an alliance with *Pompey* against *Tigranes* the Great king of *Armenia*, supplied his army with all manner of provisions. In the *Parthian* war he pretended to side with *Crassus*; but in the mean time maintaining a private correspondence with the enemy, was the chief cause of the great overthrow which the *Romans* received at *Carrhæ*, as we shall relate at length in the history of the *Parthians*. He left the kingdom to his son *Uchanias*, mentioned by *Eusebius*^k, who was succeeded by his son *Abgarus* III. a prince much spoke of by the ecclesiastic writers, on account of the letters which he is supposed to have wrote to our saviour, and our saviour to him. These letters were found by *Eusebius*, as he assures us, in the public archives of *Edessa*, and by him translated out of the original *Syriac* into *Greek*, and inserted in his ecclesiastic history^l. They are also spoke of by *Nicephorus*^m, *Cedrenus*ⁿ, *Dorotheus*^o, *Evagrius*^p, *Glycas*^q, *Curopolates*^r, *Nicetas*^s, &c. The last mentioned writer tells us, that our saviour's letter was stolen in the reign of *Andronicus Comnenus*, and never after heard of^t. These letters have given occasion to many disputes among our modern writers, some maintaining them to be genuine, and others to be forged. This subject has been learnedly handled by *Casaubon*, *Gretserus*, *Tillemont*, *Du Pin*, and the late father *Alexander*, a writer of great note of the *Dominican* order, to whom we refer such of our readers as are desirous to be well acquainted with this controversy, which is altogether foreign to our subject. *Abgarus* IV. the son of the above-mentioned prince, reigned in the time of the emperor *Claudius*, and joined *C. Cassius* governor of *Syria*, who had been ordered by that emperor to place *Meherdates* on the throne of *Parthia*. When *Meherdates* arrived at *Edessa*, *Abgarus*, who had been gained over by the *Parthians*, detained him there, under various pre-

^h EGNAT. in Spart. sever.ⁱ XYLANDER, in Dion. l. xl.^k EUSEB. Hist. Eccles. l. i. c. 15.^l Idem, l. i. c. 15. & l.

ii. c. 1.

^m NICEPH. CALIST. l. ii. c. 7.ⁿ CEDREN.

p. 144 & seq.

^o DOROTH. in Synopsi.^p EVAGRIUS, l.

iv. c. 27.

^q GLYCAS, p. 393, 441.^r CUROPALAT. p.

60, 99.

^s NICETAS, l. ii.^t NICETAS, ibid.

tences, till such time as the enemy had drawn together their forces and, in the heat of the engagement, abandoning the Romans with the king of the *Adiabeniens*, brought on the defeat of their army^u. The next prince of *Edeffa*, we find mentioned in history is that *Abgarus*, who was contemporary with the emperor *Trajan*, to whom he sent, during the war he waged with the *Parthians*, two hundred and fifty fine horses, a great many complete suits of armour, and sixty thousand javelins, *Trajan* accepted of three breast-plates only, and declared *Abgarus* a friend and ally of the *Roman* people^w. *Suidas* sometimes calls him *Abgarus*, and sometimes *Augarus*, giving him in one place the title of king, and elsewhere styling him the chief, of the *Edeffans*. He was succeeded by his son *Arbandes*, who was highly favoured by *Trajan*. *Abgarus* VI. the son of *Arbandes*, is mentioned by *Capitolinus*, in his life of *Antoninus Pius*, and by *Epiphanius*,^a who calls him a most pious prince. Another prince of the same name reigned at *Edeffa* in the time of the emperor *Severus*, assisted him in the wars he waged in the east, and attended him to *Rome*, where he was, by the emperor's orders, received and entertained with the utmost pomp and splendor^x. He was afterwards suspected by *Caracalla* of holding a correspondence with the enemies of *Rome*, and being summoned to justify himself before the emperor, he was, by his orders confined, and his kingdom reduced to a *Roman* province^y. He is by *Spartianus* called king of *Persia*; but by *Dion*, *Zonaras*, and *Herodianus* king of the *Osroëni*, the dominions of the kings of *Edeffa* being confined within the narrow bounds of *Osroëne*, or, as others call it, *Osdroëne*, a province of *Mesopotamia*, bounded on the west and south by the *Euphrates*; on the east by the *Chaboras* or *Aborras*; and on the north by mount *Taurus*, dividing it from the *Greater Armenia*.

E M E S A.

Emesa.

EME^A, *Emisa*, or *Emiffa*, was a city of *Syria*, placed by most of the antient geographers on the *Orontes*, between *Apamea* and *Laodicea Cabiosa*. This city one *Sampsiceramus*, an *Arabian*, seized during the troubles of *Syria*, and assuming the title of king, held *Emesa*, and its small territory,

^a TACIT. l. xii. ^w SUIDAS, voce Εδισσα. THEODOS. MIN. in fragment. ^x SPARTIAN. in Severo. ^y DION, & ZONAR. in Caracalla & Heliogabalo. SPARTIAN. ubi supra. HERODIAN. l. iii.

without the least disturbance from the *Seleucidæ*; who had other more important wars on their hands ^a. *Sampsiceramus* is often mentioned by *Cicero* in his letters to *Atticus* ^a. But *Nizolius* is of opinion, that *Cicero*, under that disguise, meant *Pompey*, who had overcome *Sampsiceramus*. He left two sons, *Jamblichus* and *Alexander*. The former succeeded his father, and, as he was greatly attached to the *Romans*, acquainted *Cicero*; while he governed *Cilicia* in quality of proconsul, with the motions and designs of the *Parthians*, who, under the conduct of *Pacorus* their king, were preparing to invade *Syria*. In the civil wars of *Rome*, he sided first with *Cæsar* against *Pompey*, and afterwards with *Antony* against *Octavianus*. After the victory gained by the latter at *Actium*, *Antony*, apprehending that he designed to follow the example of the neighbouring princes, who had all declared for the conqueror, got him into his power, and, upon that bare suspicion, caused him to be put to a most cruel death ^b. He is styled by *Strabo*, the petty king of the *Emeseni*; by *Josephus*, a petty prince of *Arabia*; and by *Dion*, prince of the *Arabians*. Upon his death the kingdom was by *Antony* bestowed on his brother *Alexander*, who continuing faithful to his benefactor in his greatest distress, was taken prisoner by *Octavianus*, and not only deprived of his kingdom, but carried in triumph, and afterwards put to death ^c. His son *Jamblichus* II. was received into favour by *Octavianus*, and by him restored to his father's kingdom, after he had lived some time in banishment ^d. Many years after him reigned *Sampsiceramus* II. whom some writers take to have been his grandson. He is mentioned by *Josephus*, who styles him king of the *Emeseni* ^e. He was succeeded by his son *Azizus*, who falling in love with *Dru-silla*, the sister of *Agrippa minor*, embraced the *Jewish* religion, in order to marry her ^f. His sister *Jotape* was married to *Aristobulus* the brother of *Agrippa the Great* ^g. *Azizus* is the last king of *Emesa* we find mentioned in history. This small kingdom was perhaps seized by the *Arabians*; for some years after we find it possessed by the *Ituræans*. The emperor *Heliogabalus* was a native, as *Evagrius* informs us, of the city of *Emesa*.

^a STRABO, l. xvi. ^a Cic. ad Attic. l. ii. epist. 14, 16, 17, & 23.

^b STRABO, ibid. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 13. DION, lib. I. Cic. epist. ad fam. l. xv. epist. i. ^c DION, l. li. ^d Idem, l. liv.

^e JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xviii. c. 7. & l. xix. c. 7. ^f Idem, l. xx. c.

^g ZONAR. Tom. I. ^g Idem, l. xviii. c. 7.

A D I A B E N E.

Adiabene. **A**S we have described elsewhere the province of *Adiabene*^b, which was the richest and most fruitful of all *Assyria*, we shall in this place only give a succinct account of the kings, who taking advantage of the disturbances that reigned among the *Seleucidæ*, erected here a new kingdom, and held it in spite of the *Syrian* kings, till they were driven out by the superior power of the *Roman* emperors. The first king we find mentioned in history, reigned in the time of the *Mithridatic* war, and joined *Tigranes* against *Lucullus*, as we read in *Plutarch*, tho' that author does not acquaint us with his name^c. Many years after, that is, in the reign of the emperor *Claudius*, one *Monobazus*, called also *Bazeos*, ruled over the *Adiabeniensians*. This prince falling in love with his sister *Helena*, married her, and had by her two sons, viz. *Monobazus* and *Izates*. He had several children by other wives; but as he favoured *Izates* above all the rest, this raised no small jealousy in his other sons, especially in *Monobazus* the eldest. To prevent therefore the evil consequences which his partiality might occasion in his family, he sent *Izates* to be brought up by one *Abemerigus*, lord, or, as *Josephus* calls him, king, of a rich country in that neighbourhood. *Abemerigus*, who then resided at a place called *Spasimus*, brought him up with great care, and gave him his daughter *Samacha* in marriage, and with her a rich and fruitful country by way of dowry. In the meantime *Monobazus*, as he was stricken in years, and desirous to see his favourite child before his death, sent for him, and receiving him with great tenderness, bestowed upon him the country of *Cæron*, which abounded with odoriferous plants, and was famous, as *Josephus* informs us, on account of the remains of *Noah's* ark, which were still to be seen there in his time. In this country *Izates* remained till his father's death, when his mother *Helena* calling together the chief lords of the kingdom, told them, That the deceased king had by his last will, appointed *Izates* to reign in his stead, as the most worthy of all his children; but that she had not thought proper to acquaint him therewith, till the honour, to which he had been destined by his father, was confirmed to him by the unanimous consent of his subjects. She had scarce uttered these words, when the nobles, prostrating themselves on the ground before the queen, according to the custom of

^b Vol. IV. p. 124 (D). ^c PLUT. in Lucull.

the country, declared, that they approved the king's election, and were ready, not only to obey *Izates*, who had been deservedly preferred to his brothers but to put them all to death, that he might enjoy the kingdom without disturbance. The queen thanked them for their zeal, but at the same time desired them to forbear shedding the blood of any of the royal family, till the will of their new sovereign was known. Hereupon they intreated the queen to confine at least the young princes till the king's arrival, and in the mean time to appoint one to govern in his name. *Helena* readily complied with their request, and named her eldest son, *Monobazus*, guardian of the kingdom during his brother's absence, placing with her own hand the diadem on his head, and delivering to him his father's seal, with the robe, called by the *Adiabeni-ans sampsera*, and exhorting him to govern with justice and moderation till the arrival of his brother, to whom the crown belonged, both by the last will of his father, and the unanimous election of the people. In the mean time *Izates*, being acquainted with his father's death and the zeal his new subjects had shewn for him, hastened to his kingdom, where he was received with great rejoicings, and met by his brother *Monobazus*, who, on his arrival, resigned to him the diadem and other ensigns of royalty.

WHILE *Izates* was at the court of *Abemerigus*, he had been instructed in the *Jewish* religion by one *Ananias*, who, at his request, had attended him into the kingdom of *Adiabene*, and continued with him in the province of *Cæron*, which his father, as we have said above, had bestowed on him. His mother likewise, having been instructed by another *Jew*, had embraced that religion; but nevertheless did all that lay in her power to dissuade her son from circumcision, to which, as a zealous proselyte he had a great inclination, thinking himself obliged to comply with all the duties of the religion he had embraced, *Ananias* his instructor agreed with the queen, and fearing lest some misfortune might befall him, if the king's conversion, which had been brought about by his means, were publicly known, represented to him, that he might serve the true God without being circumcised; that since he had resolved to live according to the other laws of the *Jews*, God would pardon him this neglect in consideration of that resolution; that true religion consisted in the pious sentiments of the soul, and not in the circumcision of the body; which was indeed enjoined by *Moses*, but might be dispensed with in the present circumstances, considering the danger he was in of forfeiting his kingdom by an open profession of the *Jewish* religion, &c. Lastly, *Ananias*, who, it seems, was a time-server, threatened to forsake the pious prince,

if

if he did not lay aside, for the present, all thoughts of circumcision. By these remonstrances *Izates* was prevailed up on to suspend the execution of his design; but not long after another *Jew*, by name *Eleazer*, a man well versed in the law of *Moses*, and of great learning, arriving at the court, and finding the king, when he went to wait on him, reading the books of *Moses*, told him in plain terms, that he had offended both against God and the law; for it is not enough, said he, for any man to understand his religion; the main duty incumbent upon us is, to do what our religion commands us. How long will you remain uncircumcised? If you are unacquainted with the injunctions of the law touching this point, read it now, that you may no longer be ignorant of the guilt you incur, in omitting one of the most essential duties of your religion. *Izates*, struck with these words, immediately withdrew, and, in compliance with the law, submitted to the ceremony which it prescribed^k. In his reign *Artabanus* king of the *Parthians*, being driven out by his rebellious subjects, had recourse to him, and was not only kindly received at his court, and treated like a king, but, by his good offices, restored to the crown, as we shall relate in the history of *Parthia*; in acknowledgment of which kindness, *Artabanus* yielded to him the fruitful province of *Nisibis*, which he had lately taken from the king of *Armenia*. Upon the death of *Artabanus*, a civil war breaking out in *Parthia*, between *Gotarzes* and *Meherdates*, *Izates* pretended to favour the latter, whose claim was supported by the emperor *Claudius*, but maintained the whole time a private correspondence with the former, and joined him at last with all his forces; which brought on the ruin of *Meherdates*, as we shall have occasion to relate in the history of *Parthia*^l.

Monobazus, the king's elder brother, and the other princes of the royal family, finding that *Izates* had been attended with wonderful success, says *Josephus*^m, in all his undertakings, ever since the change of his religion, resolved to follow his example; which so offended the chief lords of the kingdom, that entering into a conspiracy against their prince, who had first introduced the *Jewish* religion among them, they wrote privately to *Abias* king of *Arabia*, promising him great sums of money, on condition he would assist them in driving *Izates* from the throne, and assuring him that they were all to a man resolved to forsake him, and deliver him up to the first that should invade his dominions. Hereupon *A-*

^k JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xx. c. 2.

^l TACITUS, Annal. l. xii.

^m JOSEPH. ibid.

Abias, having drawn together a considerable army, entered the kingdom of *Adiabene*, where he was met by *Izates*, and a battle ensuing, the *Adiabeniens*, at the first onset, fled as if they had been seized with a panic fear, and retired in great disorder to their camp. The king seeing himself abandoned by his men, retired with them, and having found, on examining the cause of so sudden a flight, that the private men had only followed the example of their leaders, and by that means discovered the whole plot, he caused the chief conspirators to be immediately put to death, and marching out the next day with the rest, fell unexpectedly upon the enemy, and gained a complete victory. The king of *Arabia*, being closely pursued by the *Adiabeniens*, sheltered himself in the fortress of *Arsam*, which *Izates* immediately besieged, and assaulted with such vigour, that it was soon obliged to surrender. He found there an immense booty, and great store of provisions; but *Abias*, by a voluntary death, escaped captivity, as did many of the *Arabian* lords who attended himⁿ. The conspirators, tho' thus disappointed, still persisted in their former resolution of getting rid, by some means or other, of a king, who endeavoured to abolish their antient religion, and introduce a strange law. They therefore had recourse to *Vologeses* king of the *Parthians*, intreating him to assist them in driving from the throne *Izates*, and to give them a king of the race of the *Arsacidæ*, since they could not live under a prince, who countenanced a religion differing from that of his own country. Upon this invitation *Vologeses* marched with a mighty army against *Izates*, who, finding himself no-ways in a condition to oppose so powerful an enemy with his own strength, had recourse to prayers, beseeching the Almighty, for whose sake he was reduced to such straits, to exert his power in the defence of one who put all his confidence in him. He had scarce ended his prayer, when news was brought him, that *Vologeses*, who had encamped over-against him on the other side of the river, which parted *Adiabene* from *Media*, was retiring with great haste and confusion, upon certain advice, that the *Dabæ* and *Sacæ*, taking advantage of his absence, had invaded *Parthia*, and were committing everywhere most dreadful ravages^o. *Izates*, being thus delivered, by the protection of heaven, from the imminent danger he was in of losing both his life and his kingdom, spent the remainder of his days in peace and tranquillity, and died in the fifty fifth year of his age, and twenty fourth of his reign. *Josephus* gives him a most extraordinary character, which he

ⁿ JOSEPH. *ibid.*^o *Idem, ibid.*

well deserved, if all that writer relates of him be true. He had by his wife *Samacha* or *Samaco*, the daughter of *Abemerigus*, five sons, who were all brought up under their grandmother *Helena* at *Jerusalem*, and there taught both the *Jewish* language and religion. They were in that city while it was besieged by *Titus*, who generously pardoned them, and carried them with him to *Rome*, where they remained as hostages ^p. *Helena*, who was both mother and aunt to *Izates*, and a zealous proselyte to the *Jewish* religion, no sooner saw her favourite son settled on the throne, but she undertook a journey to *Jerusalem*, being desirous to visit the holy city, and offer sacrifices of thanksgiving in the temple, which was so renowned over all the world. *Izates* not only supplied her with all things that were necessary for her journey, in a royal and magnificent manner, and with large sums of money, but attended her in person great part of the way. On her arrival at *Jerusalem*, she was received by the priests and chief men of the nation in a manner suitable to her rank, and entertained with great splendor and magnificence; but soon after the city being most grievously oppressed by a famine, that, in all likelihood, which had been foretold by the prophet *Agabus*, as we read in the *Acts* ^q, the pious queen not only refused to be maintained at the public expence, but plentifully supplied the poor of the city with corn from *Egypt*, and other provisions from the island of *Cyprus*. She likewise persuaded her son *Izates* to send a considerable sum of money to the governor of *Jerusalem*, for the relief of the afflicted citizens ^r. These pious offices, and the zeal she shewed for the *Jewish* religion, gained her, as *Josephus* informs us, the affection of the whole nation. She continued in *Jerusalem*, where she built a magnificent palace, which was burnt by the *Romans* under *Titus*, till the death of *Izates*, when she returned to *Adiabene*, and soon after died. *Monobazus*, who succeeded his brother *Izates*, sent his body, with that of his mother *Helena*, to be deposited in the magnificent monument, which she had erected with three lofty pyramids, about three furlongs from the city of *Jerusalem* ^s. This monument is mentioned by *Eusebius* ^t, *St. Jerom* ^u, and *Pausanias* ^w. The latter speaks of it in the following terms: Tho' I have heard of many monuments worthy of admiration, yet I shall here take notice of two only; the one at *Halicarnassus*, the other in the country of

^p Idem. de bell. Jud. l. vii. c. 13.

^q ACTS. c. xi, ver. 28.

^r JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xx. c. 2.

^s Idem ibid.

^t EUSEB.

Hist. Eccles. l. ii. c. 12.

^u HIERONYM. ad Eustoc.

^w PAU-

SAN. l. viii.

the *Jews*. The former, erected in honour of *Mausolus* king of *Halicarnassus*, was so magnificent and stately an edifice, that the *Romans*, struck with its extraordinary beauty and grandeur, called all majestic monuments *mausoleums*. The other, a monument of surprising workmanship, stands at a small distance from *Jerusalem*, and is the sepulchre of one *Helena*, a native of that country. It is all of marble, and has a door, which, on a stated day and hour of the year, opens by some hidden springs, and soon after shuts again. At other times you may break it down, but it is impossible to open it. Thus far *Pausanias*; but *Josephus*, who was better acquainted with the monuments of his own country than any of the *Greeks*, takes no notice of this prodigy. *Orosius* tells us*, that *Helena* embraced the *Christian* religion, and during the above-mentioned famine, supplied the indigent and distressed *Christians* with corn brought from *Egypt* for that purpose.

THO' *Izates* had several children, yet by his last will he bequeathed the crown to his brother *Monobazus*, rewarding him thereby for the great care and indefatigable fidelity, with which he had governed the kingdom during his absence, and the intire submission he had shewn him, tho' a younger brother, the whole time of his reign. But as to the affairs of this kingdom, there is a profound silence among authors, from the death of *Izates*, who was contemporary with the emperor *Claudius*, to the reign of *Trajan*, when one *Mebarsapes* ruled there, and joined *Cosbroes* king of the *Persians* against the *Romans*; but that war proving unsuccessful for him and his allies, he was driven from the throne, and obliged to shelter himself in the dominions of *Manus* king of *Arabia*, who attempted to restore him to his kingdom; but as the strong castle of *Adenystæ* was held by a *Roman* garison, which he could never dislodge, he was forced to drop the enterprize, and abandoning his friend and ally, conclude a peace with *Rome*†. We find no further mention made of the *Adiabeni-ans*, till the reign of *Sapor II.* king of *Persia*, when they embraced the *Christian* religion, as *Sozomenus*‡ and *Nicephorus*§ inform us, and were, on that account, treated with great cruelty by the above-mentioned king, to whom they were at that time subject.

* *OROS.* l. vii. c. 6. † *DION.* in *Trajan.* *SEX. RUF.* in epit. *THEODOS. MIN.* in fragment. l. lxxv. *DIONYS.* ‡ *SOZOM.* l. ii. c. 12. § *NICEPH.* *Histor.* *Tripur.* l. viii. c. 38.

E L Y M A I S.

Elymais. **E**LYMAIS or, as *Strabo* calls it ^b, *Elymatis*, was a province of *Persia*, lying between the rivers *Eulæus* and *Oroates*, and extending from the confines of *Media* to the *Erythræan* sea, or *Persian* gulf. It was formerly divided into three great districts, viz. *Mesabatene*, *Gabene*, or *Gabiene*, and *Carbiana*, and contained the following cities; *Seleucia*, in more antient times *Soloe*, on the banks of the *Hedypus* or *Hedypnus*, which *Strabo* ^c calls a great city; *Sasirate*, at a small distance from mount *Casyrus*; *Badaca*, on the *Eulæus*; and *Elymais*, the metropolis of the province, famous for a rich temple consecrated to *Diana*, which *Antiochus Epiphanes* attempted to plunder; but was obliged by the inhabitants to retire with disgrace, as we have related in the history of *Syria*. We must not confound this city with that of *Persepolis*, called also by some writers *Elymais*; for the city we are here speaking of stood in the province of *Elymais*, and the other in that of *Persis*. The temple of *Elymais* was afterwards plundered by one of the *Parthian* kings, who found in it, as *Strabo* tells us ^d, ten thousand talents. In this country there was also a very rich temple consecrated to *Jupiter Belus*, which *Antiochus the Great* attempted to plunder, but lost his life in the attempt, as we have related in the history of his reign. The country of *Elymais* was inhabited according to *Pliny* ^e, by the following nations, viz. the *Oxii*, or *Uxii*, *Mizæi*, *Parthusi*, *Mardi*, *Saitæ*, *Hyi*, *Cossæi*, *Parætaceni*, and *Messabatæ*. The *Elymæans* were, as *Strabo* informs us ^f, a powerful people, inured to the toils of war, skilful bowmen, &c. and never subdued either by the *Syro-Macedonian* or *Parthian* kings, but governed by their own princes. If what *Strabo* writes be true, we may date the rise of this kingdom from the downfall of the *Persian* monarchy; for it is agreed on by all the antients, that the *Elymæans* were subject to the kings of *Persia*, and if they never submitted to the *Syrian* yoke, they must have been first governed by their own princes, either in *Alexander's* life-time, or soon after his death. Their kings are often spoke of by the antients; but not one of them, which

^b STRABO, l. xvi. ^c Idem ibid. p. 512. ^d Idem ibid. p. 44.
^e PLIN. l. vi. c. 27. ^f Idem ibid.

is somewhat surprising, named by any writer. All we know of them is, that they assisted *Antiochus the Great* in his wars with *Rome*; but afterwards cut off both him and his army in defence of their temple. The like fate would have attended *Antiochus Epiphanes*, when he attempted to plunder the temple of *Diana*, had he not, by a timely flight, retired into *Media* ^g. They afterwards, under the conduct of their king, engaged in a war against the *Babylonians* and *Susians*, in which they were assisted by the *Cossæans*, who, it seems, were not subject to the kings of *Elymais*, with thirteen thousand archers ^h. *Justin* writes ⁱ, that *Mithridates* king of *Parthia*, having overcome the king of the *Elymæans*, made himself master of all his dominions. But what *Justin* says is contradicted by *Strabo*, and also by *Plutarch*, who tells us in express words, that the *Elymæans* in *Pompey's* time were governed by their own kings ^k. But as neither their actions nor names have been transmitted to us, we shall dwell no longer on this barren subject.

C H A R A C E N E.

CHARACENE was the most southern part of *Susiana*, Characene, a province of *Persia*, lying on the *Persian* gulf, between the *Tigris* and the *Eulæus*. It was so named from the city of *Chorax*, called first *Alexandria*, from its founder *Alexander the Great*; afterwards *Antiochia*, from *Antiochus V.* king of *Syria*, who repaired and embellished it; and lastly, *Chorax Spasinæ* or *Pasinæ*, that is, the mole of *Spasines*, an *Arabian* king of that name having secured it against the overflowing of the *Tigris*, which often laid it under water, by a high bank or mole, extending three miles, which served as a fence to all that country ^l. *Dionysius Periegetes* and *Isidorus*, author of the *Parthicæ Mansiones*, were both natives of this city. The small district of *Characene* was seized by *Pasines* the son of *Sogdonacus*, king of the neighbouring *Arabs*, during the troubles of *Syria*, and erected into a kingdom ^m. *Lucian* calls him *Hyspasines*, and adds, that he ruled over the *Characeni* and the neighbouring people, and died in the eighty fifth year

^g POLYB. in excerpt. Val. p. 144. APPIAN. in Syriac. Maccab. I. c. vi. ver. 1, 2, &c. ^h STRABO, ibid. ⁱ JUSTIN. l. xli. ^k PLUT. in Pomp. ^l PLIN l. vi c. 27. ^m Idem ibid.

of his age ⁿ. The other kings of this country we find mentioned by the antients, are *Teræus*, who died in the ninety second year of his age, and after him *Artabazus* the seventh, as *Lucian* informs us, who was driven from the throne by his own subjects; but restored by the *Parthians* ^o. And this is all we find in the antients relating to the kings of *Characene*.

C O M M A G E N E.

Comma-
gene, or
Comage-
ne.

THIS country, which was part of *Syria*, we have described elsewhere ^p, and therefore shall proceed to the history of its kings. *Commagene* was subject to the *Syrians* in the time of *Antiochus the Great*, and left to him by the treaty of peace, which he concluded with *Rome* after the famous battle of *Magnesia*; whence it is probable, that it was seized by some of the princes of the *Seleucian* family, during their intestine wars; for we find no mention made of the kings of *Commagene* till *Pompey's* time, and the names of those, who afterwards reigned there, are intirely *Syrian*. The first we find mentioned in history, is *Antiochus*, who, together with *Darius* king of *Media*, opposed *Pompey* as he entered *Syria*, after the defeat of *Tigranes*; but being overcome in battle, he submitted to the conqueror, and was for his submission not only confirmed by *Pompey* in his kingdom, but rewarded with part of *Mesopotamia* ^q. In the civil war between *Cæsar* and *Pompey* he sent large supplies to the latter. He afterwards joined *Pacorus* king of *Parthia*, whom *Labienus* had invited into *Syria*, and was on that occasion besieged by *Ventidius* in the city of *Samosata*, and obliged to purchase a peace with *Marc Antony* with three hundred talents. In the reign of *Augustus* a dispute arising between him and his brother *Mithridates*, he caused the ambassador, whom his brother had sent to plead his cause at *Rome*, to be treacherously assassinated. Whereupon he was summoned to appear before the senate, and being by that body found guilty of the murder laid to his charge, he was by the emperor's orders put to death ^r. He was succeeded by *Mithridates*, on whom *Augustus* be-

ⁿ LUCIAN. in *Macrob.*

^o Idem *ibid.*

^p Vol. II. p:

233.

^q JOSEPH. *Antiq.* l. ii. OROS. l. vi.

^r DION.

l. iii. p. 495.

stowed the kingdom of *Commagene*, though no-ways related to the deceased king, as a reward for his services during the war with *Antony* and *Cleopatra*. *Mithridates* the king's brother was excluded from the throne, for having sided with *Antony*^c. Upon the death of *Mithridates*, *Augustus* suffered *Antiochus* II. the son of *Antiochus* I. to take possession of his father's kingdom. He died in the reign of *Tiberius*, and upon his death great disturbances arising between the nobles and the people, the latter demanding a king, and the former desiring to be governed by a magistrate sent them from *Rome*, *Tiberius* complied with the request of the nobles, and appointed *Q. Servius* to govern *Commagene* in quality of prætor^d. But *Caligula* restored the kingdom of *Commagene* to *Antiochus* the son of *Antiochus* II. adding to it the maritime parts of *Cilicia*. He defeated the *Cilicians*, who refused to acknowledge him for their king, and took *Trosobor* their ringleader prisoner. He assisted *Vespasian* against *Vitellus*, and served under *Titus* at the siege of *Jerusalem*; but being afterwards suspected of holding a private correspondence with the *Parthians*, he was taken prisoner by *Cesennius*, and sent in chains to the emperor *Vespasian*, who banished him to *Lacedæmon*; but afterwards suffered him to lead a private life at *Rome*. *Antiochus* left two sons, viz. *Antiochus* and *Callinicus*, and one daughter, named *Jotape*. *Antiochus*, surnamed *Epiphanes*, served under *Otho* against *Vitellius*, and under *Vespasian* in his war with the *Jews*, and distinguished himself at the siege of *Jerusalem*. *Callinicus* is mentioned by *Josephus*^e, who tells us, that his sister *Jotape* was married to *Alexander* king of *Lesis* in *Cilicia*. But *Vespasian*, having reduced *Commagene* to the form of a *Roman* province, would not allow any of the sons of *Antiochus* to succeed him. This country was afterwards made part of the province called *Augustophratenensis*, or as *Ammianus* has it, *Euphratenensis*, and was commonly known by the name of *Euphratesia*.

^c Idem, l. liv. ^d TACIT. Annal. l. ii. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xviii. c. 3. ^e JOSEPH. de bell. Jud. l. vii. c. 27.

C H A L C I D E N E.

Chalci-
dene.

CHALCIDENE, one of the most fruitful provinces of Syria, was bounded on the east by *Chalybonitis*; on the west by *Antiochis*; on the south by *Apamene* and *Cæle-Syria*; and on the north by *Cyrrhestica*. It was called *Chalcidene* from the city of *Chalcis*, the metropolis of the province, situated at the foot of mount *Libanus*. This province was seized by *Ptolemy* the son of *Mennæus*, during the troubles of Syria, and by him made a separate kingdom. *Ptolemy* himself is styled by *Josephus* ^w and *Hegesippus* ^x only prince of *Chalcis*; but his son *Lysanias* is honoured both by *Josephus* ^y and *Dion* ^z with the title of king. Upon the death of *Antiochus Dionysius* king of Syria, he attempted to make himself master of *Damascus* and all *Cæle-Syria*; but the inhabitants, having an utter aversion to him on account of his cruelty and wickedness, chose rather to submit to *Aretas* king of *Arabia*, by whom *Antiochus* and his whole army had been cut off ^a. He opposed *Pompey* on his entering Syria, but was by him defeated, taken prisoner, and sentenced to death; which, however, he escaped, by paying to *Pompey* a thousand talents ^b, who left him also in the possession of his kingdom. After *Aristobulus* king of *Judæa* had been poisoned by the friends of *Pompey*, and *Alexander* his son beheaded at *Antioch*, as we shall relate in the history of the Jews, he sent *Philippion* his son to *Askalon*, whither the widow of *Aristobulus* had retired with her other children, to bring them all to *Chalcis*, proposing, as he was in love with one of the daughters, named *Alexandria*, to maintain them in his own kingdom in a manner suitable to their rank; but *Philippion* likewise falling in love with *Alexandria*, married her on the way, for which *Ptolemy* put him to death on his return, and then married her himself ^c. By reason of this affinity he assisted, to the utmost of his power, *Antigonus*, the younger son of *Aristobulus*, who, being thus assisted by him, took the field at the head of a considerable army; but, on his first entering *Judæa*, was intirely defeated by *Herod* ^d. *Ptolemy* soon after died, and was succeeded by his son *Lysanias*, who, espousing the cause

^w JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 13.^x HEGESIP. l. i. c.

24.

^y JOSEPH. de bell. Jud. l. i. c. 17.^z DIO. l. xlix.^a JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 23. & de bell. Judaic. l. i. c. 4.^b JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 5.^c Idem, l. xiv. c. 13.^d Idem,

l. xiv. c. 21.

of the *Asmonæan* family with no less warmth than his father had done, promised to *Barzapharnes*, who commanded the *Parthian* troops in *Syria*, and to *Pacorus* the king's son, a thousand talents and five hundred women, provided they put *Antigonus* in possession of the kingdom of *Judæa*, and deposed *Hyrchanus*^e. He was not long after put to death by *Marc Antony*, at the instigation of *Cleopatra*, who, in order to have his dominions granted to her, accused him falsely of having entered into an alliance with the *Parthians*^f. *Dion Cassius* calls him king of *Chalcis* and *Ituræa*; but *Strabo* informs us^g, that he possessed only the mountainous parts of *Ituræa*, as we shall see in the history of *Arabia*, to which the small kingdom of *Ituræa* belonged.

AND thus far of the conquests of *Alexander the Great*, and the several kingdoms which sprung up on the downfall of the *Macedonian* empire, from their rise to their being subdued by the *Romans*, the history of which people will be the subject of some ensuing volumes.

^e JOSEPH. de bell. Jud. l. i. c. 11. ^f Idem, Antiq. l. xv.
c. 4. DIO. l. xlix. p. 411. ^g STRABO, l. xvi.

C H A P. XI.

The History of the Jews from their return from the Babylonish captivity to the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus Vespasian, with an account of their dispersion and condition to this present time.

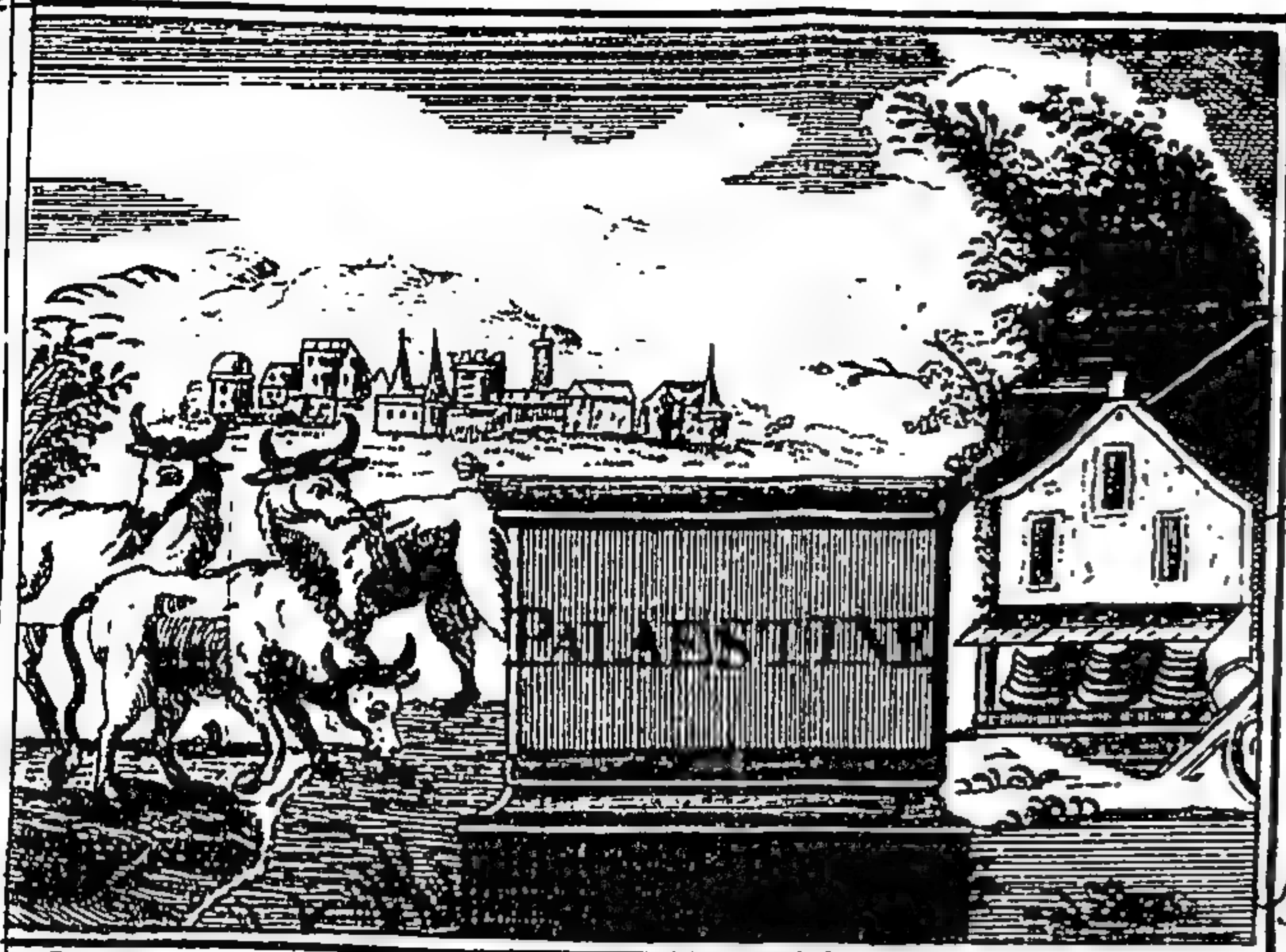
The division and chronology of this chapter.

THIS chapter, long and extensive as it is, it containing an epocha of five hundred and thirty six years, from their return into *Judæa* to the birth of Christ, and seventy three more from that time to the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and total dispersion of the *Jewish* nation, may be conveniently enough divided into seven sections or æras, according to the following chronological order :

	Years of the flood.	Total of years.
Sect. I. From their return to <i>Jerusalem</i> to their being governed by their high-priests, where the canonical books end	2463 2590	127
II. From thence to the death of <i>Mattathias</i> , the father of the <i>Maccabees</i> , and his being succeeded by his valiant son <i>Judas</i>	2833	243
III. The reigns of the <i>Maccabees</i> from <i>Judas</i> to their being subdued by <i>Pompey</i>	2934	101
IV. To the reign of <i>Herod</i> , and his taking of <i>Jerusalem</i> , a short, but copious epoch	2962	28

V. To

North



D. Pomarede Sculp.

THE GREAT

OR

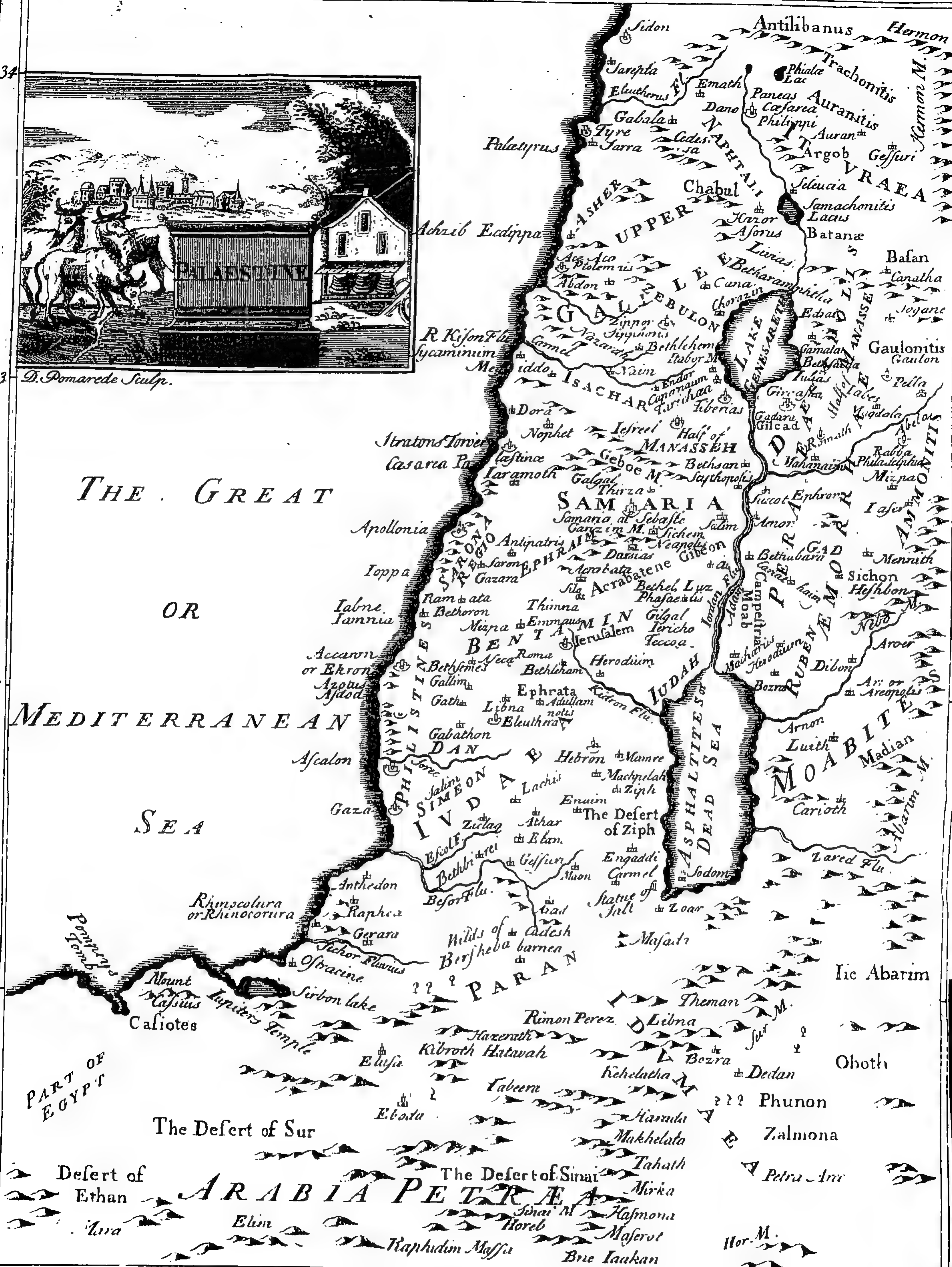
MEDITERRANEAN

SEA

South

West

East



	Years after Christ.	
V. To the birth of Christ, concluding with an account of the principal <i>Jew-</i> <i>ish</i> sects at that time : And	33	70
VI. To the death of Christ in the thirty third year of his age		
VII. To the total destruction of <i>Jerusa-</i> <i>lem</i> , and dispersion of the <i>Jewish</i> na- tion	73	40
	<hr/> 609	

THE account of their dispersion and condition to this present time we shall give in an appendix.

BUT, before we pass to the first section, it will be convenient to premise some few things concerning the state of the Jews during this new epoch; for from this time they are no more to be looked upon as that free, rich, and glorious people, which they had been, either under their former theocracy, as *Josephus* rightly terms it^a, or under their opulent and warlike monarchs, and the direction of their prophets. Their condition, government, manners, their very name, and every thing but their religion, is now intirely changed ! And indeed it could hardly be expected otherwise, when we consider that those that had been carried away into *Babylon* were sold for slaves, and dispersed far and wide through that vast empire, according to the custom of those conquerors; and though some of them we find to have attained to very considerable posts^b, or grown exceeding rich in the land of their captivity, yet these were but few, in comparison of those who groaned under the heavy hand of their oppressors^c. Neither was it the former, but the latter, that is, the poorer sort, that came back into *Judæa*; and even of these, the whole amount of all that came, either with *Zerubbabel*, *Ezra*, or *Nehemiah*, did scarcely come up to seventy thousand; among whom a multitude of strangers was likewise intermixed, either by marriages, or otherwise, most of them so indigent, that they were forced to be supported in their journey by the charitable contributions of those that stayed behind.

A summary of the state of the Jews during this epocha.

THEY were indeed to be governed by their own laws; but as they still continued in subjection to other nations, to the *Persians*, *Egyptians*, *Syrians*, and *Romans*, that privi-

^a CONT. APION l. ii. c. 6. ^b Vide NEHEM i. EST. i. TOBIT. pass
^c Vid. int. al. Psalm cxxxvii.
 VOL. IX. R r r lege,

lege, as well as the exercise of their religion, did very much depend on the arbitrary will of their conquerors, and was often curtailed, and sometimes wholly taken away. Even whilst they were under the *Persians*, the lives and estates of the whole nation were on the brink of being sacrificed to the ambition of a favourite *Haman*, had not *Esther's* interest miraculously prevented the execution of that bloody edict^d; and so weak did they continue under them, that they were a long time exposed to the injuries of even the neighbouring *Samaritans*. They seem, however, to have recovered themselves by degrees, and to have lived in more peace and plenty during the two following centuries; and that is perhaps the reason of that vast chasm of near two hundred and fifty years in their history, between the death of *Nehemiah* and the times of the *Maccabees*, when those glorious heroes not only shook off the foreign yoke, but raised the glory of their nation by their victories and conquests, and by obliging other nations to embrace the *Jewish* religion. But this epocha was but short-lived, and eighty years were hardly expired, before the ungovernable ambition of some of their unworthy successors introduced a general apostacy, and brought them under such subjection to the *Romans*, as they could never more shake off. *Herod* indeed, whom these raised to the royal dignity, did greatly increase the glory and opulence of the *Jewish* nation; but as he was an *Idumæan*, who had gained the crown by the destruction of the *Asmonean* race, as he was a vassal to the *Romans*, and a tyrant of the *Jews*, they could neither be said to be free or happy during his hateful reign, much less under those of his successors, when the government of *Judæa* was split into so many toparchies; so that the nation went from thenceforward from bad to worse, till their total destruction. We observed that they were changed in their very name; that of *Israelites* was quite lost, as well as those of all the other tribes, which were absorbed into that of *Judah*. So that from their return they were chiefly known by the name of *Jews*, in opposition to the *Samaritans*, who were a mongrel mixture, partly of the ten tribes, partly of revolted *Jews*, and of other nations, as the sequel will soon shew. Religion was the only thing that received the least change since their re-establishment, and, if we except some apostacies, occasioned by persecutions, or the ambition of some of their high-priests, we shall find them in the sequel more averse to idolatry and all heathenish superstitions, than ever their fore-fathers had been prone to them before

^d ESTHER iii. & seq.

the captivity ; such strict observers of the sabbath, as to suffer themselves to be murdered by whole armies, rather than violate it by standing on their defence ; in a word, so zealous for their religion, and such strict observers of their oaths, whether of allegiance or confederacy, as to suffer the most bloody persecutions and horrid butcheries, with the utmost courage and constancy, rather than to violate their laws or fidelity. This is indeed a virtue, which, as *Josephus* rightly observes, was peculiar to the *Jews*^c, and which no other nation or religion could ever lay any claim to, till the sufferings, number, and constancy of the christian martyrs did, in a great measure, eclipse the glory of the *Jewish* ones. We have already seen several instances of these last in a former volume, but shall find them still more frequent in the sequel of their history.

S E C T. I.

The history of the Jews, from their return out of Babylon to their being governed by their high-priests, where the canonical books end.

AS soon as the seventy years captivity, pronounced by *Cyrus's* *Jeremiah* against this rebellious people^a, were fully accomplished (A), God was pleased to raise up the Year of great the Flood, 2463.

^c Cont. *Apion.* ubi supra.
10. See Vol. IV. p. 103.

^a *JEREM.* xxv. 11. xxix.

Before
Christ,
536.

(A) These seventy years are differently computed ; some begin them from the fourth of *Jehoiakim*, when the first *Jewish* captives were carried away by *Nebuchadnezzar* (1), and end them at the first issuing of *Cyrus's* decree. Others from the words of *Zechariah* (2) place the beginning of it at the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and its conclusion at the publication of *Darius's* decree for the building of the temple, and restoring liberty to the *Jews*.

Both computations may be justly maintained, and may have even been designed by *Jeremiah*, since between either of the two epochs there are just seventy years, and the latter begins and ends just eighteen years after the former.

For as the captivity which began in the fourth of *Jehoiakim*, could not be said to be completed till the total destruction of the city and *Jewish* monarchy ; so neither could their deliverance, be-

(1) 2 *Kings* xiv. 10, & seq.
R r r 2

(2) *Ch.* vii. 1, & seq.
g m

great *Cyrus* to the throne ; who, in the very first year of his reign, issued out that decree in favour of them, of which an account has been given in a former volume *. By this edict they were not only permitted to return to their own land, which that prince had doubtless beheld in some late expedition, lying desolate and barren, though naturally fertile (B) ; but also to rebuild their temple at *Jerusalem*, re-
new

* Vol. IV. p 544, & 545, not.

gun at the first decree of *Cyrus*, be said to be completed till the fourth year of *Darius*, which confirmed and put it in full vigour and execution.

We may still reckon a third method or stage of computing these seventy years, which answers in the same exactness with the two former ; namely, from the twenty-third year of *Nebuchadnezzar*, when *Nebuzaradan* carried off all the remainder of the conquered *Jews* ; at which time the captivity was completed to all intents ; and the full restoration of their temple worship, at the solemn dedication of the new temple, and their celebrating the first passover immediately after it in the seventh year of *Darius's* reign ; when, and not till then, was fully completed the end of their thralldom, and the *Jewish* religion restored to its antient splendor and regularity. All these the reader may see fully demonstrated by the learned *Prideaux* in the place last quoted.

However the words of the prophecy before us, we own, seem to fix the epocha according to the first of these stages ; though those of *Zechariah* do more plainly belong to the last, as will be shewn in its due time (3).

(B) We have shewn in a former volume †, that the *Jews* were obliged by the *Mosaic* law to let their lands lie fallow every seventh year (4) ; but this had been neglected for a considerable time ; for which God caused it to lie desolate and uncultivated, till it had recovered that full respite, of which that rebellious nation had deprived it (5).

If therefore we reckon the whole seventy *sabbatic* years to be here implied, it will follow, that the omission of this law began even before the time of *David*, or even of *Samuel* ; but it is scarce credible, that it should have been suffered under the government of two such pious persons ; whereas, if we date the desolation of the land from the murder of *Gedaliah*, at which time those few *Jews* that were left there fled into *Egypt* ; to this first year of *Cyrus*, the number of *sabbatic* years will be just fifty two, and will carry us

(3.) *Vid. Prideaux. Connect. Vol. 1. Part 3. † See Vol. III p. 100.*

(4.) *Levit. xxv. 1, & seq.*

(5.) *Conf. Levit. xxvi., 34, & seq. 2 Chron. cap ult. vers. 21.*



new the divine worship, and transport thither all the sacred utensils which *Nebuchadnezzar* had brought away from thence. These last he ordered to be delivered by *Mithredath*, his high treasurer, to *Sheshbazzar*, whom we take to be the same with *Zerubbabel* (C), who, being the grandson of *Jehoiakim*, or *Jeconiah*, king of *Judah*, was then the first prince of the royal blood, and was therefore appointed head governor of *Judæa*, under the title of *Tirshatha* ^b. He likewise gave directions concerning the dimensions of the temple, which was to be *sixty cubits in height and breadth, built upon a strong foundation, with three rows of great stones, and a row of timber*; the expence of the whole to be furnished out of the king's house ^c; to all these the king added a full permission to all the *Jews* that were so disposed to return into *Judæa*, and to those who preferred staying behind, free liberty to contribute, as liberally as they pleased, gold, silver, or any other precious stuffs, towards the building and adorning that sacred edifice, and the renewing and carrying on the worship of God there ^d.

^b Conf. *Ezra* i. 8, 11 ii. 2. iii. 8, 10. v. 15.
^c See *Ezra* vi. 3, 4.

^d *Ibid* i. 3. 4.

back three hundred and sixty four years, that is, to about the beginning of *Asa's* reign, from which time the people began to be very remiss in this and many other particulars of the *Mosaic* law (6).

(C) It is likely, that the first was his *Babylonish* name (7, it being customary for those conquerors to change the names of their captives, as we find they did those of some of the latter kings of *Judah* (8), as well as those of *Daniel* and his three companions (9). As to the title of *Tirshatha*, or *Hatirshatha*, though some derive it from the *Chaldee*, *חֲרִישָׁתָא* *dispensator potus*, or a *cup-bearer*, such as *Nehemiah* seems to have been to *Artaxerxes*; yet it is most likely, that the word implied some high dignity, such as a governor, lord lieutenant, a deputy, and the like; for such was here our *Sheshbazzar* or *Zerubbabel*.

The vessels that were delivered to him by the king's order, were, according to *Ezra* (10), thirty chargers of gold, a thousand chargers of silver, thirty basons of gold, four hundred and ten of silver, twenty nine knives, besides many others, amounting in all to five thousand four hundred; but these were not all that had been carried out of *Jerusalem*; the rest were afterwards brought thither by *Nehemiah*.

(6) *Vid. Prid ubi supra. Tremell. Munst & al. in loc. sup citat.*
 (7) Conf. *Ezra* iii 8, 10 & v. 16. (8) *Vid. 2 King xxiv. 17 & alib. pass.* (9) *Dan. i. 7 & alib.* (10) *Ezra* i. 9, & seq
 IMMEDIATE

The heads
of those
that re-
turned.

The total
of them.

IMMEDIATELY upon the publishing of this edict, the chiefs of the tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, together with the priests and *Levites*, assembled themselves; and as many as retained still a love for their country and a zeal for the God of *Israel*, disposed themselves to return to that once happy land. As for the rest, which were the far greater number, who preferred the land of *Babylon* to it, they contented themselves with furnishing their returning brethren with gold, silver, cattle, and other conveniencies, either for their journey, or for the building of the temple and city. At the head of these were *Zerubbabel* mentioned above, and *Jeshua* the high-priest (D). The next in rank were *Nehemiah* and *Mordecai* (E), *Serajah*, *Reelajah*, *Bilsham*, *Mispar*, *Bigvai*, *Rehum*, and *Baanah*, who were all heads of families, and assistants to *Zerubbabel* in the re-establishment of the *Jewish* affairs both in church and state^e. The rest amounted to about forty two thousand three hundred and sixty, including those that came afterwards with *Nehemiah*, besides their servants and slaves of both sexes, which were in all seven thousand three hundred and thirty seven^f. Neither were they all of the tribes of *Levi*, *Judah*, and *Benjamin*, though from that time they were all blended together under the name of *Jehudim*, or *Jews*; for many of those of the other ten tribes, which had been formerly carried

^e EZRA ii. 2. NEHEM. vii. 7.

^f Idem ibid.

(D) This office belonged to him by a lineal descent, he being the son of *Jozadack* (11), whose father *Seraiah*, high-priest at the taking of *Jerusalem*, had been put to death at *Riblah* (12). As for *Jozadack*, he was carried captive into *Babylon*, and had been dead some time before the publishing of this decree, so that *Jeshua* was then the head of the pontifical family.

(E) Some think these two to be the same with those so often mentioned in the books of *Esther* and *Nehemiah*, and that finding the work of the temple obstructed by their enemies, they returned again to *Shushan* (13); but it is generally believed, that they were quite different persons of the same name (14).

As for the other seven, the *Jewish* writers affirm them to have been the chiefs of the *Jewish* synagogue, or grand council of the *Jews*, which they say did sit at *Jerusalem* after their return from *Babylon* (15). We shall have occasion to speak more largely of this synagogue in the sequel of this chapter.

(11) Conf Ezra iii. 1. & 1 Chron. vi. 14, 15. (12) 2 Kings xxv. 18 ad 21. (13) Abenezr. Corn a Lap. & al. in Ezra ii. 2. (14) Vide Prid conn & al. supra. citat (15) Vide Abenezr. in loc. Kimch. in rad. & al. Munst. & Jun. in loc.

away by *Tiglath-pilezer*, *Shalmanezzer*, and *Ezrahaddon*, and had still preserved the true worship of God, took the advantage of the king's edict to return into the land of their forefathers. To these we may add a great number, who had formerly gone from the idolatrousten tribes to put themselves under the protection of the kings of *Judah*^g; and this may be the reason why the whole number of those mentioned in *Ezra's* list, amounts but to twenty nine thousand eight hundred and eighteen, and to thirty one thousand and thirty one in that of *Nehemiah*; whereas both these historians make the sum total to be forty two thousand three hundred and sixty; so that the overplus seems to be added from those of the other ten tribes, which returned with those of *Judah* and *Benjamin* (F). We find likewise mention made of two hundred men and women singers, whom they brought with them, four hundred and thirty five camels, seven hundred and thirty six horses, two hundred and forty five mules, and six thousand seven hundred and twenty asses^h.

ONE may see by this list, how small the number was of those who returned, in comparison of those who stayed behind; neither must we be much surprised at it; for if even their forefathers, who were brought with so many wonders out of the furnace of *Egypt* were almost continually plotting to return thither, what could be expected from their sordid offspring, but that the far greater part of them would prefer the place of their captivity, where they were possessed of lands, houses, and money, to that of *Palestine*, which had lain so long desolate? And accordingly the *Jews* themselves tell usⁱ,

^g Vide 2 CHRON. xi. 16. xv. 9, & alib. ^h EZRA ii. 65, & seq. ⁱ Talmud. Babyl in Kedushim.

(F) Accordingly we find the decree of *Cyrus*, and afterwards that of *Artaxerxes*, extended not to those two tribes only, but to all the people of the God of *Israel*, and to all those that worshipped God at *Jerusalem*, which could not but include all the other ten (16).

In consequence of which *Ezra* concludes the chapter in which the above-mentioned list is, with these remarkable words; *So the priests, levites, people, singers, porters, and nethinims, dwell in their cities, and all Israel in their cities*. And when he speaks of the expiatory sacrifices which were offered at *Jerusalem*, he mentions expressly twelve he goats according to the number of the tribes of *Israel* (17).

(16) *Ezra* i. 3. vii. 13.

(17) *Ibid.* vi. 16, 17.

that

Priests that
returned.

that only the bran came out of *Babylon*, but that the flour staid behind; even of the priests, who, as we observed in the former part of their history *, were divided into twenty four classes, only four of these returned, namely those of *Jedajah*, *Immer*, *Pashur*, and *Harim*. These however soon after their arrival, subdivided themselves each into six, that they might again make up the old number, and called themselves by their names accordingly † (G). Some of these there were, who not being able to make out their lineal descent from the priesthood, were deprived of the office and privileges of it until some high-priest should arise who could decide their title by the urim and thummim ‡. The same dispute happened also concerning some others, who being come from *Telmela*, *Telharfa* (H), and other places, could not prove themselves to belong to any tribe §. These were about six hundred and fifty in number, besides upwards of three hundred and ninety nethinims, the posterity of those *Gibeonites* whom *Solomon* did afterwards dedicate to the service of the temple †; so small was the number of those of unquestionable descent, who returned either with *Zerubbabel* or *Nehemiah*. And hence it is, that ever since this time the number of *Jews* that dwelt in *Palestine*, was always vastly inferior to those that were dispersed in *Chaldea*, *Persia*, &c. The priests, levites, singers, nethinims, and other officers of the temple settled themselves as well as they could in or near *Jerusalem*, that they might more readily vacate on the service of God, by rearing up his altar, and preparing all other things against the next grand solemnity; as for the rest, the greater part of them dispersed themselves in the neighbouring cities and country, where some of them had formerly dwelt, and

* See Vol. III. p. 251. † Sedar. Holam. Rabb. c. 29 Talmud. Hieros. in Taanith. Vid. PRID. ubi supra.
‡ EZRA ii. 62, 63. § Ibid. 58. & seq. † See Vol. III. p 264.

(G) Hence it is that *Zachariah* the father of *John the Baptist* is said (18) to have been of the course of *Abiah*, and *Matthias* the *Maccabee* to have been of that of *Joarib* (19), though 'tis plain neither of them, nor any other but the four above-mentioned, returned into *Judæa*.

(H) Perhaps the same with *Telassar*, a province of *Affyria*; if not, we own we are in the dark about the situation of those places.

(18) Conf. Luke. i. 5. 1 Maccab ii. 1.
ubi supra

(19) Vid. Prid.

where

where they probably found also some of their brethren whom *Nebuchadnezzar* had left there.

By this time the month *Tisbri*, which, as we have else-
where shewn ††, was the first of the civil, and seventh of *The feast.*
the ecclesiastical year, was at hand. The first day of it was
the feast of the trumpets, because the new year was to be pro-
claimed by the sound of that instrument^a. It ushered in
moreover two other great solemnities, namely the expiation
day, or grand fast, which was to be kept on the tenth^o, and
the feast of tabernacles, which begun on the fifteenth, and
ended on the the twenty second of the month^p inclusive.
The greatest part of that of expiation, such as the high-priest
entering on that day into the most holy place, &c. they were
forced to set aside for want of a temple; however they failed
not to come from all parts to the solemnity, and to fast, pray, *Expiation*
&c. and to offer the proper sacrifices on the altar, which they *fast.*
had by this time repaired, so that from this day they ceased
not to offer the morning and evening, and all other sacrifices
prescribed by the law of *Moses*. The feast of tabernacles com-
ing five days after that of expiation, they erected them booths *Feast of ta-*
at *Jerusalem*, and celebrated that festival with the usual solem- *bernacles*
nities, and so set about in good earnest to restore the worship *celebrated*
of God in that metropolis.

In this solemn assembly, it was resolved to set about the
rebuilding of the temple, towards which every one chearfully
contributed according to their power; the whole amounted to
sixty one thousand drachms of gold, and five thousand minas
of silver (I), besides one hundred vestments for the priests to
officiate

†† See Vol. iii. p. 179, & 183.
Ibid. p. 179.

^a Ibid.

^o Ibid. p. 202.

(I) Every drachm of gold being computed to be worth about
ten shillings of our money, and every mina of silver, about nine
pounds sterling, the whole amounted to seventy five thousand five
hundred pounds. This was indeed a great sum, if we suppose it
to have been all contributed by that small number of poor people
just returned from a long captivity; and therefore it is generally
thought, that it included likewise the offerings of those who staid
behind, and who, as we have seen above, did all contribute large-
ly towards it; but then this sum will appear vastly too short, con-
sidering the vast number, richness, and usual munificence of those
that staid; besides, it is scarcely to be supposed, that had this
been the whole that had been collected both in and out of *Palestine*,
they would have so readily set about so magnificent a building;
for which several millions would scarcely have sufficed.

It seems therefore more probable to us, that this collection was
Vol. IX. S i f raised

officiate in. This was indeed a small sum toward such a vast and expensive undertaking ; and therefore we do suppose it to have been a free-will addition of their own, to a much greater one which had been contributed by their brethren, who chose to stay in the places of their dispersion. This money was put into the hands of proper officers, who were to oversee the work, who immediately hired workmen, sent to *Tyre* and *Sydon* for cedars from *Libanus*, pursuant to *Cyrus's* decree, and employed the first year in preparing the materials for the building ⁹.

Year of
the Flood,
2465.
Before
Christ,
534.

The founda-
tion of
the tem-
ple laid.

IN the second month of the following year, which was the third of *Cyrus's* reign, and the second from their return, they began to lay the foundation of the temple with great solemnity, in the presence of *Zerubbabel* their governor, of *Jeshua* the high-priest, and of the whole congregation. It was accompanied with the sound of their trumpets, and other musical instruments, the priests and musicians singing some psalms proper to the occasion, and all the people shouting for joy at the laying of the first stones. But whilst the younger sort were thus expressing their joyful zeal upon this occasion, many of the priests, levites, and heads of families, who had seen that famous building in its splendor fifty three years before, could not forbear sending the loudest cries of grief at the sight of that which they were now going to build ; insomuch that the acclamations of the one, and the sighs and groans of the other, were so intermixed, that it was not easy to distinguish them from each other ^r (K).

WHILST

⁹ EZRA iii. 5. & seq.

^r EZRA iii. 12.

raised among them who returned, and were then at *Jerusalem* ; and consequently, that though the bulk of them might be as poor as the *Jewish* writers make them, yet there were some considerable ones, who were both opulent and liberal enough, to add this offering of seventy five thousand five hundred pounds to that which had been contributed by their brethren abroad, and which was thought sufficient to set about that noble edifice.

(K) That there was a real and even considerable disparity between the old and new temple, is very certain, since God is pleased to comfort them for it, and to promise to raise the glory of the latter above that of the former by the presence of the Messiah (20).

This difference however cannot be understood of its largeness, since the new was built upon the foundation of the old. Of the

(20) *Haggai* ii. 3. & seq.

WHILST the work was carrying on, the *Samaritans* (L) came to *Zerubbabel*, and the *Jewish* congregation, and expressed

two the decree of *Cyrus* seems to allow this new one three times the breadth of that of *Solomon*; that being but twenty, and this sixty cubits broad (21); but our learned *Prideaux* has sufficiently proved that the dimensions were the same, only differently taken, viz. the one from in to in, and the other from out to out.

The *Jews* indeed tell us, that the second temple wanted five considerable things, which were the chief glory of the first (22); and these were, 1st, the ark or mercy-seat: 2. the divine presence, called by them the *Shëkinah*: 3. the holy fire upon the altar: 4. the urim and thummim: and lastly, the spirit of prophecy. And they are certainly in the right; but then it doth not appear from the sacred historian, that these were the things which the *Jewish* elders bewailed, at the foundation of this second temple (23).

It seems therefore probable, that their grief did arise from the unlikelihood that it would ever be raised to the grandeur and magnificence of the old one, seeing the one had been built by the wisest and richest king; and constantly adorned by some one or other of his posterity; the other was now begun by some few exiles just returned from their captivity: the one in the time of profound peace, and greatest opulence; the other in time of adversity and oppression from their enemies round about: the former was built of the most curious and costly stones; and timber, and other materials wrought with the most exquisite art, and overlaid with a prodigious quantity of gold; insomuch that the overlayings of the most holy place, which was but thirty foot square every way, is said to have amounted to six hundred talents of gold (24), that is, to four millions three hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling. What likelihood therefore was there, that this, which was mostly built of the materials that were dug up out of the ruins of the former would ever come up to it? Lastly, there were in the old one many sumptuous galleries, buildings, gates and other ornaments, which were not in this, nor were added to it till *Herod's* time, that is, about five hundred years after; as shall be seen in its proper place.

(L) These were not of the seed of *Israel*, but the posterity of that mixed multitude, whom *Shalmanezzer*, king of *Affyria*, sent from *Cutbab*, *Ava*, *Hamath*, *Sephârvaïm*, and other provinces, to inhabit those parts, out of which he had carried the ten *Israelitish* tribes, as we have seen in a former volume †; they therefore took the name of *Samaritans* from *Sâmâria* the capital of that kingdom, but

(21) *Conf.* 1 *Kings* vi. & *Appen.* to *Vol. II.* cum *Ezra* vi. 3. (22) *Talm. Hierosol.* in *Taanith.* c. 2. & *Babyl.* in *Joma.* c. 1. *Vid. Prid.* Part I lib iii. (23) *Ezra* iii. 12. (24) 2 *Chron.* iii. 8.

† *Vol. IV.* p. 79, & *not.*

Why ob-
structed by
the Sama-
ritans.

pressed an earnest desire to join their assistance in it, seeing they had worshipped the same God ever since the time of *E-sarhaddon* king of *Assyria*, who had settled them there. But whether the *Jews* suspected the sincerity of their offer, or out of contempt to a people who were not of the seed of *Israel*, but only imperfect worshippers of God; *Jeshua*, *Zerubbabel*, and the whole congregation, refused to let them bear any part in the undertaking, alledging, that the decree of *Cyrus* being only directed to those who were of *Israelitish* descent, it would be a dishonour to their nation to admit any strangers to be partners in the work^r. Whether this refusal was really justifiable or not we will not pretend to determine, since the scripture doth no where either praise or discommend it (M). Sure it is, that it proved the source of a bitter and irreconcilable

^r Ibid. Chap. iv. 1. & seq.

by the *Jews* they were called *Cuthim* from *Cuthah*, one of the provinces out of which they came (25).

These had, soon after their settlement in and about *Samaria*, been taught the worship of the true God, but they likewise retained, each of them, the worship of their own gods, so that their religion was a mixture of judaism and heathenism. *Samaria* having been then totally destroyed by *Shalmanezzer* according to the prophecy (26), they did not think fit to rebuild it, but went and dwelt at *Shichem*, near mount *Gerizim*, and made it their capital (27).

However they seem to have rebuilt and repeopled the old city, at least in some degree, by that time the *Jews* were returned from *Babylon*, since both *Ezra* (28) and *Nehemiah* (29) make mention of the inhabitants of *Samaria*, and in this situation they were when they came to offer their assistance to *Zerubbabel*.

(M) The *Jews*, out of their innate hatred to the *Samaritans*, do one and all commend the zeal of that assembly, in refusing to admit them to the work; and they think that the resentment which that people shewed immediately after, is a sufficient token of the insincerity of their offer, especially seeing they are said nowhere to have forsaken the old worship of their country gods. We do not know of one christian commentator that hath not given into this *Jewish* notion, or has been at the pains to examine this refusal in a different light, notwithstanding its having proved so fatal to them, and so detrimental to their religion.

We shall therefore for once take the liberty to inquire how far

(25) 2 *Kings* xvii 23. & seq. (26) *Mic.* i. 6. (27) *Joseph. antiq. lib.* xi. c. 8. (28) *Chap.* iv. 17. (29) *Chap.* iv. 2. & al.

irreconcilable hatred between these two nations, the sad effects of which the *Jews* soon felt in the immediate obstructi-
 on

they may be justly blamed for this refusal, and so be answerable for all that long train of mischiefs it brought after it.

First, then, the sacred historian doth no-where intimate, that they came to offer their assistance out of any hostile design, which he would scarcely have omitted, had that been the case ; but plainly tells us, that they came and offered their assistance to the *Jews*. It is true, he calls them the adversaries of the *Jews*, for such they became when rejected by them ; but it proves not that they were so before ; besides, we have shewn heretofore, that the word *Tzar*, here used, doth often signify a rival or competitor *, and may be as capable of a good sense as of a bad one, and why not in this case ?

For the *Samaritans* had been long since instructed and initiated in the law of *Moses*, and been worshippers of the God of *Israel* ; and as for the idolatries which their forefathers had intermixed with it, we think it more than probable, that they had long since forsaken them, upon reading the severe prohibitions that are interspersed in the pentateuch, which they had in their hands. This seems beyond dispute, not only from the confession they made before the *Jewish* congregation (30), but also from their constant behaviour, even after their rupture with the *Jews*, since we do not find them any where taxed with idolatry, nor find the least monument or relic of it, though in every thing else diametrically opposite to the *Jewish* nation ; though, if this had been the case, the admitting of them into their commonwealth, and partnership in the work, might probably have proved an effectual means of curing them of it ; and it was indeed their duty to endeavour it, because,

2dly, The law of *Moses* obliged them to incorporate into their church and state all, except two or three nations therein excepted, that would become circumcised, and observers of the law (31). And might it not be in right of this law, that the converted *Samaritans* claimed their admittance into the work, especially since,

3dly, As servants of the God of *Israel*, they knew that after the temple was once rebuilt, they would be equally obliged with the *Jews* to come and worship there, and there only ; and if they were thus equally intitled to and desirous of enjoying the benefit of the temple, why might they not be equally zealous to contribute towards the rebuilding of it ? There could be then no just pretence for excluding them, since even heathens were allowed to send their offerings both to the temple, and for maintaining the divine worship there. Now, is it not more than probable, that if the stiff *Jews* had admitted them to any share in the undertaking, though it had

* See Vol. III. p. 479. *sub fin* not *et* conf 1 Sam. i. 6. *et* ii. 32.
 (30) *Exra* iv. 2. (31) *Exod.* xii. 48, *et* alib. *pass.*

on of their undertakings, and by numberless ill offices, which the incensed *Samaritans* did to them, and of which we shall give a further account in the sequel of this chapter.

THE

been only to contribute towards the charges of rebuilding; they might have found them as hearty friends to them, as their haughty refusal made them enemies?

We have seen in a former volume how *Josiah*, one of the best kings that ever reigned in *Judah*, thought these nations worthy to be invited to the solemnities which were celebrated at *Jerusalem*, and with what zeal he destroyed all the idolatrous monuments that were in that kingdom (32); and was not his example very well worth imitating, especially at this juncture?

If it be asked how this zeal of the *Samaritans*, if it had been sincere, came to be so soon turned into the bitterest rancour, we need not now go far to seek for an answer. It is plain, first they thought themselves unjustly used by their refusal, since even the law of *Moses* condemned it; and in the next place, the *Jews* answer was couched in such haughty and contemptuous terms, as plainly gave them to understand, that if ever they came to be again masters of themselves, instead of being looked upon as brethren, and servants of the same God, they must expect to be used with the same heavy hand as the *Canaanites* and other conquered nations had been by the former kings of *Judah* and *Israel*. It was natural therefore for them to use all proper endeavours to prevent it, which they did; by opposing all their measures to the utmost of their power; and their first step was to obstruct the rebuilding of the temple, which the *Jews* resenting and retaliating, the enmity improved to such a degree, that no two nations ever hated or were more cruel to each other upon all occasions, than the *Jews* and the *Samaritans*. All which might in all probability have been prevented, had the former complied at least in some measure with the request of the latter.

Upon the whole then we think, that instead of commending them for their zeal, we may much more reasonably look upon all the misfortunes which the *Samaritans* made them suffer, to have been sent them as a punishment for their uncharitableness.

The only thing we can see may be objected against what has been said is, that the *Jewish* congregation had some inspired persons among them, such as the prophets *Haggai* and *Zechariah* (33), whom they probably consulted before they gave a definitive answer to the *Samaritans*; and if so, their refusal must have been conformable to the will of God. But the text doth no-where say they did consult them; and they might indeed do as *Joshua* had formerly done with respect to the *Gibeonites* (34), think the case too plain

(32) *Vid.* 2 *Kings* xxiii *pass.* 2 *Chron.* xxxiv. ult. xxxv. *pass.* *Vid.* & *sup.* Vol. IV. p. 98, & *seq.* (33) *Exra* v. 1. (34) *Josh.* ix. 14.

THE first step the repulsed *Samaritans* took to obstruct the work, since they knew they could not procure a reversion of the king's decree, was to bribe underhand some of his head ministers and officers, to represent the *Jews* as a rebellious nation, and their rebuilding the temple as dangerous, and tending to shake off their obedience to him. They failed not to carry their point, and the work was accordingly stopped, in a great measure, not only during the remaining five years of *Cyrus's* life, but also during the reign of his successor (N) ; however,

to require it ; and so forgetting that charity which the *Mosaic* law commands towards its proselytes **, they might only listen to their natural contempt for all that were not of the seed of *Israel* ; however that be, that event shews this their refusal to have been the unhappy source of endless evils, in which the *Jews* did almost constantly bear the bigger share, as the sequel will soon shew.

(N) This suppression of the work is supposed to have given occasion to *Daniel's* three weeks fasting and praying, which we read of (35), in the third year of *Cyrus's* reign, and which began on the third day of the first month (36), and at the end of which he saw the famous vision of the *Persian*, *Macedonian*, and *Roman* empires, contained in the three last chapters of that prophet, and which seem to have been the last he ever had.

And indeed, if we compare what he says in the close of them, with his great age, it is reasonable to believe he did not outlive it long, since he was then in the seventy-third year of his captivity, to which if we add but fifteen, the age he was of when carried into *Babylon*, and less than that he cannot be supposed to have been, he must then have been near ninety years old ; however, whether he died when we suppose him, or lived any time longer, we hear no more of him, except in the talmudic writings.

What the *Jews* opinion is, concerning him and his writings, has been seen in a former volume †. But *Ezekiel*, and even *Josephus*, give him much the preference to the other prophets (37) ; and what is of more weight than all, our saviour himself (38) acknowledges him to have been a prophet ; and if the *Jews* since then had not been fatally blinded, they must have been forced to own that they had found him a very true one to their cost. But this will best be seen in the sequel of their history.

In the mean time we cannot forbear observing, concerning his prophecies, whether those that relate to the *Messiah*, or to those foreign empires above-mentioned, that they are the clearest and

** See Vol. iii. p. 293. (35) Dan x. 1. & seq.
 (36) Vid. int. al. Uffer. sub A M 3470. † Vol. iii p.
 433, note O. (37) Ezek xiv. pass. Joseph. lib. x. c. 12. (38)
 Matth. xxiv. 15.

however, while *Cyrus* lived, the *Jews* did still keep on gathering materials for the work, in hopes of better times; they were still assisted in it by the *Tyrians* and *Sidonians*, who furnished them with cedars from *Libanus*, with matons, carpenters, and other workmen; and these being as it were pent up in their maritime cities, received in return a proportionable quantity of corn, wine, and oil from the *Jews*, as their ancestors had formerly done from king *Solomon* ^c. But *Cyrus* was no sooner dead, than the *Samaritans*, encouraged by the ill disposition of his successor *Cambyfes*, called in scriptur e *Ahasuerus* ^d, instead of their former subdulous practices, declared themselves openly against the *Jews*, and against their undertaking; and writ in the most pressing terms to that monarch to put an immediate stop to it. *Cambyfes* however, probably out of respect to his father's decree, would not seem to revoke it, but privately gave them leave to obstruct the execution of it, so that the work, tho' it was not wholly suppressed, went at least very heavily on during his whole reign, which lasted but seven years and five months.

^c Conf 1 Kings v. 8. & seq. & Ezra iii. 7.
See also Vol. iv. p. 549.

^d Ezra iv. 6.

most circumstantiate of any; insomuch that *Josephus*, in the place above quoted, rightly observes, that he did not only foretel future events, as the rest of the prophets did, but did also determine the time in which they should come to pass.

And this wonderful agreement between the facts when accomplished, and the prophecies that foretold them, appeared so exact and irrefragable, that *Porphyry* could no other way elude the force of it, than by supposing the latter to have been written after the former (39).

Besides those prophecies of his, which were originally written, partly in *Hebrew*, and partly in *Chaldee*, the *Latin* version has some other pretended pieces of his, which were, however, never admitted by the *Jews* into their canon, and are therefore thrown out by the protestants among the apocrypha; of this kind are the History of *Susanna*, of *Bel* and the dragon, &c. concerning which the reader may see all that is worth knowing in the authors quoted in the margin (40).

(39) Vid. Hieron. præfat in Daniel. (40) Id. ibid. & in Dan. xiii. Calmet præfat. in eund. Prid. Connect. Part. I. lib. iii.

Cambyfes

Cambyfes being dead, and one of the magi having mounted the throne (C), as has been elsewhere related *, the *Samaritans* failed not to renew their accusation against the *Jews* to that usurper; they represented to him, that that nation had been always famed for rebellion, for the truth of which they appealed to ancient records; and added, that if they were suffered to go on in the rebuilding of their city and temple, which they were then about, they would not be long ere they shook off the yoke, and refused to pay him either tribute or obedience, and that their example might soon be followed by other provinces on that side of the *Euphrates*, and occasion a general revolt. The usurper, who had been one of the chiefs of the sect of the magi, against whom the *Jews* were known to be diametrically opposite in point of religion, did not want any great arguments to induce him to suppress them, but sent an immediate decree to them to desist from their enterprize, and charged the *Samaritans* to see it executed. These therefore, having received the order, went straitway with it to *Jerusalem*, and by virtue of it caused a total stop to be put to it, till the *Jews* obtained a fresh decree in the second year of *Darius* his successor's reign, that is, about two years after.

THE *Jews* by that time had been so disheartened, partly by the constant opposition of the *Samaritans*, and partly by this last decree, that tho' this last ceased with the discovery and death of the usurper, yet did they not shew the least readiness to resume their enterprize, till God had punished their indolence with a great dearth, and let them know by his prophet *Haggai*, that it was upon that account that both their harvest and vintage had failed them w. This was indeed an effectual argument to awake the zeal of that selfish people, who had by this time taken care to seat themselves in commodious and sumptuous houses, without giving themselves any further thought about the house of God. The prophet was therefore sent to the governor, to the high-priest, and to the rest of the heads of *Judah*, to upbraid them with their ingratitude *, and at the same time to assure them, that if they

Year of
the Flood,
2477.
Before
Christ,
522.

The build-
ing obstruc-
ted by the
Samaritans.

The Jews
punished
with
dearth.

* Vol. IV. p. 557. w Haggai, i. 6. & seq. * Ibid. vers. 4.

(O) This is he whom *Ezra* calls *Artaxerxes* or rather *Artashtashta* (41); he is differently named by prophane historians, as *Smerdis* by *Herodotus*; *Mardys* by *Æschylus*; *Spendadates* by *Ctesias*; and *Oropastes* by *Justin* †.

(41) *Ezra* iv. 7. † See Vol. IV. p. 557.

*The work
resumed.*

would now set about the work in good earnest, God would not only make it prosper in their hands, but that he would make the glory of this second temple to exceed by far that of the first ¹. This reproof had at length the desired effect, and the people, roused up by these promises and threats, resumed and pursued the work under the eye and guidance of *Haggai* and *Zechariah* ².

*Tatnai
comes to
Jerusalem.*

IN the mean time the *Samaritans*, who kept a watchful eye over them, being surprized that they should dare to go to work again, in spite of the decree they had obtained against them, went and applied themselves to *Tatnai*, whom *Darius* had made governor of *Syria* and *Palestine*, and acquainted him, that this enterprize was resumed, not only against the king's order, but to the manifest detriment of his realm; they expected, probably, that this new governor would have immediately suppressed that work; but he being a man of more temper and moderation, came directly to *Jerusalem* accompanied with some of his counsellors, and with one *Shetharboznai*, who is supposed to have been governor of *Samaria*, and enquired of the *Jews* by what authority they ventured upon that work. *Zerubbabel* and *Jeshua* undertook to answer for the rest, and acquainted him with the decree they had formerly obtained from *Cyrus*, and at the same time produced the sacred vessels which that monarch had ordered to be restored to them in order to renew the worship of God in *Jerusalem*. *Tatnai*, having received this answer, thought the matter of too great consequence to interfere with, till he had sent a full account of it to *Darius*, and desired that search might be made concerning that decree. It was accordingly found among the records that were kept in the palace of *Ec-batan* ³, where *Cyrus* was at the time of his granting it, and *Darius* out of respect to that great monarch, two of whose daughters he had then married, readily confirmed it by a new one, in which all the grants of the old were repeated and ratified, with this severe penalty annexed, that whosoever should presume to contravene or obstruct it, his house should be pulled down, and a gallows made of the timber of it, and the offender hanged upon it. The execution of the decree was committed to *Tatnai* and *Shetharboznai*, and was brought to them accordingly much about the beginning of the fourth

*Darius's
decree.*

*Year of
the Flood,
2481.*

*Before
Christ,
536.*

¹ Ibid. ch. ii. 4. & seq. ² EZRA. v. 1 & seq. ZACHAR. i. 1. & seq. ³ De hac vid. Vol. II. p. 357, 546, & 564. Vid. EZRA. v. 3. & seq.

year of *Darius's* reign (P) and by them communicated to the *Jews* ^a.

It was then that the building began to rise apace, since they were now not only free from any obstructions from their enemies, but were supplied by the king's order, with all necessities towards the expence of it, out of the treasury of that province; and this addition of the king's bounty, joined to the offerings which both they of *Palestine* and their brethren abroad paid towards it, caused such a dispatch in the work, that it was compleatly finished in three years, that is, in the sixth year of *Darius*, and in the month *Adar*, which is the last of the *Jewish* year, answering in part to our February ^b. The dedication of that sacred building was celebrated with suitable solemnity and joy, and with abundance of sacrifices; after which they prepared themselves likewise for the approaching festival of the passover, to which many of their brethren from other provinces assisted, having heard of the success which that long-wished-for enterprize had met with; and from this time we reckon the complete restoration of the *Jews* mentioned in the first note of this chapter. Accordingly, when those that dwelt in *Babylon* sent about this time to *Jerusalem* to enquire of the prophets, whether they might not thenceforward desist from keeping the fasts of the fifth and seventh months (Q), *Zachariah*, among o-

*The temple
finished.*

^a EZRA vi. 6, & seq. Vide JOSEPH. antiq. I. xi. c. 4. ^b See Vol. III. p. 190, & note.

(P) The learned *Usher* seems to place this decree one year sooner, but if we consider that it was about the beginning of the third year of that monarch, that *Tatnai* sent to the king about it, one may reasonably allow six months for the messenger's going and coming from *Jerusalem* to *Shushan* in *Persia*, since, as we have seen a little higher, *Ezra* was four months in coming from *Babylon*; and less than another six months can hardly be allowed, before they could obtain, in so great a court, an order for searching the records, going from *Shushan* to *Ecbatan*, procuring an authentic copy of the decree, bringing it back to *Darius*, and obtaining a confirmation of it. (42).

(Q) These were fasts which the captive *Jews* kept in those two months in memory of, first, *Jerusalem* being first besieged by *Nebuchadnezzar*: Secondly, Of its being taken by him: Thirdly, Of its being burnt with the temple: And, Fourthly, for the murder of *Gedaliah*: All which fasts they still keep to this day, though they have somewhat changed their place in their calendar.

(42) Vide *Prideaux*, *ubi supra*.

ther things contained in the seventh and eighth chapters of his prophecies, tells them, that they had now kept those fasts seventy years ^c. In memory of this decree, which, we observed, was given from *Shushan* or *Susa*, the *Jews* gave the name of *Shushan* to the eastern gate of the outward temple wall, and caused a bas relief of that metropolis to be set up over it, which continued there till its total destruction by the *Romans* ^d.

Samari-
tans refuse
to pay to it.

IN the mean time, the mortification which the envious *Samaritans* received from the king's decree in favour of the *Jews*, and the wonderful dispatch with which they had finished their temple, did but serve to augment their rancour against them; their being obliged to pay, not only towards the rebuilding of that edifice, but towards the sacrifices and oblations that were daily to be offered up there, for the prosperity of the king and the whole realm, and towards the maintenance of the priests who officiated there ^e, was what they seemed to resent above all the rest; and therefore, as soon as the temple was finished, though the out-buildings were still unrepaired, and continued so for many years, they made it a pretence for withholding the usual tribute, pretending, that it was to cease as soon as the building was finished. This obliged the *Jews* to send a deputation to *Darius*, at the head of whom were *Zerubbabel*, *Mordecai*, and *Ananias*, to complain to the king of it. *Darius* received them with his usual benevolence, and after a full hearing issued out a fresh decree, commanding his officers at *Samaria* to cause the usual tribute to be paid to the temple, and for the future on no pretence whatever to give the *Jews* any cause of complaint upon that article ^f. After this they met with no further obstacle during the rest of that monarch's reign, which lasted twenty eight years longer, nor during the twelve years of his successor; but enjoyed a perfect peace, being governed by their high-priests in matters of religion, and in those of state by the heads of the tribe of *Judah*, though still in subjection to the kings of *Persia*, and subordinate to his governors on this side of the *Euphrates* (R). *Xerxes* had no sooner succeeded his father,

Xerxes.

^c Ibid ch. vii. 5. EZRA vi. 16, ad fin. ^d See LIGHTFOOT's prospect of the temple, ch. 3. ^e EZRA vi. 8. & seq. ^f Vide JOSEPH. antiq. ubi supra, c. 4.

(R) These particulars we have from *Josephus*, who adds, that *Zerubbabel* was the person who answered the wise question proposed by the king, which we have in the apocryphal book of *Baruch*. But we scarce think it worth inserting here, tho' the same author tells

than he confirmed all the privileges formerly granted to the *Jews*. This was not without a singular mark of the divine providence, since the temple of *Jerusalem* was the only one that obtained this particular regard from that prince, whilst he was plundering and destroying all the rest that came in his way. But he was in both cases fulfilling the prophecies of *Isaiah*^s and *Jeremiah*^b, which had long since foretold both the downfall of the heathen idols and temples, and the restoration of the *Jewish* one, under the protection and favour of *Cyrus* and his successors. *Josephus* adds from a passage out of an antient poet (S), that the *Jews* assisted *Xerxes* in his wars, and that he had a band of them in his armyⁱ. It is true, the meaning of the poet has been much canvassed by very Great critics, but whether or no he intended the *Jews* by it, it is hardly to be supposed, that they, who were so well known for their valour, fidelity, and attachment to that prince, should be the only people excused from the war, when his army was composed of all the other nations of the *Persian* empire. In the third year of his reign, according to the *Alexandrian* chronicle, died the *Jewish* high-priest *Jeshua* in the fifty-third year of his high-priesthood, and was succeeded by his son *Joiakim*^k; and *Xerxes*, being murdered in the twenty-first year of his reign was succeeded by his third-son *Artaxerxes*, whom we have elsewhere shewn to have been the *Ahasuerus* of scripture, the

Year of
the Flood;
2741.
Before
Christ,
453.

^s CH. xxi. 9. ^b CH. x. 11. li. 44, 47. & alib. pass. ⁱ Cont.
Apion. l. i. ^k NEHEM. xii. 10. JOSEPH. ubi supra. c. 5.

tells us, the rebuilding of the temple and the restoration of the *Jerus* were granted him as a reward for his merit and judgment. The canonical books are silent as to all those particulars, and we shall stick close to them as far as they go.

(S) The passage is out of *Chærilus*, and is to this purpose: That a strange people, who used the *Phœnician* dialect, and dwelt in the high and hilly grounds of *Solyma*, near to a great lake, marched under his (*Xerxes*) standards. The *Jews* speaking then the *Syriac* language, *Solyma* being one of the names of *Jerusalem*, and its being situate upon hills, and near the famous lake *Asphaltites*, it was natural for *Josephus* to understand the people here mentioned to have been the *Jews*. Some great critics, however, (43) have pretended to apply it to the *Solymi* of *Pisidia*, against whom *Salmastus* has undertaken to vindicate the *Jewish* historian (44), who seems indeed to be most in the right.

(43) Scaliger. not ad fragm. Eo: bart. Phaleg. part. ii. l. i. c. 2.
Cuneus de repub. Hebr. (44) O: filieg. Ling. Hellen. Vid. Prid.
ubi supra.

Husband

husband of *Esther* †, and consequently the greatest friend the *Jews* ever had, either before or since their restoration.

Artaxerxes or Ahasuerus favours the Jews.

How he came to be so above all his predecessors, we chiefly learn from the book of *Esther*, whose history there related is so well known, that we shall content ourselves with giving our readers as short a summary of it as is necessary for the thread of our history. *Esther* or *Hadaßah* was an orphan of the tribe of *Benjamin*, brought up and adopted by her uncle *Mordecai*; this last was a descendant of those who had been brought captive into *Babylon* with *Jeconiah* king of *Judah*, and, by his constant attendance at the palace gate, seems to have been one of the king's porters. He had had interest enough to introduce his niece into the palace, among other beauties who were to be candidates to succeed the repudiated *Vashti*; and she had already so captivated the *Persian* monarch, even before he had set the diadem on her head, that she could obtain any thing from him, which her uncle bid her ask of him; it being a peculiar privilege of those virgins, whenever their turn came to appear before the king, to obtain whatever they asked of him¹. It is therefore reasonably supposed, that it was by her interest that *Ezra*, a very learned and zealous *Jew*, of the house of *Aaron* (T), obtained an ample

Ezra sent into Judæa

† Vol V. p. 10, & note.

¹ ESTHER ii. 18. & seq.

(T) He calls himself here, according to the *Hebrew* idiom, the son of *Seraiah* (45), who was the high-priest, whom *Nebuchadnezzar* caused to be slain at the taking of *Jerusalem* (46); but had he been his real son, he must then have been at least a hundred and thirty two years old, supposing him to have been an infant when his father died (47), and so wholly unfit for such a journey and employ; whereas we find him capable of reading the scriptures to the people from morning to noon, one whole week, and of assisting *Nehemiah* in his office thirteen years after (48), when he must have been at least a hundred and forty-five years old.

But since he there also calls *Azariah* the son of *Merajoth*, though it appears from the book of the *Chronicles* (49), that there were six descendants between them, what should hinder, but he may himself have been some descents off *Seraiah*, though it doth not appear how many?

What reputation he was in at the *Persian* court, may be gathered from the commission itself, which is so extensive in favour of the

(45) *Ezra* vii. 1. (46) 2 *Kings* xxv. 18, & seq. (47) Com the *Marg. Chronol.* in both places. (48) *Nehem.* viii. 2, & seq. (49) 1 *Chron* vi 7, & seq.

ample commission from *Artaxerxes* to return to *Jerusalem*, Year of
 with as many of his nation as were willing to go with him, the Flood,
 and there to regulate or reform all matters, whether of church 2541.
 or state, as he should see fit ^m. This commission was grant- Before
 ed to him in the seventh year of that monarch's reign, in vir- Christ,
 tue of which he began his journey from *Babylon* on the first 458.
 day of the month *Nisan*, answering to the middle of *March* ;
 he staid some days near the river *Abava* for the rest of his
 company, and during that time, being willing to take some
Nethinims with him to *Jerusalem* to serve there as formerly
 in the temple, he sent some of his retinue to *Iddo*, who was
 chief of those that dwelt near the place *Casiphia* (U), from
 whence

^m EZRA vii. 6. & seq.

Jewish nation, as well as of *Ezra* himself, that a less interest than
 that of *Esther* can hardly be supposed to have procured it to him ;
 it was to this effect (50) :

“ *Artaxerxes*, king of kings, unto *Ezra*, the priest of the law
 “ of the God of heaven, peace, &c. It is our decree, that who-
 “ soever of you, whether priests, levites, &c. shall be desirous to
 “ return to *Jerusalem*, be permitted to go safely thither. — We
 „ give you power to settle and reform every thing according to the
 “ law of your God, and to convey thither all the money, vessels,
 “ &c. which we, our counsellors, as well as the priests and others
 “ of your nation, that stay in the province of *Babylon*, shall freely
 “ offer for the service of the temple of your God, which is at *Je-*
 “ *rusalem*, or to dispose of it in any other way you shall think fit —
 “ and that whatever other charges *Ezra* shall think necessary for
 “ the house of God, shall be forthwith furnished to him out of our
 “ revenue on the other side the *Euphrates*, as far as a hundred
 “ talents of silver, a hundred measures of flour, wine and oil, &c.

“ And we do likewise forbid our governors in those provinces,
 “ to levy or demand any toll or taxes on any of the priests, levites,
 “ singers, &c. of the temple ; and we empower you, *Ezra*, to
 “ appoint judges, magistrates, &c. according to the wisdom with
 “ which God has endowed you, to judge that people on that side
 “ the river, and to condemn every offender to death, banishment,
 “ or any lesser punishment, according to the nature of his crime.”

(U) It is not easy to guess what place this was : the text calls it
 כַּסְפִּיָּא הַמָּקִים, *Casiphia hammakom*, *Casiphia the place*. Some
 have taken it for the *Caspian* mountains, situate between *Media*
 and *Hyrkania*, in the mines of which these captive *Nethinims* are
 supposed to have been sent to work ; if so, it is no wonder they
 should be so ready to embrace the benefit of the king's decree.

(50) EZRA vii. 12. & seq.

Josephus

whence he gathered about two hundred and twenty of them, besides some priests and levites ^a; after which having proclaimed a solemn fast, to implore the divine protection, they set forward, and arrived at *Jerusalem* on the first day of the fifth month, or the middle of *July*, that is, after a journey of four months.

His commission.

AT his arrival he opened his commission before the whole *Jewish* assembly, and there delivered to the priests the offerings which had been made by the king, nobles, and by the *Babylonish Jews* (W); after which, having sent to acquaint the governor of *Syria* and *Palestine* with the power he had received from the king, he set about putting it in execution; he began with appointing judges and magistrates, to reform every thing that was contrary to the law of *Moses*, and, pursuant to his commission, empowered them to punish offenders, not only with fines, imprisonment, or other lesser punishments, but even with banishment and death, according to the nature of the crime ^o. *Ezra* continued in the faithful discharge of his authority thirteen years, that is, till he was succeeded by *Nehemiah*, who was sent thither with a fresh commission from the same monarch. But before that, the *Jews* having received fresh tokens of the king's favour upon his raising *Esther*, to the diadem, *Ezra* relying upon the protection of two such powerful friends, as the new queen and *Mordcai*, who now engrossed the king's favour, gave him-

Reforms the church and state.



^a Ibid. ch. viii 15. & seq.

^o Ibid. vii. 25, 26.

Josephus passes by this whole affair, and is so out both in his chronology and history, that he makes this decree, as was that which *Nehemiah* obtained thirteen years after, to have been both granted by *Xerxes*, contrary to the *Hebrew* text, which calls him *Artaxerxes*; but this is not the only place where that historian is out.

(W) These offerings amounted to (1) a hundred talents of gold, besides twenty basons of gold, amounting to a thousand dar-konim (or darics, which were equivalent to our jacobus); (2) six hundred and fifty talents of silver, with vessels of silver, to the weight of a hundred talents more, and two vessels of some fine copper, then reckoned as valuable as gold.

From this new reformation made by *Ezra* in the *Jewish* church and commonwealth, the learned *Prideaux* begins the computation of *Daniel's* weeks; but as this is a subject quite out of our province, we refer those readers who are curious about it to consult the book itself (3).

(1) Ibid. ch. viii. 25, & seq.
Conn. part i. l. v.

(2) Ibid. Prid. part i. l. 2.

self up wholly to the care of the *Jewish* affairs, and to reform some crying abuses, which had crept in among those who were returned from *Babylon* under *Zerubbabel*.

ONE of these was the intermarriages, which not only the common people, but even priests, levites, and heads of families, had made with some of their idolatrous neighbours ^p, by which they had introduced a mixed mongrel breed of *Egyptians*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Samaritans*, and other strange nations among the true *Israelites*; to rectify this, *Ezra* issued out a proclamation, and ordered all that were returned from the captivity, to appear before him at *Jerusalem* on a set day, under the penalty of being excommunicated and forfeiture of all they had. As soon as they were assembled, he upbraided them in the severest terms for their crimes, so strongly forbidden by the *Mosaic* law; after which he obliged them to take a solemn oath, that as many as had been guilty of it, should put away both their strange wives and the children they had by them. But as the thorough cognizance of them after was like to take up some considerable time, and the court of the temple was still uncovered, and exposed to the rains that fell then abundantly, he appointed commissioners to make strict search into every family, and to oblige all delinquents to comply with the covenant which *Ezra* had exacted from them. This scrutiny was accordingly begun on the first day of the tenth month, and ended on the same day of the first month, when the number of delinquents was found to amount to a hundred and fourteen, some of whom had had children by those strange wives ^q.

*Abolishes
mixt mar-
riages.*

HIS next great work in pursuance to his commission was, to reform the whole state of the *Jewish* church, by restoring its discipline and rites, according to its antient pattern under the former prophets. In order to which, his first care was to collect and set forth a correct edition of the sacred books, and then to reduce the observance of the *Mosaic* law to that standard. This circumstance we find neither expressly mentioned in the sacred historians, nor in *Josephus*; but we have it from the *Talmudists* and other antient *Jews*, who add a great many others, which, not carrying the same probability with this, we shall for that reason give an epitome of in the margin (X). But as for this of his collecting and revising the

*Collects the
sacred
books.*

^p EZRA IX. 1. & seq.

^q Ibid. cap. ult. ver. 17, & seq.

(X) They tell us, first, that he was assisted in it by the grand synagogue or sanhedrin, which they pretend to have been originally

the sacred books, making some small additions to them, and fixing the canon of the *Old Testament* to twenty two books, as they are now received by the *Jews* and protestant christians; we have many reasons to confirm it. He was excellently well versed in them; his extensive authority enabled him to gather up all the best copies that could be met with, either at *Jerusalem* or among the dispersed *Jews*; he was himself in-

stituted by *Moses* in the seventy elders, and to have been since increased to a hundred and twenty; we have already confuted the greatest part of this assertion in a former volume, to which we refer the reader †.

2dly, in this synagogue they place among the principals of them the prophet *Daniel* and his three friends, *Shadrach*, *Mesbach*, and *Abednego*, whom they pretend to have been still alive, and to have returned from the captivity, though neither he, *Ezra*, or *Nehemiah*, mention any thing about any of them.

Lastly, and to mention no more, they place at the tail of this synagogue *Simon* the just, between whom and the time in which we supposed *Daniel* to have died there elapsed near two hundred and fifty years. The method they take to skip over this difficulty is equally absurd, and only exposes their ignorance of chronology; and this makes the judicious dean above quoted rightly suppose, that this pretended assembly of a hundred and twenty was only a succession of men, who put every one a helping hand to complete what *Ezra* had set on foot; and that *Simon* the just, who is the last there named, and was really so in point of time, was the person who gave the finishing stroke to that great work (4); for that it was not so far compleated in *Ezra's* time, as to have had no addition or amendment made to it afterwards, is scarce credible.

1st, Because we find in *Nehemiah* * the genealogy of *Jeshua* the high-priest is carried down to *Iadua*, and mention made of *Darius* the *Persian*, or *Codomannus*, who were recenter by at least a hundred years; and in the third chapter of the first book of the *Chronicles*, *Zerubbabel's* genealogy is carried down so far as must necessarily reach to the time of *Alexander the Great*.

2dly, Among the various readings noted in the margin of the sacred books which are attributed to *Ezra*, and are known by the names of *Keri* and *Ketib*, we find some in those of *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*, which cannot be supposed to have been put in by them, but by some of their successors in the work.

3dly, We may add, that *Nehemiah* and the *Chronicles* fall very short of that correctness of style and method that we find in the other books of the *Old Testament*, and for the reasons above alledged, were hardly admitted into the canon, till about the time of *Simon the Just* abovementioned.

† Vol. III. p. 4. sub fin. note H.

(4) Conne&. ubi supra.

* Ch. xii. 10, 22.

pired; and had the assistance of two or three prophets (Y) in the work. The then confused state of the *Jews* required such a collection and revival of the sacred writings, and some such thing we find done soon after *Nehemiah's* arrival in *Judea*, when *Ezra* brought forth the sacred volume, and read and expounded it to all the people from morning till noon, during the whole seven days of the feast of tabernacles^r. Lastly, the whole current of *Talmudist* writers, and all the antient and modern *Jews*^t, (except the *Samaritans*, who reject all but the pentateuch, as shall be seen in due time; and *Josephus*, who perhaps did not think proper to tell the world that the sacred writings stood in need of such a revival and amendment) ascribe this work to *Ezra*, as president of the sanhedrin, and chief director and overseer of the whole, in which they have been followed by no small number of antient fathers^u, and by far the greatest part of modern writers. We may further add, that there is no other way of justifying that great and zealous man, for leaving the city and outworks of the temple in that desolate state in which *Nehemiah* found them at his coming^v, considering, that he met with no other

^r NEHEM. viii. 2. & seq. ad fin.^t Vid. SELD. de synedr.

BUXTORF Tiberiad. & Auct. ab eis citat.

^u CLEM. ALEXAND.

Strom. l. i. IREN. l. iii. BASIL. epist. ad Chilon. ISIDOR.

Orig. l. vi. & al. mult.

^v NEHEM. i. 2. ii. 14. & seq.

(Y) These were *Haggai*, *Zechariah*, and *Malachi*, to which the *Jews* add, as we hinted in the last note, *Daniel* and his three companions. As for *Malachi*, they pretend, that he was the same with *Ezra*; that this last was his proper name, and מלאכי *Malachi*, which signifies *my angel*, or *messenger*, to have been that of his office, as being the person or prophet sent by God to restore the *Jewish* church to its pristine splendor and standard.

St. *Jerom* and some other antient writers have maintained the same notion (5): sure it is, that *Malachi* is rather a common than a proper name, and that in *Ezra's* time, prophets were called by that name (6); and accordingly, several antient fathers quoted *Malachi* under the title of *the angel* or *messenger of God* (7).

What seems to confirm that he was an assistant to, if not the same with, *Ezra*, is his reproofing the people for marrying strange wives, (8), for their oppression of their poor brethren (9), and several other abuses which were then rectified by *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*.

(5) Comment. in Malach. & alib. plur.

(6) Haggai i. 13.

Malach. iii. 1 & alib.

(7) Clem Alexand. Strom l. i.

Tertul cont. Judæos, c. 5. Orig. in Joan. & al.

(8) Ch. ii. 11.

(9) Ibid. v. 10 & alib pass.

obstacles, that we read of, from the *Samaritans*, but all possible encouragement from the *Persian* court ; but the supposition, that he thought it of greater moment to bestow his time and care in this new and correct edition of the sacred code, than to busy himself in repairing the outworks of the city and temple. It is in the time of this revival that he is supposed to have exchanged the old *Hebrew* character, for the more beautiful and commodious *Chaldee* now in use, and to have invented the *Massorah* (Z) vowel, and other points, concerning

(Z) By the term *Massorah* or *Massoreth*, which signifies *tradition*, is meant the unwritten rule or canon by which the reading and writing of the sacred books was fixed. We have already seen elsewhere, that the *Jews* affirm it to have been given by God himself to *Moses*, who delivered it to *Joshua*, *Aaron*, &c. by whom it was transmitted by oral tradition, through a long succession of holy and inspired men, down quite to *Rabbi Judah*, surnamed *Hakadosh*, or, *the holy*, who wrote it in the book which they call the *Mishna* ; all which we have formerly confuted †, as a series of *Rabbinic* fictions.

Others, with more probability attribute it to this *Ezra*, who in the comparing of the several copies, out of which he was to compile his new authentic one, found himself under a necessity of correcting several errors which had crept in, through the ignorance and carelessness of the transcribers, and observing likewise here and there a different reading, which might be well enough preserved, he put the one, perhaps that which he thought the best, in the text ; and this the *Jews* call *Keri* ; the other he put in the margin, to intimate that it was otherwise written in some copies ; and those marginals were called *Cetib*. It were, however, absurd to suppose, that they were all inserted by him, since, as we hinted in a former note, we find some of them, not only in the book that goes by his name, and is justly attributed to him, but in some of a later date ; besides, many of those marginals are really trifling, and some of them far beneath the dignity of such an author. Those who understand the *Hebrew* tongue may see an instance of this in the places quoted in the margin (11).

As for the vowel points, which are said to have been invented by him, in order to fix the true sense of words, we have heretofore shewn them to be of much more modern date ‡. But as to the grammatical ones, especially the *athnach* and *jilluc*, or *soph-passuk*, so called, because this last concluded every period, called by the *Jews* *passuk*, it is most likely they were devised either by, or

(10) *Prid', ubi supra*.

† *Vol. III. p. 153. note B. & alib.*

(11) 2 *Kings* xviii. 27. *Isaiab.* xxxvi. 12. ‡ *Vol. III. p. 417, & note.*

concerning which we have given a full account in a former volume †.

ANOTHER

† Vol. III. p. 408. & note, & 417, & seq.

very soon after, him ; for the *Hebrew* being almost forgotten during their captivity, and the *Chaldee* being become the current tongue, there was a necessity that those *parashas* or *portions* of scripture that were read in the temple and other synagogues, should be expounded to them by proper interpreters ; and this the *Talmudists* (12) tell us was done verse by verse in the law, which gave occasion to the invention of those points, in order to direct the readers when to stop ; but when they were afterwards forbid by *Antiochus Epiphanes* to read the law (13), and had substituted the lecture of the prophets instead of it ; the sense in these generally running a greater length, they were obliged to read and expound three whole verses at a time.

However, when the *Maccabees* had by recovering their liberty restored the antient reading of the law, they continued still reading also the prophets, and expounded the former verse by verse, and the latter every third verse ; in process of time they added likewise the other books called by them **כתובים** *Cetubim*, or *hagiographa* ; and this probably gave rise to the distinction of legal, prophetical, and hagiographical books, often mentioned in the gospel (14), and by *Josephus* (15)

How these periods or verses were marked in their books, is not easy to guess. If the *Jews* were then as superstitious as they have proved since, it is certain they could never suffer them to be inserted in any shape into the text, which they look upon as polluted by every adventitious point or dot, though ever so accidental. It is indeed a question whether they were so scrupulous in antient times ; but then, if *Ezra*, or any of his successors, ever admitted those stops, lines, points, or in any other form, it will be a wonder how they came afterwards to be expunged ; for it is plain there are none such admitted in their synagogues.

But the difficulty may be easily removed, by supposing, that they only left a blank space between period and period ; or, as *Maimon* imagines (16), that they finished every verse or period with a break, and began the next line with a new verse. But as they found these breaks to run to too great a length in many places, and caused their books, those we mean which they had for their private use, to swell to too great a bulk, they invented the

(12) *Mishna tract. Megill c. 4. Vide & Walton. prolegom. c. 3*
 & *auct. ab eo citat.* (13) *El Levit. Tishbit.* (14) *Luke c.*
ult. v. 44. Acts xiii. 15. & alib. (15) *Cont. Apoc. l. 1.*
 (16) *Ex Talmude in Bava Batra, cap. 7. & 9.*

Corrects
them.

ANOTHER, and very useful, improvement, which he and his inspired associates are generally, and with great probability, believed to have made to this new edition of the sacred books, is the interspersing here and there an explanatory clause by way of parenthesis, and making such other additions to the text, as were necessary to explain, illustrate, or confirm it. Of this nature some suppose the account of *Moses's* death, and the excellent character given to that great law-giver in the last chapter of *Deuteronomy*, to have been; but it seems to us more probable, that this was inserted much earlier, namely by *Joshua*, or some of his cotemporary writers, in order to inspire the people with a singular respect and credit both to him and his writings. However that be, we meet with a great number, that, being manifestly inserted long after the facts, cannot well be ascribed to any but *Ezra*, or some of those prophets that assisted him in the work; thus we find in several of the historical books concerning some antient monuments, such-like words as these, added by way of testimony, *which remain unto this day*^w; nay, many others of the like nature the reader may see in the margin (A). To the same end he is supposed likewise to have

^w DEUT. iii. 14. Joshua x. 27. & alib.

two grammatical points, which are now in use, and which the reader may find in all their pointed books.

But this was not the sole use of these grammatical points. Those who are acquainted with that tongue need not be told how necessary they are in fixing the sense in many places, nor how it may be, and is often rendered obscure, unintelligible, or even contrary by the misplacing of them. We have formerly given a notable instance of it **, from which the reader may guess of the rest; and shall dwell no longer upon it.

(A) Thus it is said in *Genesis* (17), that *the Canaanites did then dwell in the land*; which words could not be inserted till they had actually been extirpated out of it; and in another place of the same book (18), it is said, *these are the kings that reigned in the land of Edom, before there reigned any king in Israel*, which last words must of necessity have been inserted long after *Moses's* time. The large iron bed of *Og king of Basan*, said in *Deuteronomy* to have been still to be seen in the metropolis of the *Ammonites* (19), plainly intimates, that that prince had been killed long before this last clause was added. Lastly, and to mention no more, the twenty fifth chapter of the *Proverbs*, which begins with these words, *The pro-*

** See Vol III. p 418, and note D . . . (17) vii. 6. (18)
Ch. xxxvi. 31. (19) Deut. iii. 11.

have added some new names of places to the old ones, which were become obsolete. Thus *Abraham* is said to have pursued the confederate kings as far as *Dan*, the name which the *Danites* gave long afterwards to *Laiſh*^{*}. The same was done to *Bethel*, antiently called *Luz*, to *Hebron*, whose original name was *Kiriath-Arba*, and to many more, by the help of whose new names we come to the knowledge of the places there mentioned, which we could never have known by their old ones.

THE last work of this great man was the restoring *Restores the divine worship* the worship of the temple, according to its antient form before the captivity; to revise and amend the *Jewish* Liturgy, and to add particular prayers and thanksgivings, proper for the festivals that were superadded after their return from the captivity; such as the dedication of the new temple[†], of *Purim*[‡], and the like; and as the psalms entered into almost every part of their worship, and were to be sung alternately (B), as we have seen in a former volume, it is not to be doubted, but he took the same pains in collecting the whole book, and giving it the same revision which he had to the rest. Whether he digested them in the same order we have them now in, as is generally believed by *Jews* and *Christians*, and

^{*} Conf. GEN. xiv. 14. & JOS. xix. 47. JUDG. xviii. 29. [†] EZRA vi. 16. [‡] ESTHER ix. 29. ad fin. Vol. III. p. 188.

verbs of Solomon, which the men of Hezekiah king of Judah copied out, plainly shews, the words were added some considerable time after this last named king, who was twelve generations off Solomon.

(B) That is, not by *hemisties*, as *Meibonius* and some others seem to have imagined, but by whole verses, as they are now sung in our cathedrals; for, first, some of those verses there are, which, as a learned prelate has lately observed against him (20), manifestly consist of three members, and so are incompatible with the method of singing by *hemistie*.

But what seems to us more decisive is, that in some other acrostics (21), whose verses are consequently determined, the letter *vau* not being admitted to begin the sixth verse, but being thrust in the middle of the fifth, just after the *athnach*, they substituted a verse after the last alphabetical one, which begins in them with the letter *h*, which can hardly be supposed to have been done, but to make the number of verses even, that the same side of the choir might not begin and end the same psalm, which addition would have been needless, had they been sung by *hemisties*.

(20) *Hare prolegom.* page 4 and 5.

(21) *Psalms.* xxv. & xxxiv. whether

whether he was the author of those which were manifestly composed during the captivity^a, and after their return from it^b, such as we take those which are styled *gradual* to have been (C); and lastly, whether he lived to finish all these things, or left them to be compleated by his successors, we will not pretend to determine. One thing the second book of *Maccabees* informs us, that *Nehemiah* founded a library at *Jerusalem*, in which he deposited the acts of the kings, of the prophets, and of *David*^c, which seems to intimate, as if the revision of them had been compleated before that time.

It is no less uncertain, whether this revision of the sacred books reached so far as the restoring of the poetical parts to their antient metre, or whether they contented themselves

^a Psalm cxxxvii.

^b cxxvi.

^c Chap. ii. 13.

(C) Concerning the title of these, which are fifteen in number, beginning at the hundred and twentieth, various have been the conjectures of the learned; its original import is a *song of degrees* or *steps*, which some interpreters mistaking, have rendered a *song of excellences*, or a *most excellent song* (22). The *Chaldee* paraphrast turns it, a *song of the steps of the abyss*, alluding to an old *Jewish* tradition; that when they came to lay the foundations of the second temple, such a stream of water gushed out, as rose fifteen cubits, and would in all probability have overflowed the country, had it not been quashed by virtue of the ineffable name of God, written upon the fifteen steps of the temple.

Hence interpreters have imagined, that these psalms had their names from the fifteen steps on which they were sung; but in what part of the temple, whether within or without, they can by no means agree. Others took the hint from thence, that they were sung on some high desk, or raised place, to which the singers went by steps; but where is there any foundation for this?

But if we consider, that the whole tenor of those psalms consists chiefly either in fervent prayers for their return from their captivity, or thanksgiving for having obtained it; and that the terms, ascent, and to ascend, are frequently used to express their return into their own land (23); as it was indeed a high hilly ground, is it not more natural to suppose those psalms to have been composed some a little before, and some presently after, and all upon the subject of this happy *נִעְלִית*, ascent, or return from *Babylon* to *Jerusalem* (24)? So *Sbir Hammeuloth* will properly signify the song of the return, or of those that returned.

(22) *Jun. Tremel. Muis. & al.*

(23) *Vid. int. al. Ezra i.*

3, 5, & seq. ii. 1. vii. 9. *Nehem. vii. 5, 6*

Psalms cxxii Jerem.

xxvii. 22. & alib. *Ezek. xxxix. 2. & alib.*

(24) *Vid. Calmet.*

præfat. in Ps Grad.

with such a punctuation and division of verses as would best fit them for the service of the temple. The generality of writers is for the latter; but there is one reason which seems to us very strong for the former, namely, that those psalms, which were composed after the captivity, appear to us to run much in the same cadence with those which had been written before it, and many of them, whatever some difficult critics may fancy to the contrary, seem to be in no case inferior to them; which seems a plain intimation, either that the rules of *Hebrew* poetry were not lost at *Babylon*, or that they were recovered after their return, though they have been in vain sought for ever since the total dispersion of that nation, as we have fully shewn in the place last quoted out of the third volume of this history. However, since that time the reverend prelate above quoted has favoured the learned world with his metrical edition of the psalms, by which he has at least convinced us, that the *Hebrew* metre is not so irrecoverably lost as we then imagined. It is true, we are far from thinking that he has actually discovered it; we shall hereafter give our reasons for it in the margin; but this we are bound to say in justice to his extensive learning, the indefatigable pains he has taken in that work, and the irrefragable arguments with which he has exploded the greatest part of the *Massoretic* trash, which has been hitherto an insurmountable impediment to such a discovery, to say nothing of the many sagacious rules and judicious criticisms, which the reader will find in that edition; that if his lordship has not quite paved the way to it, he has at least blown up those discouraging obstacles that obstructed it; so that we may now hope, that, by the help of this elaborate piece, those who have both time and genius for such an enterprise, will be now encouraged to follow so noble an example, from the present prospect of success, which they must have despaired of without it. Having said thus much in justice to that excellent piece and its learned author, we shall now, with his lordship's good leave, and with that honest freedom which the dignity of the subject demands of us, offer our reasons, why we think that his new-found metre comes infinitely short of what it appears to us to have originally been, and consequently, that the greatest part of the alterations and corrections made for the sake of it, and which are to be found in every page, are so many deviations from the original. And since we find that many of our readers expect we should give our opinion of this learned performance, we doubt not, but if we clear the sacred text from the corruptions which our learned prelate thinks he had corrected in it; and the *Hebrew* poetry from being such a low, crawling,

*An account
of bishop
Hare's
edition of
the psalms.*

crawling, and imperfect thing, as this edition makes it, not only they, but much more his good lordship, will be pleased with it; and that the merit of the cause will plead for the length of the following note, into which we shall for order and brevity's sake insert all that we have to say upon that subject (D).

WE

(D) In speaking of the sacred *Hebrew* poetry in a former volume *, we ventured to affirm, that it was unreasonable to suppose: that an art, which, with respect to its noblest part, the strength of expression, loftiness of thought, beauty of metaphors, and imagery, was almost at its height in *Moses's* time; and had been so excellently well cultivated during so many centuries after; should yet be so uncouth and imperfect with respect to the metre, as *Le Clerc* and some other critics have made it; the latter being but a mere jingle, and within the compass of a much more ordinary genius. And this argument, we think, will hold much stronger against that even heavy and inelegant bitony, which our learned prelate has given us for it; and especially,

2dly, If we take in another part of his lordship's affirmation; namely, that it admitted of no distinction of long and short syllables, but used them all indifferently, as the nature of the verse; which is there affirmed to consist of no other variety than *trochaic* and *iambic*, required. For this once allowed, we may safely say with the poet, that *Nil non erit versus*, and that there is no period in the *Old Testament*, from *Genesis* to *Malachi*, that may not be thus versified, not to say, any other book in any other language; for proof of which, if the reader will but be at the small pains we have been induced to take, he may with ease reduce the whole common prayer book, either *English*, *Latin*, or *Greek*, into the same kind of verse, and without those frequent alterations, which his lordship is forced to make in the *Hebrew* text.

We may add, that quantity is in many cases so necessary and obvious to fix the sense of what is said or sung, that it is absolutely impossible the sacred poets should have been thus totally negligent of it.

But, thirdly, That neither poets nor musicians, from *Moses* to *David*, should have stumbled upon a variety of metres, answerable to the variety of subjects treated of in the psalms; but that the penitential ones, than which nothing can be more grave or solemn, as to the expression; should run on in the same merry pace with the eucharistical, encœnical, epithalamical, and others of a more cheerful nature; or that *David*, bewailing and begging pardon for his secret sins; should express himself in the same leaping anacreontic strain; as when he speaks of the mountains skipping like rams, and the little hills like young sheep (25), *credat quicunque vult*.

* Vol. III. p. 385, & seq. (25) Compare in this new edition, *Psalms* xix. 14, with cxiv. 3, & seq.

Lastly

WE return to *Ezra*, who, having been succeeded by *Nehemiah*, after he had governed the *Jewish* church and nation thirteen

Lastly, if the book of psalms, a book so highly esteemed, and in such constant use among all the *Jews*, can be once supposed to have been so mutilated, as to stand in need, not only of all that vast quantity of corrections which are here introduced for the sake of that metre; but of a great many more, which that learned prelate owns he could not restore; it is to be feared, whatever his lordship may think to the contrary, its authority will soon dwindle into nothing, especially, if that be admitted, which his lordship affirms in several places of that work, that a great number of those corruptions have been introduced into the text, not by the inadvertency and ignorance of transcribers, but by the superstition, or even malicious intent of the *Jews* themselves. But such a severe charge against a people, who, for ought appears to the contrary, have rather ran into the other extreme, ought to have been backed by some stronger proofs, than the bare structure of this new-found metre, which is at best built upon a tottering foundation, and in many cases upon a wrong one, as will, we hope, appear by what follows.

These were some of the main reasons that induced us to inquire further into the grounds of this new metre; and here we own, that his lordship could not have fallen upon a better way to come at his intended discovery, than that of framing his rules from the acrostic psalms, whose verses, being confined within their alphabetical limits, take away at once all occasion of expatiating. But the misfortune was, that he made choice of so short a one for his ground and pattern, which consisting but of ten verses, and by its structure appearing to have been designed, like some others of the like nature, to be committed to memory for frequent use, could not afford that variety of measure, &c. which is to be found in acrostics of a greater length, such as the 25th, 34th, 37th, and especially the 119th,

This last, his lordship justly observes, comes indeed vastly short of the poetic elegance of the rest, with respect to the diction; but as to the metre, it affords such a beautiful variety of it, that it seems to contain an epitome of the whole *Hebrew* metre; and we doubt not, but if his lordship had bestowed the same pains in framing his rules from it, he might not only have given us a more noble idea of the sacred poetry, but likewise saved himself the endless trouble of distorting the text, to make it square with his own. All which put together gave us just cause to think, that his fondness for this new discovery had made him overlook several great beauties and excellencies in the *Hebrew* metre, which a closer and less partial examination might easily bring to light.

We had not gone far in this enquiry, before some of his metrical emendations gave us a manifest proof of it, and set us upon a

thirteen years, assisted him in some parts of his office some few years, after which we hear no more of him. *Josephus* tells

much better scent: We observed, that his lordship was often forced, for the sake of the verse, to curtail a trisyllable into a bisyllable, or to stretch the latter into the former; but more particularly the names of God, *Jah*, *Jahvoh*, and *Elohim*, by exchanging them *ad libitum*, and contrary to the text, according as the verse required one, two, or three syllables, even as far as eighteen times in one psalm (26).

This, we observed, was constantly done in verses whose hemistichs ran either in the same number of syllables, except only in these names of God, as in the following:

(27) אהלל דבר באלוהים
אהלל דבר ביהוה

or in parallel verses of different psalms; in the one of which the word *Jahvoh*, and the other *Elohim*, and sometimes *Adonai*, did occur (28), *cæteris paribus*. This made us apprehend at first, that if there was really any such metre in the psalms, his lordship was mistaken in reading the word יהוה *Jahvoh*, which ought to have been a trisyllable, in order to answer to *Elohim* and *Adonai*.

But finding upon further examination, that *Elohim* was in several places set to answer to other words, which were certainly bisyllable, as in the following (29),

<i>Joduca</i>	<i>hammim</i>	<i>Elohim</i>
<i>Joduca</i>	<i>hammim</i>	<i>Cullam</i>

What could be a stronger proof than this, that *Elohim*, consisting of two shorts and a long, was equivalent to the two long ones in *Cullam*, and consequently that the *Hebrew* metre admitted not only of long and short syllables, two of the last of which were equal to one of the former; but also that it consisted of trisyllables, bisyllables, and monosyllables, or what the prosodists call *cesures*? Such as are in the *Latin* pentameters, and in the *Hebrew* iambics. We have not room in a note to multiply examples; the reader may, by comparing the following ones, which are exactly according to the text, with those of our learned author, as he has been forced to distort them from it to reduce them to his metre, easily guess, to what a vast number of needless emendations this one single error of the *Hebrew* poetry consisting only of bisyllables, without distinction of quantity (30), has given birth, which might otherwise have happily been avoided.

(26) In Psalm. lxxviii. (27) Psalm lvi 11. (28) Conf. Psalm xiv. 3, & liii. 3. lvii. 10, & cviii. 3, & alib. plures. (29) Ps lxxviii. 3. (30) Vid. Prolegom. p. 4. & 27.

tells us ^d, that he died and was buried at *Jerusalem*; but the *Ezra's* rest of the *Jews* affirm, that he returned into *Persia*, and died *death and* there *character*.

^d Antiq. l. xi.

Ezkòr Màhlè-lè iàh
Ezker h mikedèm philekà
raukà M jìm Elohim
raukà Majìm jakilù (31)
Hüfhàh lèhèz-ratì
Adonài tèshù-hatì (32)
B'lohìm ahàl-lèl d:-bar
B'javoh ahàl-lel da-bar (33)

Nòdàh Bihudàh Elohim
Bishraèl gadòl Shemò
ashiràh lihvòh bekhajài
azamr h leloh h behodi
Elohim berob Khasdeca
honnèni beemeth jisheca

Those that are conversant with the *Hebrew* tongue and sacred poets, will easily feel the advantage of admitting this variety of feet, not only with regard to its superior elegance to a dull constant bitony, but also towards the further discovery of the *Hebrew* metre in verses of unequal hemistichs; some of which run to such lengths above others, even in those acrostics abovementioned, that they contain often double, and sometimes treble the number of syllables.

This indeed our author looks upon as such a disgrace to the *Hebrew* poetry, that, right or wrong, he endeavours to avoid it every-where as much as possible; sometimes by the addition of one or more words, at other times by striking them out (34), by elisions, paragogics, and sometimes by splitting a long word between two hemistichs, or sometimes by splitting an hemistich into two, contrary to the constant structure of the psalm (35); and yet if we were to frame a judgment from the three last quoted psalms, xxxvii. cxix. and cxxxvi. one would be apt to think, that the sacred poets thought these transitions, from a long to a very short hemistich, an ornament; and such it is thought by all, in odes, epitaphs, and such like, which seem therefore to us to come nearest to the *Hebrew* genius and metre, not only of the psalms, but of the other poetic pieces of the *Old Testament* *.

Now this kind being so opposite to the *trochaic* and *iambic*, which his lordship had pitched upon for his standard, we need not wonder, that he has succeeded no better in his endeavours to bring it to it, since that could not be done but by constant stretching, dislocating, amputation, and other such-like violent methods, which his lordship, among many other learned men, hath justly objected against *Le Clerc* and others, who have attempted this discovery.

(31) *Psalms lxxvii.* 12, & 17. (32) *xxxviii.* ult. (33) *lvi.* 11. (34) *Psalms xxxvii.* 20, 25, & *seq. cxix.* pass. (35) *Psalms cxxxvi.* 9. * *Vid. int. al. Exod.* 15, & *Lament.* c. 3.

there in the hundred and twentieth year of his age. They bear so great a veneration for him, that they look upon him
as

It is not the design of this note, to recover the antient *Hebrew* poetry, a task for which we have neither time nor abilities ; but to rescue it from that contempt into which both it and the *Hebrew* text must unavoidably fall, if it should once be supposed, that the former consisted only in a dull, sleepy and uncertain bipedality, and that the latter has been so corrupted and mutilated, partly by *Jew-ish* superstition and malice, and partly by the ignorance and inadvertency of transcribers. And therefore, though what has been said seem to us sufficient to vindicate it in both cases, yet, as the fact is a matter of such great moment, we shall take the liberty to animadvert upon some few more of his lordship's metrical emendations; that the reader may see how little reason he had to say, *Ex metro liquidò apparet ; frustra ergo sunt omnes hic interpretes* : (36). We shall begin with the fiftieth psalm, out of the first verse of which he has struck the two names of God, *El* and *Elohim*, into the title, upon no other authority than the last-mentioned. Could his lordship indeed have backed it with one single instance of a psalm, incited, *Mizmor El Elohim*, or shewn that there was any absurdity or inelegancy in the expression, *El, Elohim, Jahvoh*, or *Jehovah, the God of gods, or the Migh'y God* ; such a change might have past for an amendment ; but to reject so noble an expression for the sake of a metre, which is at best as yet but in embryo, is a criticism which few of his readers will digest.

But were it really for the sake of the metre, that his lordship rejects this triplicate name of God, how easily might it have been remedied by lengthening the verse without any violence to the text ! As,

*El Elohim Jahvoh dibber vajicra,
Eretz mimisrah shemesh had meboo*

or by any other way, rather than stripping the original of so lofty an expression. But if his lordship, or the reader, is by this time reconciled to that variety of metre we have endeavoured to establish above, the whole verse may be still made to run more elegantly, and conformably to the rest of the psalms, thus :

*El elo-him Jàh-vòh dìb ber
Vàjicra èretz mimmiz rah
Shèmèsh vè hàd meboo*

But his lordship seems to be fond of spying out difficulties in the original, that he may have an opportunity of exercising his critical

as a second *Moses*, a restorer of the sacred books and *Masse-rah*, and, in a word, one every way worthy to have been their

talent. We shall give three pregnant instances of it; the first is in the eighth and ninth verses of the fortieth psalm; this place, obscure and intricate as his lordship calls it, after some additional words and a new disposition of the original ones, he leaves much more dark and unintelligible; and less elegant and grammatical than he found it, as the reader may see by comparing it with the text

Now all this trouble might have been saved, and the text not only cleared, but exactly adjusted, to the place, where the epistle to the *Hebrews* quotes it * by the single addition of the letter *gaph* before the word *בִּמְגִלָּתְךָ* *bimgillath*, and which may easily be supposed to have been omitted by reason of its similitude to the *בֵּת* *beth*, or even by the bare changing the one for the other, and reducing *cemgillath* instead of *bemgillath*; and then the verses will run thus, and in the bishop's own metre;

As a marti hinneh bati
then said I lo I come
(kebim-gillath Sepher Catub
(as in the volume of the book it is written
halal) labioth rezo neka
of me) to do thy will
Elo-haikha-phasti
O my God, I am well pleased with it
Vetho-rathea betoc-Mehai
And thy law is within my heart.

The altering the points in the verb *kebaphasti*, and making it the substantive *kebephzati*, will render it still more elegant; and the sense will be, *O my God, and my delight*; or, *O God, thou art my delight, and thy law is within my heart*.

The next is in the sixty-eighth psalm, verse 14; where the author not being able to light upon a better sense than that which the vulgate and our version gives it, *Though ye have lain among the pots, yet shall ye be as the wings of a dove, &c.* has been forced to insert the words *tehu* and *ce*, and to doubt that of *Jonah* with the addition of the *g* in the first. Now all this might have been saved, and the sense made not only much plainer, but more elegant, by reading *תְּהוּ* instead of *תְּהוּ*, which is but a small alteration in comparison of his; and then the sense will be plainly this; *Though ye have lain among the pots or rather, according to the parallel in Genesis xlix. 15. Though ye sink between two barthens, yet shall the dove (emblem of innocence) escape with her wings covered with silver, and her feathers with the purest gold.*

The last is in psalm. cxxxviii. v, 2. the latter part of which running thus in the text,

* Heb. x. 7, & seq.

their law-giver, had not that honour been bestowed on *Moses* ^c. They join the books of *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* into one, and

^c Vid. Sed. Hol. Cabbal. R. ABR. LEVIT. Seph. Juchaf. Shal-the.eth, & al plur.

Ki higdalta hal col Shemca imratheca ;

which not being altogether so intelligible, his lordship rectifies by adding the word *Shem* before *Shemka*, and casting out the last word, as absurdly added and without sense, and for a proof of it sends us to the parallel of St. *Paul* (37).

I hope his lordship will not think *imratheca*, *thy word*, to have been here maliciously added by the *Jews*, since, if we understand the apostle right, he speaks there of Christ the word, the *logos* made flesh, and crucified, and for which God has given him a name above every name. If therefore instead of striking it out, his lordship had only expunged the pronoun ׀ after *Shem*, without any farther alteration, the sense would have much better tallied with St. *Paul's* quotation thus : *For thou hast magnified thy word above every name*. His lordship could not be ignorant, what is universally understood by the *Hebrew Imrah*, the *Chaldee Mamre*, the *Greek Logos*, and the *Latin Verbum*, when applied to that divine Person.

It is true, if we admit the original word *imratheca*, the verse will be one syllable too long for the foregoing ; a misfortune which often happens in the text, but which his lordship is never at a loss to obviate, either by an elision or a paragogic, though, for our part, we should rather chuse to remedy it by the rule heretofore given of making two short syllables equal to a long one.

Much of the same nature is the correction of *Psalms* lxxiv. v. 3. where his lordship strikes out of the verse the words *lemasbuoth netzakh*, *perpetual desolations*, as absurd and contrary to the context, (in which the psalmist begs of God to put an end to them) and fills up the chasm with the word *Calleb*, which he fetches out of the eleventh verse, where he pretends it to be redundant.

His lordship, we believe, is the first that thinks it nonsense for a man to pray to God to put an end to his perpetual, that is, constant, and hitherto uninterrupted, misfortunes ; besides, the word נצח *netzach*, it is well known, doth not always imply the duration, but often strength, greatness, violence, and insurmountableness of a thing ; and therefore not only very applicable to the then dreadful desolations of the sanctuary, but also very fit to be humbly presented to that God whose hand alone could remedy them.

But there is still another and much more natural way of clearing the original, than that of his lordship's, by supposing the verb to have been originally נצח *netzach*, *fly*, which the transcribers, not understanding, changed it for the other, which was more known to

(37) *Philip*. ii. 6.

them.

and make him the author of it : and he was certainly so of the first, since he speaks of nothing in it, but what was done in his

them. The expression of lift up thy feet, which alludes to a bird just going to take flight, confirms this sense, which will run thus, lift up thy feet, and fly to those dreadful devastations which thy enemies perpetually commit in thy holy place.

But this not being perceived by the transcribers, in order to make their *netzakh* run smooth with the rest, they changed the order of the words, which probably ran thus :

Harimah pahameka
Netzah lecol Malshuoth
Herah ojob bakkodesh.

As for the word *נִלְחַץ*, which his lordship fetches from the eleventh verse, we think it fully as well where it is, and where it is properly the participle *pabul* of the verb *נִלְחַץ*, to shut, or inclose, the *ל* elided by reason of the feminine, *the band*, there said to be shut up in the bosom. See a parallel in *Psalms* lxxxvii. v. 9.

From these few examples the reader may see the ill consequence of too great an attachment to a favourite system : but the mischief has not stopt here ; and the notion, that the text was so corrupt, that nothing but these violent means could possibly recover it, has spread itself to other places, where the metre did not want those emendations. Thus his lordship tells us, in his notes on *Psalms* cvii. v. 25 and 29, that the words *jahmed* and *jakem* had manifestly changed places. We had indeed long before suspected some error in the last verb, but never dreamt of this way of rectifying it. However, it appeared so plausible to us at the first reading, that we readily jumped over the difficulty of accounting how two such words, that stood at the distance of four verses, or eight hemisties, asunder, should, contrary to the plain sense of the text, be jumbled into each other's place ; and we transposed them according to his correction in our manuscript psalter.

But we had not often read over the expression *jahmed ruakh sebarab lidmamab*, before we observed a manifest absurdity in it, since that verb in this conjugation doth not signify *to make to stand still*, but *to cause to stand, to act* ; and could not consequently belong to the latter, but to the former of the verses, where it was raised to cause the storm there spoken of ; and we accordingly replaced it where it ought to be.

The difficulty then was how to rectify the word *jakem*, which, as it is there written, must be owned to be nonsense, unless we take it in the same figurative meaning, which it is known to have in *1 Sam.* iv. 15. and *1 Kings* xiv. 4. and elsewhere. But here the thirty-third and thirty fifth verses of the same psalm furnished us with a much more plausible salvo than his lordship's improbable transposition, it being much more likely that a transcriber should

his time and under his eye, and almost every-where speaks of himself in the first person ; but if he wrote the second, some additions

mistake or overlook one letter for another, than that he should thus transpose two distant words against all sense ; and thus we write *יָשֵׁם* *jashem*, to turn, instead of *יָקֵם* *jakem*, to raise, *Jashem Seharah Lidmamah turneth the tempest into a calm*, will then answer to *Jashem Nebaroth l' Midbar*, verse 33. *he turneth the rivers into a dry wilderness*, and *Jashem Midbar l' agam Majim*, verse 33, *a dry wilderness into a standing water*.

If our readers, however, should dislike this verb, either on account of its occurring three times within so small a distance from each other, or because it is not elegant enough to answer the context, he may find some more noble ones in the verbs *יָקַע*, to break, *יָקַע*, to blunt, *יָקַע*, to tire, whose last letters being so near like the *ם*, might easily be mistaken for it, the verb, *קָם* being more familiar to them, than the others, which occur but seldom.

But after all, we very much question, whether any other change need to be made than the bare transposition of the particle *ל* from *demamah* to *seharah*, and so *יָקֵם קָסֶעֶרָה דִּמְמָה* will properly signify, *He makes the calm to succeed the storm*, an expression no ways irregular or inelegant. The reader, however, may see by this one instance, how many easier ways that text might be rectified, than that which the learned author has pitched upon.

We shall end this note with one animadversion more on that learned prelate's edition, by which the reader will plainly see, that his lordship is not always so happy as to take the best sense of the psalmist. We observed in a former volume *, that some of the figures in that sacred book are so high and compound, that they were not easily perceived by every reader.

Our learned bishop's singular opinion of the rudeness of the Hebrew poetry, hath made him not only overlook many of them, but even quarrel with some, which had he been otherwise prejudiced, might have challenged his admiration. One of them, for instance, is in *Psalms lxxii. v. 16*. This noble psalm is intitled to *Solomon* ; but what is contained in it is generally understood to regard the reign of the Messiah : but be that reign whose it will, here is foretold, among other great blessings, such an uncommon plenty, that *Pissath bar*, a little handful of corn, sown on the tops of the mountains, naturally the most barren, should outvie the fertile *Libanus* for increase. One would wonder how a person of his profound judgment could be dissatisfied with so elegant a phrase ; and yet he tells us in his note, that unless the word *pissath* be allowed here to have a contrary sense, that is, to signify a great abundance, he shall suspect it to have crept in instead of some word of the like import ; which would be in fact losing all the beauty of the expression, as much as if his lordship had said, that the fer-

* Vol. III. p. 386, sub fin. note L.

additions must have been made to it since his death ; but the difference of style seems to prove it of another hand, as well as that of the two books of *Chronicles*, which it is not, however, improbable, he might have had the revival of ; as for the other two books falsely attributed to him, and known by the names of the first and second books of *Esdra*s, they are justly rejected ; however, we shall subjoin a short account of each in the margin (E).

Nehemiah,

tile vallies ought to be inserted instead of the barren mountain tops ; for where would be the wonder, that a great heap of corn, or a fertile ground, should bring forth a plentiful crop ?

Of the same nature is that noble expression of the psalmist †, where he compares himself to *bammetim khopsbi*, to a corpse secluded even from among the dead, alluding to the Jewish way of burying ; for as the graves of the dead polluted the living, who came near them, so those who died a violent death, or under the anathema, were to have a grave separate from the rest, lest they should pollute even their fellow dead ; and that this is the allusion here intended, is plain by the verses immediately following, and implied in the word *khalalim*, which should properly be rendered, not wounded, but profane, abominable, and which, *mijadeca nigzaru*, are cut off from thy hand, plainly shews ‡ ; but his lordship, having overlooked this beautiful figure, has struck off the word *bammetim*, as spoiling the sense as well as the verse ; how rightly, let the reader judge.

Thus much we thought incumbent upon us to say of that learned and elaborate work, which, if it has not answered the end which its noble author proposed, may yet be read, as it was by us, with great pleasure and profit, not only on account of numberless judicious criticisms and observations which the reader will find in it, but as it will administer the greatest helps that ever were, as yet, thought on, by any of the learned, towards the recovering of the antient *Hebrew* poetry. As to the rest, we dare believe, it will be no small pleasure to that learned and pious prelate, to find the discovery of his mistakes turn so much to the credit and vindication of the sacred text and of its inspired penmen.

(E) The first book of *Esdra*s is no other than the first book of *Ezra*, with a variety of fabulous circumstances, particularly that of the three young men of *Darius*'s guard, who for their exquisite wisdom in answering his questions, are there pretended to have obtained, among other marks of his favour, the liberty of returning to *Jerusalem* and of rebuilding the temple (29) . The *Greek* church is the only one that holds it among the canonical books.

† *Psalms* lxxxviii. 4. ‡ Concerning these burials, see before, Vol. III. p. 313. (29) *Cb.* iii. & seq.

Nehemi- *Nehemiah*, cup-bearer to the king of *Persia*, a *Jew* (F
 ah sent into of great learning and piety, had heard by some of his nation
 Judæa. lately come from *Jerusalem*, of the ruinous condition which
 Year of that city still stood in, notwithstanding the favours which that
 the Flood, monarch had heaped on the returned *Jews*; being therefore
 2554. backed by the queen, who is expressly said to have been at the
 Before table when he made his petition to him, he obtained a com-
 Christ, mission
 445.



† NEHEM. ii. 6.

The second book is acknowledged by neither *Jews* nor *Christians*, being a work which carries the manifest marks of imposture. It is falsely pretended to have been written by *Ezra* himself, tho' filled partly with rabbinic fables, such as the account of the six days creation, particularly of *Behemoth* and *Leviathan*, two monstrous creatures, designed for a feast to the elect after the resurrection (30), and partly with some gospel notions, corrupted and fitted to the author's taste. Of this nature are the nearness of the day of judgment, the appearance of the son of God to him, and many more not worth repeating.

Mohammed has also stuffed his *Koran* with some monstrous fables; he not only owns him to have recovered the sacred books, which had been in a great measure lost, but affirms that he wrote them with five pens at once. He adds, that this miracle not convincing the incredulous *Jews* that he had rightly performed the task, one of the company told the rest, that one of his ancestors had formerly hid a fair copy of them in the cleft of a rock; which being fetched and compared with this new one of *Ezra*, they found such an exact agreement between them, as convinced them that he had been supernaturally assisted in it; some other fables he adds, which the reader may find in *D'Herbelot* (31).

The eastern christians believe, that *Ezra*, having swallowed down some of the mud of the well, wherein the sacred fire had been hid before the captivity, was immediately inspired, and enabled to write all the sacred books afresh (32). This seems to be partly taken out of the second book of *Esdra*s, where that fabulous author tells us, that having begged of God to direct him how to recover those lost volumes, God gave him to drink of a liquor of a fiery colour; by the help of which he was enabled to dictate them to five scribes at the same time, who were forty days in writing two hundred and four volumes (33).

(F) The text calls him barely the son of *Hachaliah* (34), without informing us of what tribe he was. Some therefore from a passage in the *Maccabees* (35), where he is said to have offered sa-

(30) *Cb.* vi. 49, & seq. (31) *Biblioth. Orient. sub voce O-*
zai. Ben. Seraiah. Vid. & Koran cap. Bacra. (32) *D'Herbel.*
ubi supra. (33) *Cb.* xiv. 22, & seq. (34) *Nehem.* i. 1.
 (35) *Lib.* ii. c. i. 18, 21.

mission from him to succeed *Ezra* in the government of *Judæa*, with full power to rebuild and adorn both city and temple, and with fresh orders to *Sanballat* and others of his officers on this side *Euphrates*, to furnish him with all necessary materials out of the king's treasury. *Nehemiah*, having gathered a fresh supply of men and women to return with him into *Judæa*, departed under an escort which the king had granted, and arrived at *Jerusalem*, where he kept himself in private three days, at the end of which he went in the night, accompanied with a few of his men, to take a full view of the city and walls, which he found to answer exactly the report that had been made to him of it at *Shushan*. On the *The wall* morrow he sent for the heads of the people, and in the great *finished* assembly opened his commission, which he told them he would immediately put in force, and set about the finishing of the wall; he divided the work between a number of great families, each of which undertook a part of a stated extent, and was to build it at their own charges; and the new governor plied them so close, that in fifty two days they had all compleated their task, notwithstanding the many discouragements which he met with, both from within and from without ^g.

FOR while the work was going on, they were forced to bear with many a bitter sarcasm from *Sanballa*, a *Horonite* (G), governor of *Samariat*, and some others of his officers; but this was nothing to some of their underhand plots to obstruct

^g Ibid. iii. & seq.

crifices, and from his being reckoned at the head of the priests that signed the new covenant with God (36), have affirmed him to have been of the family of *Aaron*.

But as there is nothing conclusive in all this, and seems expressly contradicted by his saying in another place, that he was not a fit person to shelter himself in the temple (37; the far greater part suppose him to have been of the royal family of *Judab* 38); and this is so much the more probable, because we find none but such promoted to those high stations about the king's person; but never read of a priest that was so, till a long time after, and upon a quite different account, as the sequel will shew.

(G) Probably so called, because he was a native of *Horonaim*, a city of *Moab*; their other two principal enemies were *Tobias* the *Ammonite*, and *Geshem* the *Arabian*; all consequently ill-affected to

(36) *Nehem* x. 1. (37) *Ibid* c. vi. 11. (38) *R. Abrah. in Cabbal. Euseb. Isid. & Genebr. & al.*

struct it; for they went so far as to hire some treacherous *Jews* to dishearten both the governor and people, with the specious pretence that they were sent from God to put a stop to the enterprize. *Nehemiah* soon found out the cheat, but foreseeing that his enemies would not fail to use force, if their subdolous practices failed, ordered the people to arm themselves even while they were at work, placed strong guards to defend them, and trumpeters at convenient distances from each other, that at what quarter soever they should chance to be attacked, the rest, upon hearing the alarm, might come immediately to their assistance. But the greatest obstacle of all was, that the poorer sort, who were to bear the greater share of the labour, had been so impoverished by continual extortions from the rich, even long before his arrival, that they had already been forced to mortgage their lands, sell their sons and daughters, and submit to so many other hardships, that they were quite disabled from pursuing it. *Nehemiah*, who expected nothing less than to hear of such horrid cruelties being committed by the *Jewish* rulers, upbraided them in the severest terms; and partly by persuasions, and partly by his own authority, obliged them to restore all their ill-gotten wealth to the poor owners, and at the same time took care, that they should be supplied with all necessary sustenance while they continued in the work ^b; by these means he defeated the measures of the *Samaritans*. As soon as the wall was finished, he caused the dedication of it to be celebrated with the usual solemnities by the priests and levites ^c (H), and

Is consecrated.

^b Ch. v. pass. ^c Ch. vii.

the *Jews*, but now doubly so, since they were likely to be dispossessed by them of many a good estate, which they had seized on during their captivity.

(H) This noble ceremony, which is described in the chapter above quoted, consisted in the purification of the priests and people, that they might partake of the sacrifices that were to be offered on that solemnity. After this they assembled themselves at one of the gates, whence dividing themselves into two bands, the one of them took to the right, and the other to the left, and marched in a solemn procession round the wall, till they met each other at the temple; they were followed by the priests blowing their trumpet, and with other singers and musicians.

As soon as they were come to the temple, the two choirs placed themselves opposite to each other; and while they were singing some psalms proper to the occasion, the priests offered a great number of sacrifices, especially of oxen, after which they spent the remainder of the day in feasting and mirth.

and left the government of the city to his two brothers, *Hanani* and *Hananiah* ^k, whilst himself returned, as is reasonably supposed, into *Persia* (I), to obtain a new commission, the old one extending no farther than the rebuilding the city wall, which was now actually done.

HITHERTO *Jerusalem*, large and spacious as it was, remained still but thinly peopled, the far greater part having settled themselves in the country round about; and whenever any business called them into the city, they seldom failed returning at night to their habitations. This *Nehemiah* had indeed forbidden while the wall was building; but after it was finished, they returned to their usual course. This therefore obliged him to provide for its safety, by causing a greater number of people to come and settle in it. He persuaded at first the nobler and richer to build them houses there, which they the more gladly complied with, because their country-seats were very much infested with thieves and banditti, who made frequent excursions against them. After this they took in all that willingly offered themselves to come and settle there; but these not proving sufficient, he was obliged to take every tenth family by lot; so that by this time the city being well built, peopled, guarded, and fortified, it began to resume something of its former lustre ^l; and *Herodotus*, who saw it soon after this time, compares it to *Sardis*, the metropolis of *Asia Minor* ^m (K).

The city
peopled.

^k Ch. vii.

^l NEHEM. vii.

^m l. iii.

(I) This is indeed the most probable of the two, as the learned *Prideaux* observes (39; for as his commission was only to repair the wall of the city, the only thing he had begged of the king, it is likely he went to have it enlarged, before he undertook any thing new; besides, it is not very likely, that he would have committed the government of the city to any one, whilst himself was there present.

His great interest at the *Persian* court might then give such a dispatch to his business, and his return to *Jerusalem* might be so sudden, that he did not think it material to mention it in history.

(K) *Herodotus* calls it *Cadytis*; but whoever reads what the learned *Prideaux* has said on that subject (40), will easily think with him, that it could be no other than *Jerusalem*.

(39) *Connect. lib. vi. sub. an. A. Chr. 445.* (40) *Sub an.*

610, & 445.

WHILST

*The law
publicly
read and
expounded.*

*Fest of
tabernacles*

WHILE *Nehemiah* was thus employed in peopling and fortifying the city, adorning the temple, and rectifying the genealogies both of priests and people (L), *Ezra*, who had by that time finished his collection of the sacred books, was preparing himself and some other learned priests to make a solemn lecture of them to the whole nation, on the next approaching festival, which was that of the trumpets ushering in the new year. To this end a capacious scaffold or desk was raised in one of the largest streets of the city, that the people, who came from all parts of the land to the feast, might conveniently hear it. *Ezra* was seated in the midst with the sacred volume before him, and on each side stood six priests, well versed in the *Hebrew* and *Chaldee*, who did interpret in the latter what he read in the former; and this was done, as we observed before, verse by verse, and was continued from morning till mid-day. *Nehemiah* then, reminding them of the joyful festival they were then celebrating, dismissed them for that day, charging them to spend the remainder of it in feasting and mirth, and to make their poor brethren partake of their joy. This caution was so much the more necessary, because he observed, that the people shed abundance of tears at the hearing of the law, which he interpreted to proceed from such a remorse of their past deviations from it, as was likely to damp the mirth of that solemnityⁿ. As the people shewed a more than common desire to have this lecture and exposition continued to them, *Ezra* complied with their request, until he and his assistants had gone through the whole pentateuch. The grand festival of tabernacles being likewise near at hand, it opportunely happened, that that part of *Leviticus*, in which

ⁿ NEHEM. viii pass

4

(L.) This had been done once before soon after the return, as we have heretofore hinted; but not so clearly, but that there were still many families of priests, levites, and of the people, who could not make out their claim to their tribe, and were then suspended. It is therefore likely, that some of them were since enabled to make out their title, and were then inserted in this new register, together with those who came up with *Nehemiah*. Several of the old families, that came up upon the first edict, might be by this time extinct; all which is probably the cause of the difference we find in the genealogies of the books of *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*.

(M) It

which it is enjoined, was read some days before; by which they were made sensible, how short they had been till then of its due observation; so that the next they kept was observed with greater strictness and solemnity, than it had been since the time of *Joshua* ° (M).

BUT this was not all the advantage which *Nehemiah* reaped from this lecture of the law to such a great concourse of people; there appeared such a lively concern in them whenever any point of the law was read, of which they knew themselves transgressors, that he made use of that happy disposition to extort from them a general confession of all their sins, and a solemn promise and vow to rectify all that was amiss for the future; and this was accordingly complied with by all the people, especially with respect to the four following heads; namely, 1. Not to make any intermarriages with the *Gentiles*, and to disannul the old ones (N): 2. The observation of

° Ibid. vers. 12. & seq.

(M) It is supposed to have been at this solemnity, that the notable discovery happened of the sacred fire related in the book of *Maccabees* (41), and which we have hinted in a former volume. The *Jews* affirm, that *Jeremiah*, or some other prophet, had caused it to be hid in a dry well a little before the taking of *Jerusalem* (42); the memory of it having been still preserved to that time, *Nehemiah* caused it to be fetched out for the divine service.

But when they came to uncover the well, they found no fire there, but only a thick mud, which being brought, however, and poured upon the wood of the altar, and victims that were laid on it, all on the sudden the sun, which had hitherto been overcast, began to shine upon it, set the wood on fire, and consumed the burnt-offerings. *Nehemiah* caused the rest of the mud to be fetched, and poured upon some large stones, which were immediately covered with flames, but these were presently absorbed by those that flew from the altar thither.

This wonderful accident being afterwards related to the king of *Persia*, he ordered the place where the fire had been kept to be surrounded, and to be looked upon as sacred and inviolable. It raised still more his esteem of the *Jewish* nation and religion, and his respect shewed itself in the considerable presents which he made to the priests and temple. In memory of this wonderful discovery, the *Jews* instituted a feast, which they called the feast of the new fire.

(N) Either those which they had contracted since the general

(41) 2 *Macc.* i. 18. & seq. (42) *Ibid.* vers. 19, & cap. ii. 1, & seq.

Year of
the Flood,
2557.
Before
Christ,
442.

of sabbaths, sabbatic years, and those divine commands which related to them, such as letting their land rest, release of servants, and the like : 3. The punctual payment of their yearly tribute to the temple, both for the repairs and the maintenance of the divine services in it ; and 4. The exact payment of their tythes, first-fruits, vows, &c. to the priests and levites ^p. The solemnity concluded with a generous collection, which he caused to be made among them for the service of the temple ; in which, to shew a noble example to the rest, he gave himself a thousand drachms of gold, fifty dishes, and five hundred and thirty-two priestly vestments. *Josephus* adds, that he built several houses for the priests, in order to oblige them to reside at *Jerusalem* ^q. Sure it is, that, whether his place of cupbearer had raised his fortune to such a height, which is not improbable, or whether he had a considerable patrimony, to enable him, he did many generous and public-spirited things in *Judæa* ; among which that of maintaining a noble table and splendid equipage at his own cost, without exacting the tribute assigned for the maintenance of a governor, was none of the least. Having thus with great credit and honour compleated the tenor of his commission, he returned into *Persia*, according to his promise to the king ^r, after having enjoyed the government of *Judæa* twelve years.

DURING his absence, which lasted but five years, it is almost incredible, what abuses were crept into the *Jewish* church and common wealth ; so soon were that perverse nation liable to forget their most solemn vows, and the miseries which their breach of them constantly brought upon them. *Eliashib*, whether the then high priest, or some other of the same name, who was overseer of the temple chambers ^s, had married his grandson to the daughter of *Sanballat* the professed enemy of the *Jews* (O), and had had so much base complaisance

^p Ibid. c. ix, & x.
HEM. ii. 6
sub. an. 428.

^q Antiq. l. xi c. 5.

^r NE-

^s De hoc vid. Comment. & PRID. ubi supra,

repudiation, which had been made under *Ezra*, or perhaps had been contracted before it, but the offenders had refused or neglected to perform that covenant ; for sure it is, that, as soon as this feast was over, they set about this work afresh, and obliged as many of those offenders, as were found to have strange wives (43), to repudiate them,

(O) The text seems to intimate at least a double alliance between

(43) *Nehem. x. pass.*

complaisance for him, as to allow his friend *Tobias* the *Ammonite*, another sworn enemy, a large apartment in that sacred place from which even the *Israelites*, who were not of the tribe of *Levi*, were excluded. To this end, he caused those chambers, wherein the tithes of corn, wine, and oyl, meat-offerings, &c. used to be repositied, to be emptied for his accommodation. This mischief was followed by another: The priests, seeing the temple profaned by that stranger, their apartments given to his retinue, and gutted of that which was laid up for their maintenance, forsook the place, and went to live elsewhere, where they could; and this caused an intermission of the divine worship. It is not improbable, that *Nehemiah*, who, even at that distance he was then from *Jerusalem*, kept still a watchful eye over it, was soon informed of these abuses; so that having procured a fresh commission from *Artaxerxes*, he returned to *Jerusalem* at the end of five years from his departure. A less authority than his, or a man of less zeal, could hardly have ventured to reform an abuse, in which some of the greatest persons were concerned; but the base cowardice of the priest and the impudence of the *Ammonite* were too flagrant and impious to be suffered by a man of his character. As soon therefore as he was come to *Jerusalem*, and had been a witness of the fact, he expelled the gentile stranger out of his apartment, caused all his furniture to be thrown out, the place to be purified, and the priests and holy things to be reimplaced as formerly.

*The temple
profaned.*

ANOTHER shameful abuse, which had crept in during his absence, was an almost total disregard of the sabbath; they threshed their corn, pressed their wine and oyl, bought and sold from the *Tyrians* and other strangers, who affected to

*The sab-
bath pro-
faned.*

the *Jews* and this *Ammonite*, besides that mentioned above; for *Tobias* had married the daughter of *Shecaniah* the son of *Arach*, one of the chiefs of the *Jews*, and his son had married the daughter of *Mesbullam* the son of *Berachiah* (44), one of the chief overseers in the rebuilding of the temple (45). All which, being expressly forbid by the *Mosaic* law, and contrary to the solemn covenant they had so lately taken against such unlawful marriages, plainly shews their insincerity, and that it was not the fear of God, but of their governors, whether judges, kings, or deputies, that kept them within bounds; no wonder then, if God did so often suffer them to fall under the heavy hand of those very enemies, and to be so severely punished by means of those very alliances which they contracted, contrary to his express commands, as the sequel will shortly shew.

(44) *Ibid.* vi. 18.

(45) *Ibid.* iii. 4.

bring their mercantile wares into that city on that day, rather than on any other of the week ; and were basely suffered to do so by those magistrates, whose business it was to have hindered it. To prevent this practice for the future, *Nehemiah*, having reprov'd those magistrates in the severest terms, ordered the gates of the city to be shut every *Friday* night about sun-set, and not to be opened again till the sabbath was quite over ; by which means those strangers, having been disappointed twice or thrice, and been threatened from the walls with some further punishment, desisted from coming any more on that day. What aggravated the folly and baseness of the *Jews* is, that they had among them three considerable prophets, who rebuked them severely for their crimes, and warned them of the dreadful punishments which their shameful neglect of God's laws would bring upon them.

THESE were *Zechariah*, *Haggai*, and *Malachi*, of whose remarkable prophecies the reader will find a short summary in the margin (P) ; but what the authority of the prophet could

The wor-
ship restor-
ed.

(P. *Zechariah*, for the number, excellency, and preciseness of his prophecies, is emphatically termed *Sol inter prophetas minores* ; he was cotemporary with *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, *Haggai*, and *Malachi*, if this last be not the same with *Ezra*. He began to prophesy about two months after *Haggai*, and with him to encourage the rebuilding of the temple, by assuring them of the divine protection and blessing on the work.

But these prophecies are inconsiderable, in comparison of those which foretel the coming of the Messiah in the plainest terms ; the cruel war which *Antiochus Epiphanes* waged against the *Jews*, and God's severe judgments against that tyrant ; the *Jewish* war with the *Romans*, and the death of the Messiah ; the annulling of the old *Mosaic* covenant, and the new one substituted by and under Christ ; the thirty pieces of silver ; the siege of *Babylon* by *Darius*, as *Jeremy* and *Isaiab* had done long before him ; from which it is supposed the *Jews* took timely warning, and retired out of it. Lastly, he speaks gloriously of the state of the christian church ; of the conversion of the gentiles to it ; of the persecutions which the christians should endure ; and the severe punishment of their persecutors, and other such-like events contained in the ninth and following chapters of his prophecies.

Some learned critics of our church (46) have indeed suspected the ninth, tenth, and eleventh chapters, which are a continued discourse or prophecy of the same events, to have been of *Jeremiah*, because a formal passage out of it is quoted by St. *Matthew* under

(46) *Hammond* in *Matth.* xxvii. *Mede*, l. iv *epist.* 31.

could not do, that of the governor's presence soon brought about; so that besides those abuses we have already observed he rectified a number of others, which were no less enormous; one of which was the ceasing of the divine worship through the avarice of the people, who refusing to pay the priests and levites their tithes and other dues, had forced them to seek their living out of the temple and city. All these *Nehemiah* restored to their former regularity, and reformed every thing that was amiss, not probably all at once, as one might be apt to think from their being mentioned together in one chapter[†], but at several times, and as opportunity served:

ALL these enormities, introduced within the short interval of his absence, being manifestly owing to their ignorance or forgetfulness of the *Mosaic* law, did soon point out to him, that the only way to remedy them, was to enforce the frequent lecture and exposition of it, not only in *Jerusalem*, but also in all other cities and places of *Judæa*, as it had been formerly done with good success by some of the pious kings of *Judah*. These lectures were probably read at first in some great street or market-place, since we read of no buildings erected for that purpose before this time (Q); but as they

quickly

† NEHEM. c. ult.

his name (47). Some other reasons they give for this their conjecture, which the curious may read in those authors.

But the general opinion is, that the name of *Jeremy* has crept into that place of the evangelist, instead of that of *Zechariah*. How long he prophesied, and what death he died, is no where said, the *Mohammedans* confound him with *Zecharias* the father of *John the Baptist*.

As for *Malachi*, of whom we have had occasion to speak before, the current of his prophecies runs intirely against the vile abuses that were crept into the *Jewish* church and state, such as mixed marriages, breach of the sabbaths and sabbatic years, oppressing the poor, defrauding the priests and levites of their tithes, and such other enormities, which were afterwards reformed by *Nehemiah*.

(Q) We have formerly shewn †, that before the captivity, they used to assemble themselves at the schools of the prophets on the sabbaths, new moons, and other festivals, to have the scriptures explained to them; but as to synagogues, we read nothing precise concerning them.

(47) *Matth.* xxvii. 9, 10.

† *Vol.* III. p. 437.

quickly found the inconvenience of it in cold and rainy weather, it is not without good reason supposed, that this obliged them

Those that think they had them before the captivity, do indeed object a passage out of the psalms (48), in which it is said, that the heathen had destroyed *col mohadde el*, or, as our version renders it, *all the synagogues of God*; but the word *mohed* signifies properly a *congregation* so that the place here mentioned, might signify no more than oratories, or what the Greeks called *proseuchia* (49), or any of those places where the prophets read or made lectures to them. However that be, it doth not appear, that if they had any such places for the reading and expounding of the scriptures, they were under such strict regulations, and in such numbers, as we find them after *Nehemiah's* time.

As to the regulations of these new synagogues, they may be reduced to the three following heads; 1. They were to be under the inspection of certain rulers, called from thence *rulers of the synagogue*, and by the Greek Jews *archisynagogoi*. 2. They had their stated times for coming to them, *viz.* on the sabbaths, and other feast and fast-days, and on *Mondays* and *Thursdays*; they had also their stated hours for each day. 3. They had proper ministers appointed, some to read and expound the current section out of the sacred books, others to read the liturgy, others to sing, &c. and these, provided they were in every respect else qualified for those offices, might be chosen out of any tribe; only they took care to have always one or more of the priestly order to preside and take care, that the service was performed with due order and decency.

The person who was appointed to read the liturgy, was called *sheliach zibbor*, that is, *the angel, or messenger of the congregation*, because he offered up the prayers of the people to God, or was the mouth or representative of the congregation to Godward; and as a messenger from God to men was called *an angel of God*, so one from men to God was styled *an angel of the people*; in this sense the christian bishops were called *the angels of the churches*; this person was always one of the rulers of the synagogue; he was also called *khakam*, or *wise-learned*, as were also the other rulers, and presided in their assemblies, and some in their courts of judicature.

Next to him was the *khazan*, who either read or looked over those who offered themselves to read the sections of the day, and corrected them when they read wrong; this officer had the sacred books, and other utensils, under his care, and had a *scizmas* or *servant* under him, who had the keys and overseeing of the synagogue,

(48) *Psalms* lxxiv. 8. (49) *De his vid. int. al. Selden. de Synedr. Sigon. Rep. Hebr. l. ii. c. 8. Cuneus Basnag. repub. Prid. Connect. an. 444, & auct. ab eo citat.*

them to build some convenient places to assemble in, which have been since known by the name of synagogues and schools. For the same purpose the *Chaldee* paraphrases, known by the name of *targums*, were also introduced much about the same time, to facilitate the knowledge of the *Mosaic* law and of the other sacred volumes, among those who were unacquainted with the original; but as these were not finished till a considerable time after *Nehemiah's* death,

but the *kbazan's* chief business was to expound the portions of scripture that were read on that day, or to appoint or permit any other to do it for him, or to preach a sermon on some proper subject.

Thus, when Christ was entered into the synagogue, we read that the book of *Isaiab* was presented to him, which he read and expounded to the congregation (50); the like was also done by the apostles (1). This *kbazan* was likewise the person who gave out and began those psalms and hymns that used to be sung by the whole congregation.

2. As to the number of these synagogues, they must have far exceeded those before the captivity, if any such then were; since *Maimon* tells us, the rule was, that where ever there were ten *Batelnim*, or *Israelites of full age*, there was to be a synagogue (2); and these were so multiplied in our Saviour's time, that the city of *Tiberias* had no less than twelve, and in *Jerusalem* the *Jews* affirm them to have amounted to four hundred and eighty (3); if these last are not somewhat enlarged, as *Lightfoot* suspects, who thinks that these ten *Batelnim* were the elders and ministers of that synagogue (4). 'Tis plain, however, that they were in great number, not only in *Jerusalem* and *Palestine*, but also in all other places of their dispersion. And even in that metropolis, we find the *Alexandrians*, *Cilicians*, *Cyrenæans*, *Asiatics*, *Libertines*, who had their own separate synagogues (5); from which we may infer; that there were many others which belonged to *Jews* of other nations; and the *Jews* tell us, that every handicraft had also their separate ones (6); but this we will not vouch for.

We should stretch this note too far, were we to give an account of the liturgy, ceremonies, and other particulars relating to those synagogues; the reader may see them in the authors quoted in this note; and especially in dean *Prideaux*, who has collected all that is worth knowing concerning them, and to whom we refer those who want a fuller account of them (7).

(50) *Mat.* xiii. 54. *Luke* iv. 16, & seq. (1) *Acts* xiii. 15.
 (2) *Tract. Tephil.* c. 2. sect. 1. (3) *Gemar.* *Shabbat.* c. 3.
Ketuboth, c. 13. *Beracoth*, & alib. *Vid Muim. ubi sup.* *Bux-*
torf. Lixic. Rabb. sub. voce בטל. (4) *Centur. Græc.* c. 36.
 (5) *Acts* vi. 9. (6) *Gemar. ubi supra.* (7) *Centur. Græc.* c. vi.
sub. an. 444.

we shall take a more proper time to speak of them. Thus far had this great man carried on the reformation of the *Jewish* church and state. As for the unworthy son of *Joiada*, whom *Josephus* calls *Manasseh*, instead of complying with the governor's orders of parting with his strange wife, he retired with her to *Samaría* to his father-in-law, and drew a great many other rebellious *Jews* after him, who had been guilty either of the same, or any of those enormous crimes which were then reforming at *Jerusalem*, and went and settled themselves under the protection of *Sanballat* the *Samaritan* governor (R).

Nehemi- How long *Nehemiah* lived after he had made this reforma-
ah's death. tion, whether he continued in his place of governor, and whether he died in *Judæa* or in *Persia*, neither the text nor

(R) The long interval between the *Sanballat*, who obstructed *Ezra* in the rebuilding of the temple, and this, whose daughter was married to *Manasses*, has made some writers split him into two; the one called by *Ezra* the *Horonite*, and not mentioned by *Josephus*; and this, whom the latter calleth a *Cuthean*, who went over to *Alexander*, especially because he is there affirmed to have come over to his father-in-law in the reign of *Darius Codomannus* (8).

This is indeed too glaring an anachronism to be admitted; for whoever compares the time in which *Nehemiah* returned from *Jerusalem* into *Persia*, viz. in the thirty second year of *Artaxerxes*, or before Christ four hundred and forty two, and the reign of *Darius Codomannus*, *Ant.* 336, must see that he could never have reached to this last; so that either we must admit two *Sanballats*, and two sons-in-law of the priestly race, or suppose that *Josephus* has misplaced him in the reign of *Darius Codomannus* instead of *Darius Notus*, and in the high-priesthood of *Jaddua* instead of that of *Joiada*, where the text places him †.

This is what the learned *Prideaux* (9) has taken a great deal of pains to prove; we shall refer the reader to him, because the argument would carry us too far. We shall observe by the by, that, upon his supposition, the *Manasses*, whom the same *Josephus* makes to succeed his nephew *Eleazar* (10), will not be the *Manasses*, who married *Sanballat*'s daughter, and was expelled by *Nehemiah* (11).

As for *Sanballat* being called *Cuthean* by *Josephus*, and *Horonite* by *Ezra*, the latter we have shewn to have been given him from *Horonaim* the place of his birth, and that of *Cuthean* was a name of reproach, by which not only that historian, but all the *Jews*, called the *Samaritans*.

(8) *Ant.* l. xi. c. 7.
supra, *sub.* *an.* 410.
Nehem. xiii. 28.

† *Nehem.* xiii. 28.

(10) *Ant.* l. xii. c. 3. *ad fin.*

(9) *ubi*

(11)

Josephus informs us ; only the latter says, that he died in an advanced age ^u ; and indeed even at the time where his book ends, he must have been at least seventy years of age. In his days, and about the eleventh year of *Darius Notus*, died the high-priest *Eliashib*, after he had enjoyed the pontifical dignity forty years ; he was succeeded by his son *Joiada*, called by *Josephus* *Judas* ^w, the unworthy father of that *Manasses* whom *Nehemiah* had forced to retire into *Samaria* for the sake of his beloved wife (S). Whilst that governor lived, he supported his character by the most exemplary zeal for religion, justice, and the good of his nation ; and the dignity of his office by a magnificent hospitality. The usual provision of his table was an ox, six fat sheep, with fowl, fish, wine, and other things in proportion ; at which he entertained, besides an hundred and fifty of the head rulers, who eat constantly with him, all the strangers of any distinction, who came from other countries to *Jerusalem* ; all which he supported at his own private charge, and without receiving any of the allowance which was usually paid to the governors of that province, which had pre-

^u Antiq. l. xi. sub fin. ult. cap. 5. ^w Id. ibid. c. 6. vid. NEHEM. xii. 10.


(S) *Josephus* adds (12), that *Sanballat*, to compensate him for the loss of his right to the *Jewish* priesthood, which his birth intitled him to, promised to make him high-priest of *Samaria*, and to bestow on him the highest place in the whole province. In order to which, he would cause a temple to be built on mount *Gerizim* like unto that of *Jerusalem*, of which he should have the high-priesthood.

Accordingly, as our author goes on, that governor having gone over from the *Persians* to *Alexander the Great*, obtained of him, as a reward for his services, leave to build that temple, and made his son-in-law high-priest of it, so that all the apostate *Jews* repaired to it ; which still more increased the hatred of those of *Judæa*, who from that time looked upon them as schismatics.

This story carries as flagrant an anachronism (unless we suppose two *Sanhallats* as that we spoke of in the last note ; that author tells us farther, that *Manasses* succeeding afterwards to the high-priesthood of *Jerusalem* in right of his great uncle (or, as others read it, nephew) came and took possession of it ; but he doth not inform us how or whether he renounced his schism, nor how he was received by those of *Judæa* (13). We shall give a further account of the building of this *Samaritan* temple in the next section.

(12) Ant. l. xi. c. 7, 8, &c. (13) Lib. xii. c. 3.


ceded him. After his death, the face of that government was wholly changed. We hear no more of any governors of *Judæa*, but the country seems to have been joined and subject to the prefecture of *Syria*, from which the high-priests received their authority, as shall be seen in the next section.

Year of the Flood, 2590. Before Christ, 409.  All that need be added to this is, that dean *Prideaux* concludes the seven first weeks of the seventy of *Daniel's* prophecy, with this last reformation of *Nehemiah* abovementioned which was finished, according to him, in the fifteenth year of *Darius Nothus*. The reader may see his proofs for it in that learned author *.

S E C T. II.

The State of the Jews under the high-priests and Maccabees.

HITHERTO we have had *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* for our guides; after them we have no canonical books concerning the *Jewish nation*, so that we shall be forced to fetch all our intelligence from those of the *Maccabees*, and to fill up all the chasms out of *Josephus*; for as for profane authors, they were so little acquainted with the *Jews*, that we have little or nothing from them, but what falls in occasionally with other parts of their history. *Judæa* being now become more strictly a province of *Syria*, and under the prefecture of it, the governors committed the administration of the *Jewish* state to their high-priests, so that from this time we may ascribe the greatest part of those misfortunes that befell their nation, to a set of men, who aspired to that high dignity more through ambition and avarice, than any real zeal for their religion, or the welfare of their country. This epocha begins with a signal instance of it, which is the more remarkable, because we have it from *Josephus* ^a, who is not often apt to turn accuser of his brethren.

Year of the Flood, 2626. Before Christ, 373.  *Johanan* succeeded his father *Joiada* in the high-priesthood ^b, about the thirty fourth year of *Artaxerxes Mnemon*. *Bagoses* was then governor of *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, and had contracted an intimate friendship with *Jeshua* the brother of the pontiff, and had promised him a grant of the high-priesthood, some few years after *Johanan's* investiture. *Jeshua*, whom our historian calls *Jesus*, came immediately to

* Connect. l. v. sub. an. 409.
HEM XII. 11. 22.

^a Ant. l. xi. c. 7.

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Jerusalem, and acquainted his brother with it; their interview was in the inner court of the temple, where the dispute arose to such a height, that *Johanan*, in striving to throw him out of that holy place, gave him a mortal wound. *Bagoses*, being informed of it, repaired immediately to the place, and upbraided the *Jews* in the severest terms for thus making a shambles of the temple of their God; he next offered to enter into that holy place, but being obstructed by the priests, he asked them angrily, whether they thought his living body more impure than the dead carcass which did lie there; and without staying for an answer, he forcibly entered in; and being fully informed of the fact, he imposed a heavy mulct upon the temple (A), which was not taken off, till the death of *Artaxerxes*, which happened about seven years after, had changed the face of affairs. However, they were not altogether free from troubles in the reign of his successor; for *Ochus* having conquered the greatest part of *Phœnicia*, as we have seen in a former volume †, marched directly towards *Judæa*, besieged and took *Jericho*, and carried off a great

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2648.
Before
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351.

† See Vol. V. p. 51. & seq.

(A) This fine, which our historian says, was fifty drachms, to be paid out of the sacred treasury for every lamb that was offered in the temple, can hardly be thought considerable enough to extort such a complaint from him, if it was only confined to those two lambs that were offered in the daily sacrifice. For fifty drachms amounting but to a little above thirty one shillings of our money, seven hundred and thirty lambs, the number offered every year, would amount but to eleven hundred and forty pounds twelve shillings.

Some therefore have thought there was an error in *Josephus*, and that the fine was five hundred instead of fifty drachms, though all the copies have it fifty; but even this would be still too inconsiderable, considering how he inveighs against it as a great oppression; besides, those governors were seldom so moderate in their fines, especially where the crime was so enormous.

We may therefore more reasonably suppose, that it was to be levied on all the lambs, not only of the daily sacrifices, but on those of all the other festivals, which amounted to a much greater number, as the reader may see by what has been said in a former volume, and on all those that were offered by private persons, whether by way of free-will offering, or upon any other cases, wherein the law required it †.

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Johanan
succeeded by
Jaddua.

number of *Jews* captives, part of which he sent into *Egypt*, and part into *Hyrkania*, along the *Caspian* sea. . . . Whether they had engaged with the *Phœnicians* against that prince, or by what other way they had disobliged him, our authors do not tell us, nor whether his resentment stopped here, or was felt in any other part of *Judæa*. . . . About ten years after, that is, in the eighteenth year of that monarch's reign, died *Johanan* their high-priest in the thirty-second year of his high-priesthood, and was succeeded by his son *Jaddua*; and three years after *Ochus* was poisoned by *Bagoas*, who set up his youngest son *Arsaces* on the *Persian* throne, who was soon after succeeded by *Darius* III. *

IN the fourth year of this prince's reign, the *Jews* gave him such an instance of their loyalty, as plainly shewed they had not forgot what they had suffered from *Ochus* for siding with his enemies. *Alexander the Great* having resolved upon the siege of *Tyre*, and being informed that the *Tyrians*, a nation wholly given to trade, received all their provisions from *Judæa*, *Samaria*, and *Galilee*, sent to *Jaddua* the then high-priest, to demand that supply of them, which they were wont to pay to the *Persians*. *Jaddua* modestly excused himself from complying with his demand, alledging, that his oath of fidelity to *Darius* did not permit him to transfer that tribute to an enemy. *Alexander*, provoked at this refusal, had no sooner completed the siege of *Tyre*, than he marched strait to *Jerusalem*, resolved to punish the *Jews* with as great severity as he had done the *Tyrians*. He was advancing with full speed towards their metropolis, when the high-priest and the rest of the people, sensible of their imminent danger, had recourse to God, and by their prayers, sacrifices, and other acts of humiliation, obtained a gracious promise from him, that he would protect his temple and people from the approaching calamity. It was communicated to *Jaddua* in a dream, in which he was commanded to go and meet the threatening conqueror, in his pontifical robes, at the head of all his priests, in their proper habits, and attended with the rest of the people dressed in white garments. *Jaddua* obeyed on the next morning, and having caused the gates of the city to be opened, marched in solemn procession at the head of his attendance, to an eminence called *Sapha* or rather *Tzaphab*, because it commanded the prospect of the whole city and temple.

* JOSEPH. ex Hecat. contra. APION. l. i. SOLIN. SYNCEL. & al. * See Vol. V. p. 56.

As soon as the venerable prelate was got near enough for *Alexander* to view the magnificence of his dress, especially the sacred name of God engraven on the front of his mitre, he was seized with such an awful respect, that to the great surprize of his retinue, who were already glutting their eyes with the prospect of a rich plunder, and a dreadful slaughter, the monarch advanced towards him, and with a religious kind of veneration bowed to him, embraced him, and paid an adoration to the sacred inscription on his forehead. Whilst the *Syrians*, *Phœnicians*, and others that were present, stood amazed at the sight, *Parmenio*, with his usual familiarity, ventured to ask him the reason of his unexpected behaviour, and was answered by the king, that this respect, which was not paid to the priest, but to his God, was an acknowledgment for a vision of the like nature, which he had favoured him with at *Dio*, in which he promised to him the conquest of *Persia*, and encouraged him in this expedition by a person with much the same aspect, and the same venerable dress with the pontiff now before him. He then gave orders to march on to *Jerusalem*, and was attended thither by the high-priest and his retinue, and conducted to the temple, where he caused a great number of victims to be offered to the God of the *Jews*. Here the priests shewed him the book of *Daniel*, wherein it was foretold, that a *Greek* should in time conquer the *Persian* empire; and *Alexander*, understanding it of himself, went away highly satisfied with what he had seen and heard. On the next day he called the *Jews* together, and asked them what request they had to make to him, and was answered by the high-priest, that they only begged of him the liberty of living according to their laws, to have the free exercise of their religion, and to be exempt from tribute every sabbatic or seventh year, seeing they were forbidden by their law to sow or reap in those years. The same favour they likewise begged of him in the behalf of their brethren, who dwelt in *Babylon* and *Media*; all which being readily granted by the conqueror, he offered the *Jews* to receive into his army all that were willing to list under his standards, and to grant them the free exercise of their religion, which drew a great number of them into his service ^d.

THE *Samaritans*, on the other hand, less scrupulous about their oath of fidelity, had shewed themselves more complying to that monarch's demands; and, besides other supplies, had

Samaritans addressed Alexander.

^d Antiq. lib. xi. cap. ult. and see before, Vol. VIII. p. 111, & seq.

sent him eight thousand men to assist him at the siege of Tyre. As soon therefore as they were informed of the king's disposition towards the Jews, they began to entertain some hopes, that this was a proper time to apply to him for some such-like grants for themselves, to which their late services, they thought, did better intitle them than the Jews disobedience to his orders. Besides, they were always ready to claim kindred with them, whenever matters went well on their side; but as ready to drop, or even renounce it, whenever they saw them in any danger or disgrace. Scarce therefore was the king got out of Jerusalem, before they came in great pomp to invite him to honour their city and temple (B). Alexander did seemingly give

(B) *Josephus* expressly mentioning this temple, doth plainly shew, that it was built long before Alexander; and not, as he elsewhere tells us, by leave of that monarch obtained by Sanballat, whilst he was with him at the siege of Tyre; for that siege lasted but seven months; and supposing that he had stopt another two months at the siege of Gaza, as the same author pretends, yet all this put together would scarce have sufficed to lay the foundations of such a great building, much less for the finishing it.

But, as the learned *Usser* observes, it is not likely that he should take Gaza in his way from Tyre to Jerusalem, because this last did lie at some days journey's distance on this side of Gaza, so that in that case he must be supposed to have past it by, and then returned to it again with his army; and who can believe, that he would penetrate so far into Judæa, and leave Jerusalem untaken, especially when he breathed nothing but revenge against that metropolis (14)?

Add to this, that all other writers of Alexander's wars tell us, that he went directly into Egypt after the taking of Gaza. However, granting he spent those two months in that siege, what are nine months towards rearing such a building? For this and some other reasons, there have not been wanting those who have looked upon this contest between the Jews and Samaritans, as an invention of the Jewish historian, trumped up to give a kind of preference to his own nation,

But this is perhaps saying too much; however, a temple there was built upon mount Garizim, which, if finished in Alexander's time, must have been began long before his coming into Judæa, let the Samaritans have their permission from which soever of the Persian monarchs; though, if we were to venture our conjecture, might it not have been obtained from Ochus, and about the time when the Jews had incurred his displeasure, either for siding with the Phœnicians, or some other misdemeanor; and might not the Samaritans, who watched all opportunities to get the better of

(14) *Usser* sub A. M. 3573. *Prid.* sub anno 332.

give them a gracious reception, but put off the desired visit till his return from *Egypt*. They then petitioned that they might, like their brethren of *Judea*, be exempted from the tribute of every seventh year, since, like them, they neither sowed nor reaped in those years. They were thereupon asked, what country they were of? and upon their answering that they were *Hebrews*, but called *Sichemites* by the *Sidonians*, the question was put peremptorily to them, whether they were *Jews*? But they, afraid perhaps to answer in the affirmative, in a place where they could be so easily confuted, did then disown the title; and the king, who had not leisure then to inquire further about it, dismissed them with a promise, that he would examine their claim after his return. He did so accordingly, and granted them the same exemption as he had the *Jews*; for those *Samaritans* who had assisted him at the siege of *Tyre*, having likewise signalized themselves in *Egypt*, which that prince conquered with a surprizing quickness; it is not improbable, this immunity was granted to them as a reward for their services. In the mean time the temple at mount *Garizim* proved the source of continual evils to the *Jews*, and the constant asylum of their apostate brethren, who never failed to go over to the *Samaritans*, as soon as they found themselves in danger of punishment for any enormous crimes.

Alexander at the same time was no less kind to the *Jews*, Jews sent a great number of whom, at his return into *Alexandria*, he settled at *Alexandria*. settled there among other nations, and endowed with many privileges and immunities, allowing them the free exercise of their religion, and admitting them to the same franchises and liberties with his own *Macedonians*^c. But what gave them the greatest advantage over their *Samaritan* rivals was,

^c *HECATÆUS ABDEE*. ap. Joseph cont. Apion, l. ii. f *Idem*, *ibid.* & *bell. Jud.* l. ii. c. 36. Vid. & *QUINT. CURT.* lib. iv. cap. 8.

them, have so far ingratiated themselves into that exasperated prince's favour, by renouncing, as usual, all kindred with them, as to obtain a grant to build a temple for themselves?

This once supposed, there will be time enough for that work to be finished by or even before *Alexander's* time, and the *Sanballat* of *Nehemiah* may have probably lived to have laid the foundation of it. This will likewise in some measure account for *Josephus's* anachronism, which may be no other than a wilful oversight, it being a less disgrace to his nation to represent this grant as obtained, not for any misbehaviour of theirs, but for the services done by the *Samaritans*.

Samari-
tans ex-
pelled.

Year of
the Flood,
2668.
Before
Christ,
331.



Jaddua
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an insurrection made in their capital against his favourite *Andromachus*, whom he had made governor of *Syria* and *Palestine*. The *Samaritans*, upon some discontent against him, ran in a tumultuous manner to his palace, set it on fire, and burnt him in it; which so exasperated that monarch, that he caused all that had had a hand in that atrocious deed to be put to death, and the rest to be driven out of the city, which he re peopled with his own *Macedonians*, and granted the rest of their territories to the *Jews*^s. From this time, those that survived the slaughter having settled themselves at *Shechem*, that city became the metropolis of the *Samaritan* sect^h. As for those eight thousand, who had served under him, he sent and settled them in *Thebais*, the remotest part of *Egypt*, to prevent their raising any fresh insurrection among their countrymen. As for the *Jews*, they continued still in his favour both in *Palestine* and out of it, only those that were in his army were like to have forfeited it, by their stiff refusal to assist at the rebuilding of the temple of *Belus*, which that monarch had began. They urged in vain, that their law, of which they were promised the free exercise, forbade them to have a hand in such an idolatrous work; they were made to undergo some severe punishments, but, to his surprise, they bore them with such invincible constancy, that, being more overcome by it than by their other pleas, he discharged them from his service, and sent them into their own countryⁱ; and he himself dying soon after, left his empire in the confused state we have seen in a former volume*. Four years after him died also *Jaddua* the *Jewish* high-priest, in the twentieth year of his pontificate, and was succeeded by his son *Onias*, who enjoyed that dignity about one and twenty years.

WITH *Alexander* died the prosperous state of the *Jews*, and their country, being situate between *Syria* and *Egypt*, became subject to all the revolutions and wars, which his ambitious successors waged against each other; being successively invaded and captivated by the *Syrians* and *Egyptians*, and constantly oppressed under either government. At first it was, as we have seen elsewhere, given, together with *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, to *Leomedon* the *Mitylenian*, one of *Alexander's* generals^k, and confirmed to him by a second partition treaty; but he being soon after stripped of the other

^s Idem, ibid. EUSEB. Chronic. l. ii.

ⁱ JOSEPH. ex Hecat lib. i. cont. Apion. VIII p. 246, & seq. 258, & 270.

^h JOSEPH. cont. Apion. * Vol. k Chron. Alex. EUSEB. in Chron. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xi. c. ult. See also Vol. VIII. ubi supra.

two by *Ptolemy*, *Judæa* was the only one which stood firm to him from a sense of their oath of allegiance; so that the *Egyptian* king was forced to invade it with a powerful army, and accordingly did lay close siege to *Jerusalem*. The place, being strongly fortified by art and nature, might have found him work enough, had not a superstitious fear of breaking the sabbath prevented the besieged making any defence on that day; which being understood by the king, he caused it to be stormed on the sabbath, and took the city accordingly without any opposition¹ (C). This did not, however, prevent his treating them with great severity; he carried near a hundred thousand of them captives into *Egypt*, but reflecting soon after on their known loyalty to their former conquerors, and the sacred regard they paid to their oaths, and being by the taking of *Jerusalem* become master of *Judæa* and *Samaria*, he committed the keeping of several considerable garisons both here and in *Egypt* to them; and having made them swear allegiance to him, and to his heirs and successors, he endowed them with the same privileges they had enjoyed under the *Macedonians*. Of those whom he carried away into *Egypt*, he chose about thirty thousand of the stoutest to fill his garisons, the rest he sent, some to assist them with provisions, others into *Libya* and *Cyrene* (D), which he had lately subdued^m. *Appian* adds, that he demolished the

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¹ AGATHAR. ap. Joseph. cont. Apion. l. i. ARIST. in libel. de 70 interp. ^m Id. ibid.

(C) This is the account we have from the authors quoted above; and we shall meet in the sequel with some other instances of the *Jews* chusing to be all massacred, rather than fight or fly on the sabbath; but *Josephus*, loath to expose this weakness of theirs, has given this transaction another turn, and pretends that *Ptolemy*, having been peaceably admitted into the city, under pretence of offering some sacrifices there, did immediately break his articles, and possess himself of it

There is indeed nothing in that prince's character, but what shews him to have been capable enough of such perfidy: but it is not so probable, that the *Jews*, so strongly attached to his enemy, could be weak enough to admit him into their city, especially with an escort sufficient to subdue it; besides, it is plain that he treated them, not like friends that had given him an amicable entrance, but like a victor that subdued them by force of arms.

(D) From the latter of these were descended the *Cyrenean Jews*, among whom was *Jason*, author of the history of the *Maccabees* in five books now lost, but of which the second book of the *Macca-*

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Ptolemy.*

¹ AGATHAR. ap Joseph. cont. Apion. l. i. ARIST. in libel. de 70 interp. ^m Id. ibid.

(C) This is the account we have from the authors quoted above; and we shall meet in the sequel with some other instances of the *Jews* chusing to be all massacred, rather than fight or fly on the sabbath; but *Josephus*, loath to expose this weakness of theirs, has given this transaction another turn, and pretends that *Ptolemy*, having been peaceably admitted into the city, under pretence of offering some sacrifices there, did immediately break his articles, and possess himself of it.

There is indeed nothing in that prince's character, but what shews him to have been capable enough of such perfidy: but it is not so probable, that the *Jews*, so strongly attached to his enemy, could be weak enough to admit him into their city, especially with an escort sufficient to subdue it; besides, it is plain that he treated them, not like friends that had given him an amicable entrance, but like a victor that subdued them by force of arms.

(D) From the latter of these were descended the *Cyrenean Jews*, among whom was *Jason*, author of the history of the *Maccabees* in five books now lost, but of which the second book of the *Macca-*

the walls of *Jerusalem* before he returned home ^a. However, he shewed such kindness to those *Jews* that came to settle in *Egypt*, that great numbers of them, being attracted, partly by the fertility of the country, and partly by the great privileges they enjoyed, flocked thither from other parts ^o.

An account
of the Sa-
maritans.

By this time the *Samaritans*, who daily increased in number, strength and wealth, by the continual concourse of apostate *Jews*, made *Shechem* their metropolis, enlarged and beautified it, and, as we hinted before, made it the head of their schismatic sect; and as they were neither so scrupulous about their oaths of allegiance, nor so tenacious of the precepts of the *Mosaic* law, as their rivals of *Judæa* were, they seldom made any scruple to side with the strongest, and, if occasion required, to comply with the will of their princes, even in things which were absolutely forbidden by their law. This policy, which they never lost sight of, as the sequel will soon shew, not only freed them from the many persecutions which the *Jews* underwent, but made them fare much better under every government than they, so that from this time, not only those who fled from punishment from *Judæa*, but a much greater number came over to them to avoid, either persecution on account of their law, or the tyranny and oppression of their governors. As therefore this sect became so numerous and powerful, as to make a considerable figure in the *Jewish* history, our readers will doubtless expect to be informed how far their religion agreed or differed from that of the *Jews*; and by what strange arguments they have, ever since their separation, endeavoured to prove their claim of precedence to, and to retort the imputation of schism upon them, since we have already seen that they were originally a

^a APPIAN. Syriac. p. 119. & seq. ^o JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xii. c. 1.

Lees is an epitome (15); of the same country were those *Cyrenean Jews* mentioned by St. *Luke* (16), and that *Simon* who helped to bear the cross of Christ (17)

This *Jewish* colony grew in time so numerous, as to have a thousand of them put to death for one mutiny in *Vespasian's* time; and yet in a succeeding reign, they proved strong enough to master the whole province, and, as *Xiphilinus* tells us in the life of *Trajan*, to massacre two hundred thousand inhabitants of other nations.

(15) *Vid.* 2. *Maccab.* ii. 23. (16) *Act.* ii. 10. vi. 9. (17) *Matth.* xxvii. 32, & *alib.*

mixture

mixture of *Cutheans* and other foreign nations, sent thither by the *Assyrian* kings instead of the ten tribes carried away captive by them, and now become a more mixed and mongrel nation, by the constant resort and incorporation of all the renegade *Jews*. This digression, if it be really such, is so much the more necessary here, because it will be impossible without it to dive into those perpetual jars and disputes that have been ever since, and are still carried on, between those two nations with the utmost irreconcilable hatred. However, that we may contract as much as possible, we shall only give here what is most material concerning their tenets, and throw all their fabulous authorities and pretences, as well as those of the *Jews* against them, in the margin (E). The following

(E) We shall begin with the account which the *Samaritans* give of their origin, in opposition to that which we have from the sacred books, concerning them: 1st, They boast themselves descended from *Joseph* by *Ephraim*; they pretend, that when *Joshua* entered into the promised land, he caused a temple to be built upon mount *Garizim*, and appointed *Ruz* of the seed of *Aaron* to officiate as high-priest, from whom they boast to have an exact genealogy and uninterrupted succession, down to this very time. They neither own *Jeroboam's* schism (18), nor the transmigration of the ten tribes (19), but give the following account of their going out, and returning into the land.

The kings of *Jerusalem* and *Syria*, say they, having revolted against *Bachtnezzar* (so they call *Nebuchadnezzar*), he came and took *Jerusalem*, and went from thence to the *Shechemites*, whom he ordered to leave that country in seven days, under pain of being all massacred, which they did accordingly. The strangers whom he settled in *Judaea* and *Shechem* soon after could not live there, because the fairest fruits of the land were tainted with a mortal poison; the king of *Babylon* having hereupon consulted some of the antient inhabitants, was answered, that the only remedy to that evil, was to send the *Hebrews* thither again; which that prince having agreed to, a place of rendezvous was appointed for the *Jews* and *Shechemites*, to return together each into his own land.

Here a dispute arose between them, whether they should go and rebuild the temple of *Jerusalem*, or that of *Garizim*. *Zerubbabel* was for the former, and *Sanballat* for the latter, and each pleaded the sanction of the pentateuch, and each pretended that the copy of his antagonist was corrupted, that of the former being expressly for *Jerusalem*, and the other for *Garizim*.

To end the dispute, they agreed, that that copy, which withstood the fiery trial, should be the authentic one; upon which *Ze-*

(18) 1 Kings ch. xii, & seq
4 B 2

(19) 2 Kings, ch. xvii
: uobabel

following articles therefore are a short summary of their faith in common with, and in opposition to, that of the *Jews*.

1st,

rubbabel having flung his own into the fire, it was immediately consumed, whereas that of the *Samaritan* chief came three times untouched out of the flames.

This miracle, they add, having determined the controversy in their favour, the king honoured them with rich presents, and sent *Sanhallat* at the head of his ten tribes, to take possession of mount *Garizim*, where he rebuilt the temple in dispute. This account they give us out of an old *Samaritan* chronicle, which they pretend to be of great antiquity and authority, but those who have examined it, tell us, that it was written in the reign of some of the christian emperors, and after *Constantine* (20), unless we suppose it to have been continued from time to time. However, let the chronicle bear what date it will, it is plain by the *Samaritan* woman's question to our Saviour (21), *Our fathers worshipped on this mountain, and ye say, that Jerusalem is the place*, that they claimed this authority long before; and accordingly, their pentateuch, of which we shall speak by and by, among other interpolations, has changed the word *Ebal* for that of *Garizim*, where-ever those two mountains come in competition.

The *Jews*, on their side, have not been sparing of their fictions, as if they had chosen to confute their antagonists by this way, rather than by the authority of the sacred books. *Josephus* tells us of much such another contest that happened in *Egypt*, between those of his nation and the *Samaritans* about these two temples; and which arose to such a height, that it was like to end in a sedition, had not *Ptolemy Philometor* put an end to it in the following manner (22).

He ordered the contending parties to bring their cause before him, and to have it pleaded by proper persons, with this condition, that those who were cast should lose their heads. There appeared but one advocate for the *Jews*, viz. *Andronicus* the son of *A'effalami*; but he pleaded his cause so well against his two antagonists, whom our author names *Sabbæus* and *Theodore*, that he gained his point, and they lost their lives (23).

Another antient author (24), whom the *Jews* pretend to have lived before the destruction of *Jerusalem*, but by his mentioning of the *Saracen* empire, must have wrote at least six hundred years after (25); tells us, that when *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* were rebuilding the temple, the *Samaritans* came with an army of a hundred and eighty thousand men to besiege *Jerusalem*; but that those two

(20) *De hac, vid. int. al Hottinger. lib. Josue, seu chron. Samarit. in exercitat Antimorin.* (21) *John iv. 20.* (22) *Antiq.*

l. xiii. c. 6 (23) *Vid. Basnage histoir. des Juifs, tom. 2. part. 1. c. 1 & seq.* (24) *Rab Eliezer, Pirke Abboth, c. 38.* (25)

Vld. Prid, lib. vi. sub an. 409, & auct. ab eo citat.

chiefs,

1st, They believe in one God, and in his servant *Moses*, *Their religion.* and that *Garizim* is the only place of God's worship. The *Jews*, say they, follow other teachers, other precepts, taken from their other books, traditions, and expositions; we stick close to the five books of *Moses*, and reject all other writings, all other authority and interpretation, and guide our faith and practice solely by the precepts of our law-giver. Accordingly they never admitted any other books but the pentateuch (F).

2dly. They always circumcise their males on the eighth day, never deferring it upon any account, as the *Jews* do, some of them till the hour of death (G).

3dly, They never allow themselves to have two wives, or to marry their nieces; but the *Jews* do both.

4thly, They are bound to wash themselves every morning, after either matrimonial converse, or any accidental defilement, so that they look upon every vessel and household-stuff they touch before such an ablution, to be polluted.

5thly, They observe the sabbath with the greatest strictness, never meddling with their wives on that night, lighting no

chiefs, having assembled three hundred priests, did pronounce the higher excommunication against them †. These priests were followed by three hundred young men, who held each a copy of the *Mosaic* law in one hand, and a trumpet in the other, which they blew whilst the priests were excommunicating them, upon which they were immediately put to flight.

(F) In consequence of this, they reject all the prophetical and historical books, as written in favour of the *Jews*, and especially of the house of *David*; they despise the *Jewish* pretence of oral tradition, and all their targums and talmuds.

They value themselves for having preserved the antient *Hebrew* character, and curie the new one, which was since introduced by *Ezra*, whom they brand with the name of impostor, and who, they pretend, substituted it to the *Mosaic* one, for the sake of those other books which he foisted into the *Jewish* canon (26).

(G) Especially in countries where they are not tolerated, such as *France*, *Portugal*, *Spain*, &c. and where, for fear of being discovered by the scar of circumcision, they wholly neglect it, and outwardly conform with the religion of the country for the sake of trade. Some of them, however, when they are grown either rich enough, or old and qualmish, will come over into *England*, *Holland*, &c. to be circumcised. As for those that die without circumcision, some of their friends generally come and circumcise them in their coffin, and lay the prepice by them, after which the coffin is immediately nailed, and carried to the grave.

† *De hac vid. Vol. III p 313, 314, & not E.* (26) *Vid. Bainag. ubi supra, cap. 3 & 4. l. vii, c. 25.*

fires, nor stirring from their houses, unless to go to the synagogue, where they read some portion of the pentateuch, offer up their prayers to, and sing the praises of, God.

6thly, Of all their solemn festivals, the passover is by them esteemed the chief; they likewise observe the other two of pentecost and of tabernacles with great exactness, and the grand fast of expiation with uncommon strictness.

7thly, They never offer any sacrifice but on mount *Gazizim* ^P.

8thly, They boast a continued succession of priests from *Ruz* the son of *Phineas*, the catalogue of which is preserved by them with the utmost strictness; and their high-priest always makes his residence at *Shechem*, now called *Naplouse*, from whence he issues out his directions to the whole sect for keeping their festivals, and whatever relates to the *Mosaic* observances (H). From this short scantling of their faith and practice,

^P Vid. int. al. *BASNAG.* ubi supra.

(H) This sect is still very numerous, not only in their metropolis, but in *Damascus*, *Gaza*, *Cairo*, and other parts of the *Ottoman* empire, besides those which are dispersed into the northern parts of *Europe* and *Asia*. But so ignorant are those of *Turkey*, especially of cosmography, whatever they may be as to their religion, that they took the *English Jews* to be of their sect, and *England* to be only a considerable city (27), as appears by a letter they wrote to them some time since, and mentioned by the author last quoted; but if they really held those tenets which the *Jews* attribute to them, they must have been no less ignorant in point of their religion. Among other errors they charge them with, that of believing the godhead to be a corporeal being would be sufficient to shew their stupidity, but *Credat Judæus*.

Epiphanius, who ranks them in the catalogue of his heretics (28), tells us, that they worshipped the *Teraphims*, which *Rachel* had stolen from her father *Laban*, and which they digged up from under the oak, where *Jacob* had buried them; but, it is likely, he took up this calumny upon some *Jewish* authority. He adds, that they were, like the *Jews*, divided into four sects (28), and gives us there the different tenets of each, but they are not worth dwelling upon.

A modern traveller informs us, that in a letter they wrote to him (29), they acknowledged the book of *Joshua*; but they meant most probably their chronicle we have lately mentioned, and which they style the book of *Joshua*. However, a more righte-

(27) *Id. loc. ult. citat.*
letter printed an. 1688.

(28) *Hæres.* 9.

(29) *Ludolph's*

practice, one would be apt to conclude, that, except those points which related to their schism, they had been much stricter observers of the *Mosaic* law, than the *Jews*; but, whatever they may have proved in later times, we shall meet with such flagrant instances of the contrary in the sequel of this and the next section, as will easily convince how ready they were, upon the least danger of persecution or severe usage from their governors, to sacrifice their religion to their interest and safety. However, even in this one point of their schism, it is manifest, they were guilty of most flagrant forgery in corrupting their pentateuch in many places, in order to colour their setting up a new temple with some shew of divine authority. It is true, all the variations of this book are not of the same heinous nature, some of them seem even imputable to the ignorance of the transcribers from the new *Chaldee* of *Ezra* to the old *Samaritan* character, such as their often mistaking of letters, in the former by reason of their similitude, as the *beth* for the *caph*, the *daleth* for the *resh*, which in the *Samaritan* are very unlike. Others again may be looked upon as explanatory interpolations, such as we have observed, *Joshua* and his successors, down to *Ezra* and beyond, have thought necessary to add to the text. But there are certainly several notorious ones, which could not but be designedly made to support their cause against their *Jewish* antagonists. The reader may see some few of them in the margin (I), enough, however, to convince him that this *Samaritan*

Corrupt
their pen-
tateuch.

ous judge than the *Jewish* rabbies has summed up their character in few words, when he told them, that they worshipped they knew not what, and that salvation was of the *Jews* (30).

(I) We have already taken notice of their substituting the word *Garizim* to that of *Ebal*, in that place of *Deuteronomy*, where God commands the *Israelites* to build an altar (31); according to which corruption, they pretend that *Joshua* actually built the said altar on *Garizim*, and that it is the same they have sacrificed upon ever since.

2dly, They have interpolated, between the twenty-fifth and twenty sixth verses of the eighteenth chapter of *Exodus*, all that we read in the first of *Deuteronomy* from the ninth to the fourteenth verse inclusive; and in the tenth of *Numbers*, are inserted the sixth, seventh, and eighth verses of the first of *Deuteronomy*, between the tenth and eleventh verses. All which are doubtless wilful corruptions to serve their cause. These and all the other alterations in

(30) *John* iv. 22.

(31) *Deut.* xxvii. 4 5.

ritan is not the only true authentic copy, because in the old *Hebrew* character, and that of *Ezra* only a transcript of it, because in the new introduced *Chaldee*, as some learned men have thought, and particularly a modern one^q, who has given it by far the preference above the *Jewish*; those who are acquainted with his notions, need not be told what induced him to this unaccountable partiality.

How and when this manuscript came into the hands of the *Samaritans*, is hard to guess; the general opinion is, that it was brought into *Samaria* by the priest, whom *Ezarhaddon* sent to instruct the new inhabitants of that country. The book was not unknown to several antient fathers, particularly *Origen* and *St. Jerom*, who both understood the *Hebrew* tongue; but they have given us no light about it. The opinion of some learned moderns^r is, that it was brought to *Samaria* by *Manasses*, *Sanballat's* son-in-law lately mentioned, and that it was transcribed from that of *Ezra*, since we find in it all the emendations and explanations which that inspired scribe is supposed to have made to those five books; and consequently could be of no older date, much less have been brought by that *Hebrew* priest above-mentioned (K).

However,

^q WHISTON.
PRID. ubi supra.

^r F. SIMON. hist. crit. V. T. l. i. c. 10.

that pentateuch, the reader may see carefully collected by the learned *Hottinger* (32), and in the collations made in the last volume of *Walton's* polyglot.

(K) If it be asked, how he could instruct those strangers in the worship of God, unless he had brought some such book along with him from the place of his captivity? some answer, that he taught them no more than he knew by tradition (33); others distinguish between the whole pentateuch and an epitome of the law contained in some of the chapters of *Deuteronomy* (34), which is that which they suppose he brought with him to *Samaria*, since both kings and priests were bound to keep a copy of it written with their own hand. Their reason for so thinking is, that if they had had the whole pentateuch, it is hardly to be supposed they would have continued so long in their idolatry. But here they forget that even this epitome contains as strong and severe prohibitions and threatenings against it, as can be found in any other part of the *Mosaic* books; so that it is more likely their attachment to their country gods, rather than the want of proper books

³²) *Exercit. cont. Morin.*

(33) *Vid Prid. ubi supra.*

(34) *Vandal. epist. ad Morin. in Tractat. de Idololat.*

However, each system has its difficulties, which are not easily solved ; all that we shall add concerning this book is, that besides this copy written in their old character in the *Hebrew* Two ver- tongue, they had another written in the vulgar language spok- sions of it. en among them, because, like the *Jews*, they had forgot the old *Hebrew*, and were accustomed to a mongrel mixture of *Assyrian*, *Babylonish*, and *Chaldee*. Besides this, they had a *Greek* version of it for the sake of their hellenistical brethren, as the *Jews* had the septuagint ; and it is probable, that this was the version which is mentioned by several antient fathers^c, since they cannot be supposed to have understood either the original one, or the vulgar version of it. The old *Hebrew* copy did afterwards remain unknown to the christians during near ten centuries. *Scaliger* was the first modern who How got intelligence of it ; after which it was brought over into brought *Europe*, and printed in the polyglots of *Paris* and *London*, into Eu- the latter of which is by far the best and most correct, as well rope.

^c AFRICAN. EUSEB. DIOD. TARSENS. & al. ap PRID. ubi supra.

to instruct them, was the cause of their so long dividing their worship between the God of *Israel* and their own.

A late critic has made a bold, but strange, push to reconcile all these difficulties, by absurdly supposing the pentateuch to have been written on the other side *Euphrates*, by the priest, who was sent from thence into *Samaria*, for the instruction of those strangers. To this end, he, it seems, thought fit to give them a short sketch of the creation, flood, and other occurrences, that happened before the giving of the *Mosaic* law ; and that he wrote it in the old *Hebrew*, because he was unacquainted with the *Chaldee* ; and that this happening precisely at the time, when the *Jewish* volume of the law was found out by the high priest and brought to *Josiah*, he got a copy of it, and inserted it at the end of his own work, as very proper to bring men to the knowledge of the one true God ; and, lastly, that the *Jews*, finding nothing to object against the author or his work, have adopted the latter as conformable to their law and history. This critic has not ventured to set his name to his book, but sent it abroad under a fictitious title (35) ; however, *Ex ungue leonem*, he was not long undiscovered or unconfuted.

Upon the whole, the general opinion is, that this pentateuch was brought by the priest sent by *Exarhaddon* into *Samaria*, and that after the rupture of the *Jews* and *Samaritans*, the latter wilfully corrupted those places of it which made against them, and consequently, that the *Jewish* one is by far the more authentic of the two.

as the *Latin* version of it; the further particulars of it we refer to the margin (L).

Year of
the Flood,
2687.
Before
Christ,
312.
Jews flock
to Alexan-
dria.

WE return to *Judæa*, which we left in the possession of the king of *Egypt*, but which he was, about five years after, forced to abandon to *Antigonus* and his son, who came against him with a superior army. *Ptolemy* contented himself with demanding the cities of *Ace*, *Samaria*, *Joppa*, and *Gaza*, and to carry off an immense booty, as well as a great number of inhabitants, whom he settled in *Alexandria*, and endowed with considerable privileges and immunities, as *Alexander* had done before him. He was then designing to make that city the metropolis of *Egypt*, and was so well satisfied with the faithfulness and usefulness of the *Jews*, that he spared no encouragement to allure them thither; insomuch, that vast numbers flocked continually to it from *Judæa* and *Samaria*, chusing to live under so generous and friendly a prince in a foreign country, rather than in their own, under the tyran-

* Vid. SCALIG. de emend. temp. c. 7. USSER. epist. ad L. CAPPEL. WALTON. proleg. in Polygl. MORIN. PRID. & al.

(L) *Scaliger*, having received from the *Shechemites* an account of this pentateuch, by a letter which he published anno 1676, acquainting him among other things with this pentateuch, did in another work (36) complain, that none of the learned of *Europe* had endeavoured to procure some copies of it, seeing it might probably be of great service in adjusting the scripture chronology. This awakened the curiosity of archbishop *Usher*, who, as he tells us in his letter to *L. Capellus*, had observed, that this book had been quoted by several antient fathers and other writers, down to *Gaza* and *Synellus*, and particularly by the learned *Origen* in his book against *Celsus*. From that time this great prelate spared nither pains nor cost, till he had procured five or six copies of it from *Syria* and *Palestine*, and compared them with the *Jewish*; and here he thought he had found out the person who had corrupted them, namely, one *Dositheus*, mentioned by *Origen* against *Celsus*; but this discovery has not been universally received. However, it is from his copies that *Walton* printed that pentateuch in his polyglot, (37); since then several other copies were procured from the same place by other learned persons in *Europe* (38). Those who are willing to know more of the *Samaritans* and their pentateuch, may consult, besides the letters of *Scaliger*, *Leudolph*, and *Usher* abovementioned, the authors quoted in the margin (39).

(35) De emendat. temp. l. vii. (37) Proleg. 11. ad Polyglot.
(38) Vid. Morin. exerc. 1. in Pentat. Samar. Calmet. Prid. &
al. (39) Hottinger, ubi supra. Cellar. Lightfoot hor. Hebr. Prid.
ubi supra. Easag. rom. 2. p. 1. c. 1. & seq. & al.
nical

nical government of *Antiochus* ^u (M). Thus was *Judæa* become the subject of the disputes of, and scene of war between *Antigonus* king of *Upper Asia*, *Seleucus* king of *Syria*, and *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*. The partizans of this last pretended, that he had not undertaken to put *Asia* under the government of *Seleucus*; but upon condition that *Cæle-Syria* and *Phœnicia* should be relinquished to him. Those of *Seleucus* on the contrary maintained that *Ptolemy* was no further concerned in the war, than to help him to conquer those provinces allotted to him; in proof whereof they urged, that, after the defeat of *Antigonus*, *Lysimachus* and *Cassander* had assigned those provinces to *Seleucus* ^w. Accordingly we find;

^u JOSEPH. *Antiq.* l. xii. & cont. *Apion.* l. i. & ii. ^w Vid. *USSER.* sub A. M. 3721.

(M) Among those *Jews* whom *Ptolemy's* kindness drew into *Egypt*, *Josephus* (40) mentions *Hezechias*, one of the chief-priests, a man of learning and probity, and about sixty years of age, who became acquainted with *Hecataeus* the *Abderite*, a person trained up under *Alexander the Great*, and now in great credit at the *Egyptian* court. Him *Hezechias* did so well inform of the religion, laws, and customs of the *Jews*, that he wrote a history of that nation down from *Abraham* to his time. The book is now lost; but *Josephus* quotes so many passages out of him in favour of the *Jews*, that a heathen writer, who lived in *Trajan's* time; did very much question either the genuineness of the book, or the sincerity of the author (41). Had he been better acquainted with them, he would never have called either in question; and it is more than probable, that *Hecataeus's* great opinion of them procured the nation greater favours from *Ptolemy*, than they might have otherwise met with.

The *Jewish* historian quotes another story out of the same author, to shew how far his nation was averse to the superstitions of the heathens. It is of one *Mosollam* a *Jew*, who was such an excellent marksman, that he shot a bird dead with his bow; whilst a soothsayer in company was persuading them to observe its motion, and steer their course by that of the bird: This action having drawn some bitter invectives against our *Jew*, from his superstitious fellow-travellers; he only laughed at their folly, for expecting to learn their fortune from a bird, that was so palpably ignorant of its own. Whether *Mosollam* was more minded to display his skill in shooting, or exploding the superstition of other nations, 'tis but too plain; those of his own were generally of another mind, with respect to soothsaying, astrology, divinations, and such-like superstitious trash.

(40) *Lib.* i. cont. *Apion.* (41) *Herenn. Phil.* apud *Origen.* cont *Cels.* lib 1.

that this last enjoyed that of *Judæa* some while, with a tax of three hundred talents of silver, upon condition that the *Jews* should be governed by their own laws, and that their high-priests should be their only governors *.

THIS prince very much imitated the clemency and generosity of the *Egyptian* king, a character which was quite opposite to that of *Antigonus*, who was of such fierce nature, that he stuck at no cruelty, falsehood, or tyranny that served his turn. This made great numbers of the *Jews* to fall away likewise from that tyrant to *Seleucus*, who gave them much the same privileges and franchises that his competitor did in *Egypt*. He built sixteen cities in *Lesser Asia*, which he, from his father, called *Antioch*, nine he called by his own name, and six by that of his mother *Laodicea*; three from his first wife *Apamea*, and one from *Stratonice* his last wife; in all these he settled such considerable colonies of the *Jews*, especially at *Antioch* in *Syria*, that they became almost as considerable a part of those cities, as they were at *Alexandria*. Hence that nation came to spread themselves over *Syria* and *Lesser Asia*, whilst *Judæa* became still thinner of its own inhabitants, till it was again recovered by *Ptolemy*; after which they came still over to him from the the provinces of *Antiochus*, and still encreased the number of those whom he found in *Babylon*; from all whom he received such considerable services, that he spared no favours nor encouragement to fasten them to his interest.

Year of
the Flood,
2707.
Before
Christ,
292.



SOON after the recovery of *Judæa* by *Ptolemy Soter*, died *Simon* the *Jewish* high-priest in the ninth year of his pontificate †. He had succeeded his father *Onias*, and had been so eminent for his sanctity and integrity, which shone in all his actions, that he was surnamed *the just*. He was the first pontiff of that name, and the excellent character which the author of *Ecclesiasticus* gives of him ‡, shews how highly he deserved the surname which his nation had given him. But he was no less remarkable for his other virtues, as a *Jewish* prince and governor, witness his repairing and fortifying the temple and the city with high and strong walls, his famous cistern covered with brass, which he caused to be made in *Jerusalem*, as a reservoir for water, and which was of such capacious circumference, that the author compares it to a sea; but his most considerable work was the finishing of the canon of the *Old Testament*, of which we have already

* Vid. SULPIT. SEVER. hist. sacr. l. ii.
Ch. l. 1, & seq.

† EUSEB. chron.

spoken (N). He left a son named *Onias*, but he being then but an infant, *Eleazar*, *Simon's* brother was substituted high-priest in his stead. He executed this office fifteen years, but with this difference; that whereas all the high-priests before had

(N) It has been already observed, that the books of *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, and of the chronicles, could not have been inserted into the canon by those two inspired writers; first, because there are in them some marginal corrections, which must have been inserted by some of their successors; and, secondly, because some genealogies are carried down vastly beyond their time, some even down to that of *Alexander the Great*

The book of *Esther* likewise seems to have been written after their time, and, as some think, the prophecies of *Malachy*. As therefore this *Simon the Just* is by all the *Jews* mentioned as the last of the great synagogue we have elsewhere spoken of, and was a man of such eminent piety and learning, it is not unreasonable to suppose, that he put the finishing stroke to the sacred code, either by inserting the books above-mentioned, or, if they had been received before, by revising and giving a final sanction to them.

As for the genealogies, whoever continued them, that work seems to have been done before him. Had he been the author of them, it is likely he would have brought them down nearer his time.

However, from his pontificate is dated the completing of the sacred canon of the *Old Testament*, which was thenceforward received and conveyed without revisal or correction; from this time the *Jewish* doctors applied themselves wholly to study, explain, and comment upon them, and their expositions were in time received with as great submission as the sacred books themselves.

This is that *Simon* of whom the *Talmudists* tell us so many wonders, some of which we have formerly mentioned †, such as that during his priesthood the scape-goat was always broken in pieces down the precipice, which was an omen of God's acceptance; but after his death the *Saracens* used to catch and eat it; that the ribbon tied about the neck of it always appeared white, another good omen, but after him it appeared of a red; they tell us likewise (‡), that during his time the western branch of the sacred candlestick never went out; that the shew-bread, and two loaves of the first-fruits, used to be multiplied to such a degree, as to suffice all the priests who were then upon duty; that two sticks thrown on the fire of the altar kept it burning and clear all the whole day; with some other such tokens of the divine favour, which ended with his death. All which, those who are acquainted with the allegorical language of the *Talmudists*, are so far from un-

† *Vid. Vol. III p. 274 sub. fin. note T.* (‡) *Mishna in Maas. Nisamon. in jerm. Berachot.*

Rise of the
Saddu-
cees.

Of the
Tannaim
or Mishni-
cal doctors.

had sat as presidents of the synagogue, or grand council of the Jews, Simon was succeeded in this last dignity by one *Antigonus* of *Scho*, a man of great learning and piety^a. This man, who the Jews tell us; was the master of *Saddoc*, the chief of the *Sadducean* sect, taught; that our serving of God ought to be free either from slavish fear of punishment, or from selfish hope of reward; and be wholly disinterested; and flow from the pure love and fear of that supreme being. Hence his disciple being unable to relish such a spiritual doctrine, took it into his head, that his master meant no more by it, than that there were neither rewards nor punishments, nor even life after this; which notion became in time so rife among the richer sort of Jews, that they monopolised all the great places in church and state, as we shall see in due time.

Antigonus by this became the head of a new kind of synagogue, which continued from this time to that of *Jebudah Hakkodesh*, the compiler of the *Mishna*; as the old one had from *Ezra* to *Simon the just*; the difference between them was; that the old one had bestowed their time and labour in collecting, revising; and compleating the canon of the *Old Testament*; the latter was wholly employed in expounding and commenting upon it. These, therefore; whom the authors of the *New Testament* call by different names; such as doctors; scribes, lawyers; rulers; and such like, affected to call themselves *Tannaim*, or *traditionalists*^b, because they handed down their expositions and doctrines by oral tradition to their disciples; and their authority once quoted in any of their schools upon any point, either put an end to the controversy, or the recusant was looked upon as an apostate from his master; and as all other disputes in political affairs were to be decided by the law of God, of which these *Tannaim* were the interpreters; so they were chosen also to assist, and some of the most considerable for learning, zeal, &c. to preside in all the courts of judicature, from the *Sanhedrin* or great council of the nation, consisting of seventy two, down to the more inferior ones, which they had in

^a De hoc vid. lib. Juchasin, Shalshel. EL. LEVITA in Cabbala, & al. ^b Vid. Buxtorf. Lexic. Rabb. sub voc. תנאים

derstanding either as literal truths, or as fictions of those writers, that they rightly look upon them as so many figurative phrases, to express the flourishing condition of the Jewish religion and commonwealth, which from that time began to go from bad to worse, till the brave *Maccabees* raised it again to its antient lustre.

every

every city ; and upon this account they were also called counsellors *.

Ptolemy, surnamed *Philadelphus*, having succeeded his father in *Egypt*, the *Jews* found in him as great a protector as they had in *Ptolemy Soter* ; and with this advantage, that the son, being a great lover of learning, and upon the point of rearing his noble library at *Alexandria*, as we have elsewhere described *, did strive to oblige them with greater favours than any of his predecessors had done, in order to obtain from them a copy of the sacred books, to be translated into *Greek*, and deposited there among that immense number of volumes which he had procured from all parts of the world. This version is that which is commonly known by the name of *septuagint* ; our great *Usher* places the making of it in the seventh year of that monarch's reign ; we have already mentioned something of it in the place above quoted, where we promised to speak more fully of it in this chapter. And indeed, when we consider how much this performance has been celebrated, not only by the most learned *Jewish* writers, but also by the antient fathers as well as many celebrated moderns ; how much it has been cried up, as a work manifestly conducted by a miraculous providence, and as such referred to and quoted both by our Saviour and his apostles, and by all the primitive writers of the christian church ; it will perhaps be expected, that we should be somewhat copious upon it. But when we reflect on the other hand, that all those eminent writers have not only blindly followed their romantic leader, but have in many cases embellished his surprizing account of this transaction ; that *Aristeas*, the first broacher of this history, has only covered himself with the personage, if not with the name, of a heathen writer and an officer of *Ptolemy's* guards, that he might be the more liberal of his incense to the *Jewish* nation ; that he is guilty of several flagrant anachronisms, and of a manifest falshood, at the very threshold of his account, in making *Demetrius Phalereus*, the pretended promoter of this great work, a great favourite of the king, when the contrary plainly appears from what we have heretofore said on that head in this volume † ; when we consider that *Josephus*, *Aristobulus*, a *Jewish* peripatetic philosopher, *Philo*, the *Talmudists*, and other rabbies, either only copied, or in some cases improved upon, him ; and lastly, that those antient fathers, *Justin Martyr*, *Irenæus*, *Cyril*, *Chrysostom*, *Austin*, *Epiphanius*, and others, have too

Year of
the Flood,
2715.
Before
Christ,
284.



* Vide MARK xv. 43. LUKE xxiii. 50. ACTS v. 34.
See before, p. 75. † Ibid. p. 66.

greedily swallowed up the *Jewish* account of this pretended miraculous version, by reason of the preference which Christ and his apostles seem to have given it either to the original, or to the other versions then extant, not perhaps so much upon its being more authentic than any of them, much less than the original, as because it was the most in vogue, and best understood by the generality of the *Jews*; we hope, upon all these considerations our readers will easily excuse our not entering into so spacious a field, and be content with the succinct account we shall now give them of it in the margin (O).

ALL

(O) The account we have of this version, out of the book which goes under the name of *Aristas*, and out of those other authors who have followed him, is in substance as follows: *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, a great lover of learning, was enriching the noble library which had been begun by his father, when *Demetrius Phalereus*, who had the inspection of that work, acquainted him, that there were certain books held sacred among the *Jews*, which highly deserved a place in his collection, if they could by any means be procured. He advised him at the same time of a method, in all likelihood the most effectual, to prevail upon the *Jewish* sanhedrin to send those volumes, together with a sufficient number of learned men to *Alexandria*, to translate them into *Greek*, namely by a general redemption of all the *Jewish* captives that had been taken during the late wars.

Upon inquiry, the number of them was found to amount to about a hundred thousand; at which *Ptolemy* was so far from being discouraged, that he caused an edict to be issued out for a total release, and the sum of twenty drachms *per* head to be paid for their redemption out of his own treasury; so that the whole amounted to six hundred and sixty talents. *Josephus*, who has only abridged that author, doth yet differ from him, in that he makes the price of every redeemed slave to have been a hundred and twenty drachms, and yet the sum total to have amounted but to four hundred and sixty talents, though there were, according to him, a hundred and twenty thousand persons released (1).

After this signal favour to the *Jewish* nation, the king sent a splendid embassy laden with presents to *Eleazar*, the then *Jewish* high-priest; who on his side readily complied with the king's request, and sent him, with the copy of the sacred books, written in letters of gold, seventy two *Jews*, well skilled in the *Hebrew* and *Greek* tongues, and a letter of thanks for his noble presents, in which he congratulated him on his glorious undertaking, and wished him good success in it.

Ptolemy received the interpreters with uncommon respect, and paid such a regard to the sacred volume, that he bowed himself

(1) *Antiq. l. xii. c. 2.*

ALL that we shall add here will be two or three remarks concerning this work ; the first is, that there was near that time

seven times down to the ground before it ; after which he entertained his guests with suitable magnificence seven days successively, assuring them, that he should esteem the day of their arrival as an addition to the glory of his reign. They were conducted three days after into the island of *Pharos*, which stood about seven furlongs from *Alexandria*, where *Demetrius* placed them in a sumptuous edifice, conveniently situated near the shore, and where they immediately set about the work.

Their method, according to *Aristeas*, was to sit at it from six in the morning to three in the afternoon ; after which they returned into the city, where they had their victuals and other necessaries prepared for them at the king's expence. Whenever any difficulty was started, they debated it in a full assembly ; and when the point was settled, a fair transcript was made, and sent to *Demetrius*, till the whole version was finished, which took up only seventy or seventy-two days.

Philo, an *Alexandrian Jew*, who was sent on an embassy to *Caesar*, soon after our Saviour's death, has greatly improved the story of *Aristeas*, and speaks of this version as altogether miraculous (2) ; for he adds, that upon comparing the several interpretations of those seventy men, which, according to him, had been carried on by each of them separately, there was not found so much as the difference of a word between them all ; but that they had rendered every period, not only in the same sense, but in the same phrase, word, and order, throughout the whole ; from whence he infers, that they were all divinely inspired. He mentions nothing either of *Aristeas* or *Demetrius Phalereus*, probably, because he would not be suspected of having copied and enlarged the former.

Justin Martyr, who has adopted this extraordinary addition of *Philo*, tells us (3), that *Ptolemy* had caused the interpreters to be shut up, each in a separate cell, to prevent their communicating their thoughts to one another ; that by the conformity of their several translations, he might the more easily judge of the faithfulness of the whole version. He adds, that when they came to be compared together, there was such an exact conformity between them all, that the king, who looked upon it as altogether miraculous, sent the interpreters home laden with honour and with the richest presents ; and received their writings with that veneration which was due to books divinely inspired. And as a further confirmation of the whole, he tells the *Greeks*, to whom he writes, that he had seen those very cells, whilst he was at *Alexandria*, and that those

(2) *In vit. Mos.* l. ii. & *Legat. ad Cæsar.* (3) *Cohortat. ad gentes*, p. 14. & *dial. con. Tryphon.*

time a version made of the sacred *Hebrew* books into *Greek*, and with which the *Hellenist Jews* were so highly delighted, that

that shewed them to him assured him, that they had the whole story from undoubted tradition.

His account of this version is somewhat different, in another work of his (4), where he tells us, that *Ptolemy* sent to *Herod* king of the *Jerus*, for those sacred books; and that upon their being sent in their original tongue and character, which were unknown in *Egypt*, he had been forced to send to him for some interpreters to translate them into *Greek*; which being likewise complied with, copies of that version were still every-where to be seen in the hands of the *Hellenist Jews* in his time.

After this ample testimony of the good and learned martyr, we need not wonder if so many antient fathers (5) have embraced the story, and looked upon that version as divinely inspired; and some of them have given it even the preference to the original, in those places where the difference between them could not be reconciled (6). *Epiphanius*, who lived about the middle of the third century, and pretends to have preserved the letter which *Ptolemy* wrote to the *Jerus* to obtain this version from them. has given us a copious account of it (7); and, to what has been said by *Aristeas* and the other authors abovementioned, has added some other circumstances by way of improvement; such as that there were but thirty six cells, into which the interpreters were shut up by two in each, that they had no windows, but received their light from the top by sky lights; that each couple had a book given them to translate, which when finished, was conveyed to the next cell, and so on to the third, fourth, &c. and so on to all the rest, by which means each book was translated thirty six times; that they were confined to their work from morning to evening; after which each couple was conveyed in a separate boat to the royal palace, where they supped with the king; after which they were shut up, each in their separate chamber, till the next day, when they were again conveyed to their respective cells.

When the whole book of the *Old Testament* had gone through the thirty six couples, their versions were read before the king by thirty six readers, whilst a thirty seventh held the original in his hand, with which they were compared; and at the end were found to agree in every respect, both with the *Hebrew* and with each other, to such a degree of exactness, that *Ptolemy* looked upon those interpreters as divinely inspired, and caused their several

(4) *Apolog.* 11. (5) *Iren. cont. Hæres lib* iii. *Clem. Alexand. Stromat. lib.* 1. *Hilar. in ps* ii. & cxxxix. *Cyrl Hierosol. Cathec.* 4. *August. civit Dei*, l xviii. c. 35. *De consens Evangelist* c. 66. & alib. *Philast. Brixienf. Hæres* 90. *Vid. Prid. Connect sub ann.* 277. (6) *Vid int. al. Hilar. in Ps.* cxxxix. (7) *In lib de Ponder.* & *Menjur.* N. 9. & seq.

that *Philo* tells us ^a, they instituted an annual feast in memory of it, and made a yearly visit, in solemn procession to the

^a In vit. Mosi.

works to be deposited in his library of *Bruchium*, which, as we have observed in the history of *Egypt* (8), held the first, as that which was called *Serapium* held the second rank.

The *Talmuds* of *Jerusalem* and *Babylon* agree in most of these particulars abovementioned, but pretend that *Ptolemy* sent for those seventy two *Jewish* elders, without acquainting them what work he designed to set them upon, till they were arrived at *Alexandria*, when he caused them to be all shut up, each in a separate cell, and gave them the sacred books to translate. Some of those ancient rabbies there quoted say, indeed, that he sent only for seven of them, which was indeed more than enough for the work; they all agree with the rest, that God did so direct their pens, that all their versions were exactly agreeable both to each other, and to the original.

Lastly, and to name no more, *St. Clement* of *Alexandria* (9) and *Eusebius* (10) quote some fragments out of one *Aristobulus*, a peripatetic *Jew* of *Alexandria*, who is said to have wrote a comment on the pentateuch, and to have dedicated it to *Ptolemy Philometor*, to whom he had been tutor. In which dedication he mentions this *Greek* version, which had been made by *Ptolemy's* command, and under the direction of *Demetrius Phalereus*.

The two fathers abovementioned quote therefore this comment to prove the possibility of *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, and other *Greek* philosophers, having taken most of their philosophy out of the sacred volumes, since they had been translated so long before in that known language.

The reader may see by what has been extracted out of all those authors, both *Jewish* and *Christian*, that the story of this version has gained considerably by every hand it has gone through; and this improvement, as well as some other variations which are found among those writers, is one main argument why the far greater part of our modern critics reject it as a *Jewish* device, calculated to advance the glory of that nation.

But this is not the only plausible argument against it. We have observed in the text above some material objections that are justly urged against the pretended *Aristeas*, who is the first writer of this story, particularly, that he was a *Jew* in disguise, notwithstanding his pretending to be a heathen and one of *Ptolemy's* guards; and this appears first from his style, which is fraught both with hebraisms and with panegyrics on the *Jewish* nation. 2. The praises

(8) See before, p. 57.

(9) *Stromat. lib. i. § v*

(10)

Canon. Chronol. § Præpar. Evang. l. vii. c. 13. viii. c. 9 § alib.

the isle of *Pharos*, where it had been made by the seventy two *Israelitish* elders : whereas the more zealous *Hebraising Jews*, who looked upon it as a vile profanation of their holy religion, conceived such horror against it, that they instituted a fast in memory of it. These even add, that the day on which it was began, proved as fatal to the *Israelites*, as that on which *Jeroboam* set up the golden calves at *Dan* and *Beth-el*, and that the sky was covered with thick darkness three days successively ^u. The *Samaritans* have likewise laid claim to the glory of this version, and pretend that their high-priest, as well that of the *Jews*, having been invited by *Ptolemy* to come at the head of a number of learned men to carry on the work, upon a review of both translations, that of the *Samaritans* had been preferred to the *Jewish* one, and placed in the library of the *Egyptian* monarch [†].

BUT whether all the books of the *Old Testament* were translated at once, and by the same set of men, or, as some contend for, only the five books of *Moses*, we have no sufficient ground to affirm ; the latter doth, however, appear the more probable of the two, from the difference of stile and exactness, which manifestly appears in them ; for that of the *pentateuch* is not only more faithful and agreeable to the original,

^u In lib. Sopherim. Vid & SCALIGER. not. in Chronic. EUSEB. sub ann. 1134. [†] Lib. Josue. sup. Citat.

he gives to the *Egyptian* king and court, are not only apparently false, but seem also calculated to advance the credit of the *Jews*.

The vast expence which he makes *Ptolemy* to have been at to get this version perfected, and which, put together and computed at the most moderate rate, must have amounted to near two millions sterling ; the sending for seventy two elders, that is six out of each of the twelve tribes, at a time when the names and tribes of *Israel* were absorbed into that of *Jews*, seems only a compliment on the sanhedrin, which consisted of that number, especially considering that a much smaller one would have sufficed for the work ; the extraordinary answers which those interpreters are said to have given extempore to the king's questions ; and lastly, the story of *Demetrius Phalereus* being such a great favourite with that monarch, and the victory which the latter is there affirmed to have gained at sea over *Antigonus*, and which is mentioned by no other writer ; all these put together, render the whole account very incredible. But our design is not here to confute it, but to direct our readers to those authors who have wrote more copiously on that subject, and which he will find in the margin (11).

(11) Dupin. Script Ecclesiast. part. 1. c. 6. sect. iii. Simon bist. crit. N. T. l. ii. c. 2. Usser. Hody, Prid. Connect. sub. a. A. C. 277. Calmet sub voce Septante, & al.

but seems somewhat more antient, and in the *Alexandrian* dialect ; whereas that of the other books is more loose and incorrect, and sometimes renders the same *Hebrew* word differently from that of the *Mosaic* ones, which seems to intimate, that they had been done by different hands, and at some distance of time. Thus much, however, is more than probable upon the whole, that if the first version went no farther than the pentateuch, the *Hellenist Jews*, who found so great a benefit from it, did not go long without having all the rest of the sacred volume translated in the same tongue.

The second is, that our learned *Usher* has fixed the time of this version to this year, as he believed the main part of the history, which we have of it under the name of *Aristeas*, to be true and genuine ; for had he placed it later, it could not have coincided with the time of *Eleazar*, who is there mentioned as the *Jewish* high-priest, who sent the seventy two translators into *Egypt*, and who died about the beginning of the following year ; and had he placed it earlier, it would have been before *Ptolemy* had married his sister *Arsinoe* ; whereas the *Jewish* pontiff is there introduced as complimenting that princess, in his letter to the king, as his sister and queen.

Our last and most material remark is, that whatever wonders and fables the *Jews* may have invented, and the *Christians* swallowed, concerning this version, yet it was not without the conduct of a divine providence, that these sacred books were translated into a tongue so universally known and spoken, so many centuries before the completion of those prophecies which they contained, and which were in due time to be fulfilled by and under the promised Messiah. Had those divine oracles been kept still in the hands of the *Jews*, and in their original *Hebrew*, till the preaching of the gospel, they must have lost a very considerable part of their evidence ; which by their being promulgated in so known a language, and dispersed so far and wide, is now rendered unquestionable and irrefragable. Without such a version and publication of that sacred volume, it would have been extremely difficult, notwithstanding the manifest impossibility of a combination between the *Jews* and the *Christians*, to have persuaded an unbelieving world, that those prophecies had not been stamped, after their completion, as *Porphry* and other enemies of christianity absurdly affirmed : whereas this version and universal dispersion of them through so many distant parts of the known world puts it beyond all question, that they were previous to their completion, at least by some centuries, and owe consequently their origin to persons divinely inspired. We have had occasion to speak of several of them in our former volumes ;

volumes ^c; those that relate more particularly to the Messiah, will be best seen in the sequel of this chapter. We shall only observe with respect to the latter, that when the primitive fathers, who were ignorant of the *Hebrew*, did quote those prophecies from this septuagint version, the *Hellenist Jews* found themselves so streighly pinched by them, that they grew as much out of conceit with it, as they had before admired it. This dislike produced those *Latin* versions of it, which were afterwards known by the names of their authors, *Aquila*, *Symmachus*, and *Theodotion*, and, not unlikely also, that discordance, which is found in the various manuscripts of the *Greek* one; the antientest and most correct of all which, in the judgment of those who have thoroughly examined it, is that which is known by the name of *Alexandrian*, and is now in the king's library at St. *James's*. A further disquisition upon this head would doubtless be out of our province; and it is, we hope, sufficient to have referred our readers in the foregoing note to those critics who have treated of it more at large.

We return now to the reign of *Ptolemy*, under whose benign influence the *Jews*, enjoying all the tranquillity they could wish, made use of that interval to study and explain the sacred books. They kept open schools, and *Antigonus Sochæus* was at the head of them; he died in great esteem of his nation, tho' *Sador* and another disciple, named *Baithus*, forsook him and his doctrine to spread their own new-fangled epicurism. He had two successors, namely *Joseph* the son of *Joazer*, who took the title of *Nassi* or prince, and *Joseph* the son of *John*, who took that of *Ab-beth-din*, or father or president of the *sanhedrin*; and these did jointly read their public lectures at *Jerusalem* ^d; the *Jewish* chronologers, last quoted, place *Antigonus's* death about the end of the twentieth year of *Ptolemy's* reign.

Antigonus
dies.

ON the other hand, some other contending monarchs shewed no less a desire to ingratiate themselves to the *Jews*, particularly *Antiochus*, surnamed *Theos*, or the god, and grandson of *Seleucus*, granted to those of *Ionia* the same privileges and franchises with the *Greeks*. This prince held out a long and bloody war against *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, which was at length terminated by a treaty of marriage, wherein the former was to marry *Berenice* the daughter of the latter, and to repudiate his first wife *Laodicea*; but he having broken his

^c See Vol. II. p. 439, & seq. & 446, O. & Vol. IV. p. 544. & Vol. V. p. 158, note. See also the index to Vol. VIII. under the word *Daniel*. ^d Pirke, Abboth, Juchasin, & al. sup citat.

contract by a series of enormous murders, as we have elsewhere related †, was become so odious to all his subjects every-where, that *Ptolemy Euergetes*, who had succeeded his father in *Egypt*, did easily dispossess him of the provinces of *Syria* and *Cilicia*, besides several other cities of *Asia*; all which did readily open their gates to him upon his first appearing. *Euergetes*, in his return from all these conquests, past through *Judæa* in his way to *Egypt*; and coming to *Jerusalem*, offered a great number of sacrifices at the temple there, as an acknowledgment for his late successes*. It is thought, that this preference, which that prince shewed to the God of *Israel*, before the deities of *Egypt*, was owing to his having been shewn the prophecies of *Daniel*, in which those great and swift conquests had been foretold. By this time, *Onias* II. the unworthy son of *Simon the just*, was entered into the pontifical office. During his minority, his uncle *Eleazar* the brother of *Simon*, had been invested with that dignity, and enjoyed it near thirty years; it is during his pontificate that the septuagint version abovementioned is supposed to have been made. When *Eleazar* died, *Onias*, though above thirty years of age, was, for some reason or other, set by from the high-priesthood, to make way for his great uncle *Manasses*, the son of *Jaddua* the uncle of *Simon the just*; but *Manasses* being then very old and dying soon after, *Onias* ascended the pontifical chair in the thirty second year of his age, and in the thirty sixth year of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, but in an unlucky hour for the *Jews*. *Onias*, who was of a base sordid spirit, neglected every thing but hoarding up of treasure, and was like to have ruined the *Jewish* state by his avarice, had not a near relation of his found out a notable expedient to save it†.

Judæa had till then been taxed at the yearly tribute of twenty talents of silver, which sum his predecessors had constantly paid to the kings of *Egypt*; but *Onias*, growing more covetous as he grew older, had sunk that money into his own coffers, instead of sending it to the king's treasury. How long he had gone on in arrears, our author doth not tell us; but they were grown to such a height, that *Ptolemy Euergetes* thought fit to send *Athenion*, one of the officers of his court, to demand them of that pontiff, threatening him at the same time, that if they were not immediately payed, he would drive all the *Jews* out of their country, and repeople it

Onias
high-priest.
Year of
the Flood
2750.
Before
Christ
249.

† See Vol. VIII. p. 464, & seq.
Apion. l. ii.

Id. antiq. l. xii. c. 3.

* JOSEPH. cont.

Joseph's
proposal to
leave his
country.

with new colonies of his own. This threatening and unexpected demand put the whole city into the utmost consternation, and *Onias*, who valued neither his dignity nor nation in comparison of his money, was the only person who remained insensible of the danger; being resolved to sacrifice both to the resentment of that prince, rather than refund any part of his stolen pelf. His sister had then a son by her husband *Tobias*, who, though young, was highly esteemed for his piety, justice and prudence; he was then at his country seat, where his mother sent him word of the peril into which her brother's fordidness was like to involve the whole nation. *Joseph*, that was the noble youth's name, lost no time to come and expostulate with his uncle. He upbraided him in the strongest terms, for basely preferring his ill-gotten riches to the sacredness of his function, the safety of his country, and especially of his friends and relations; and finding him deaf to all he urged, he advised him at least to take a journey into *Egypt*, and endeavour to obtain a remission, either of the whole, or part of the debt. All the answer he could get from the resty old pontiff was, that he never coveted either his dignity or government, and that he was resolved to forego them both, rather than take such a long journey. There being no remedy left but to offer himself to go and apply to the *Egyptian* monarch, he easily obtained his uncle's consent to it. He then convened the people into the temple, the then usual place for holding their public assemblies, and there endeavoured to dissipate their fears, by promising them, that he would shortly go down into *Egypt*, and find some effectual means, if they approved of his enterprize, to reconcile the king to them.

His proposal having been received with universal applause, *Joseph* went immediately to *Athenion*, invited him to his house, and entertained him in a sumptuous but obliging manner, all the rest of the time he stayed in *Jerusalem*; and, upon his departure, made him several considerable presents. This noble carriage failed not to have the desired effect. The *Egyptian* deputy promised to set the whole matter in a favourable light before the king, and *Joseph*, on the other hand, promised to follow him soon after, and to give that monarch full satisfaction for all that had passed during his uncle's government. Both these did punctually perform their promise; *Athenion*, upon his arrival at court, did loudly exclaim against *Onias*'s fordidness, but said at the same time so many things in praise of his nephew, that *Ptolemy* had already conceived a high esteem for him; and *Joseph*, on the other hand, having bor-

rowed

rowed twenty thousand marks from the bankers of *Samaria*, set out for *Alexandria* with a handsome equipage. How he was received, and what success he met with at the *Egyptian* court, we have seen elsewhere*. So that having by his address obtained the farming of the provinces *Cæle-Syria*, *Phœnicia*, *Judea*, and *Samaria*, and borrowed a considerable sum of his *Egyptian* friends, he returned to *Jerusalem*, attended with an escort of two thousand men, to assist him in collecting the royal tribute, and to punish those who should refuse to pay it. The *Ascalonites* were the first who felt the severe effects of his authority. They had not only disobeyed his commands, but had even loaded him with bitter invectives, so that, to prevent the infection spreading further, he was forced to make a severe example of them to the rest. He caused twenty of the ring-leaders to be hanged, and confiscated their estates, out of which he sent a thousand talents to the king, with an account of what he had done. He treated the inhabitants of *Scythopolis* after the same manner; and these were the only ones that ventured to follow those of *Ascalon*; the rest, being all over-awed, did willingly open their gates, and pay their taxes, and *Joseph*, at the same time that he remitted them into *Egypt*, did from time to time send some presents to his friends there, to keep up his interest at court. As for the king, he was so pleased with such a considerable augmentation of his revenue, that he continued him in his office two and twenty years, during which time he gained an immense treasure, under the reigns of three *Ptolemies*, namely *Euergetes*, *Philopator*, and *Epiphanes* the son of *Philometor*, who was dispossessed of those provinces by *Antiochus the Great*, as we have shewn in a former chapter². After which *Epiphanes* having again recovered them by a marriage with *Antiochus's* daughter, he was again restored to his farms, and enjoyed them many years after, even, as our *Jewish* historian tells us, to the day of his death. The reader may see what we said on this head in the place above quoted†.

Joseph by this time had seven sons by one of his wives, and an eighth named *Hyrca*n by his brother *Selinus's* daughter, whom he had made him marry, instead of a beautiful *Egyptian* dancer. *Joseph*, whilst in *Egypt*, had seen this fair woman at some of the public shews, and was fallen in love with her; he was ashamed to discover his weakness to any but his brother, who promised to procure her to him; but,

His progeny.

* See before, p. 80, & seq.

² Ibid. p. 32.

† Ibid.

instead of her, he converted his own daughter into his bed; and when the cheat was discovered, *Selinus* did so well expostulate the matter with him, that he easily convinced him that he had acted a friendly part in preventing his exposing himself to the contempt of the *Egyptians*, by marrying such a public actress. *Joseph*, satisfied with his reasons, took his new wife home, and had this *Hyrca* by her, who proved such a promising youth, that he soon ingrossed his affection from all his other brethren, and the sequel will shew that he was really deserving of it^b.

Ptolemy
Philopator.
Simon II.
high-priest.
Year of
the Flood
2778.
Before
Christ
231.

In the interim, *Ptolemy*, surnamed *Philopator*, succeeded his father *Euergetes* in *Egypt*, not without strong suspicion of his having dispatched him by poison, as he was indeed profligate enough for such a deed; and *Simon II.* had succeeded his father *Onias* soon after in the high-priesthood at *Jerusalem*. This pontiff was of a quite different spirit from his father; he was a man of great piety and zeal, of singular conduct and courage; all which were put to a severe proof before he had passed the first year of his pontificate. He was moreover free from that sordidness and avarice which had proved so detrimental to the *Jewish* state during his father's office; for, besides those dangers which his wife nephew had the address to avoid, they had suffered a constant series of evils from the *Samaritans*, ever since these last came to be aware of the baseness of the *Jewish* pontiff. Nothing less indeed could be expected from that exasperated nation, who watched all opportunities to vent their malice, than that they should take the advantage of their weak government to insidiate and oppress them. Accordingly, *Josephus* tells us, there was scarce a year in which they did not make some incursion, ravage the country, and carry away captives, during the whole time of that cowardly priest^c. But to return to *Philopator*, we may remember he was like to have lost *Palestine* by the treachery of *Theodore*, governor of *Phœnicia*, who had rebelled against him, and engaged to put that province, together with those of *Judæa* and *Cœle-Syria*, into *Antiochus's* hands, who had always looked upon them as dismembered from his own kingdom. The plot having been timely discovered, *Antiochus* openly invaded *Galilee*, took a great many cities on both sides of *Jordan*, particularly *Philoteria*, on the north side of the sea of *Tiberias*, *Bethshan* or *Scythopolis*, on the south, and *Ittabyrium*, strongly situated on mount *Tabor*. From thence he took all the land that

^b JOSEPH. antiq. l. xii. c. 4.

^c Id. ibid. c. 3.

had formerly belonged to the two tribes and half on the other side of *Jordan*; but winter drawing near, he left five thousand men there under the command of *Hippolochus* and *Cheræas*, two other revolvers from *Ptolemy*, to keep the country in awe till the next spring. By that time *Ptolemy* came with such a powerful army against him, that he defeated him in a set battle, and forced him out of those provinces; after which all the cities did readily open their gates to the conqueror, and sent their embassadors to make their submission and presents to him ^k.

THE *Jews*, always attached to the *Egyptians*, were some Philopators of the forwardest to come and congratulate him upon his late success. They were kindly received by him, and, among other marks of his favour, he told them, that he designed to go to *Jerusalem*, and offer his sacrifices to their God. He did so accordingly, and, besides a great number of victims which he there offered, he made some considerable presents to the temple; but this munificence gave them but a short-lived joy, which was soon after turned into the deepest mourning. The beauty of the temple, and the splendid order and decency of its worship, did unhappily raise in the king a curiosity of seeing the inside; and *Simon II.* who then officiated as high-priest, failed not to represent to him the sacredness of the place; the entrance of which was by their law forbid not only to strangers, but even to the *Jews* themselves, who were not of the sacerdotal order; he even ventured to denounce some heavy punishment from God, in case he presumed to profane his temple, whilst the priests were humbly surrounding him to obstruct his passage, and the people, in the utmost consternation, sending up their cries to heaven to avert his design. All this opposition made that obstinate monarch more resolute, and having forced his way through the outward courts, he was going on to enter into the holy place itself, when God smote him with such a dread and terror of mind, as put a full stop to his further progress. He was carried out half dead by his attendants, and as soon as he was come to himself, instead of adoring the powerful hand that had smitten him, he breathed out the most dreadful threats, not only against those who had dared to oppose his will, but against the whole nation. Soon after which he departed from *Jerusalem*, full of the deepest resentment, the sad effects of which he was not long before he made them feel, by one of the dreadfulest persecutions that that unhappy nation had ever suffered, but which was happily stopped by the singular interposition of

Punished.

^k Id. *ibid.* c. 4. 3 *MACCAB.* i. 1, & seq.

providence. : We have given an account of this wonderful change in a former chapter † ; and all that we shall add here is, that as their constancy to their religion had obtained this miraculous deliverance, it drew as heavy a punishment on those who through fear had apostatised from it. *Ptolemy*, now more than ever convinced that the *Jews* were protected by a divine power, and that men, who could be thus faithful to their God, could never turn rebels to their prince (P); among other marks of his favour and high esteem, did at their earnest request grant them full power to inflict what punishment they thought fit on those few apostates, who were soon after put to death, to the number of three hundred, as a warning to future ages. . . . The *Jews* thus happily delivered, erected a stately pillar, and instituted a festival in memory of it, which was observed during several centuries after. This remarkable history, however, has been omitted by *Josephus*; he says nothing of it in his antiquities; and as for what we find of it in his book against *Apion*, besides that it is only in the *Latin* version of *Rufinus*, and not in the original, it is there said to have happened under *Ptolemy Physcon*, so that the book, out of which this persecution and deliverance is taken, seems to have been unknown to the *Jewish* historian. : We shall refer the reader to the margin for a further account of the book and its authority (Q).

Ptolemy

† See before, p. 87, & seq.

(P) They gave that prince soon after a noble instance of this, when he was forced to make war against his rebellious *Egyptians*, in which the *Jews* proved so faithful to him, that sixty thousand of them lost their lives in one battle (44).

(Q) It is improperly called the third book of the *Maccabees*; for it is prior to the other two in point of time, and to the second book in point of authority. As for the word *Maccabee*, of which we shall have occasion to speak more fully in the sequel, it was used by the *Jews* to signify those brave heroes, who either stood up in defence of, or suffered for, their religion; and therefore that name is given to this book, as it contains the history of that persecution which the *Jews* suffered at *Alexandria*, and were like to have suffered in all the dominions of *Philopator*. Who the author of it was, is not there said; but he is supposed to have been an *Alexandrian Jew*, who has embellished his history, after the manner of his nation, with some enlargements, and couched them in a romantic style, not very likely to raise the credit of it, though the

(44) *Enseb. Chron. Vid. Usser. in anno 3789.*

main

Ptolemy Philopator died sometime after, and left the kingdom to his son, surnamed *Epiphanes*; who, being then but between four and five years old; gave a handle to his two competitors; *Antiochus the Great* and *Philip of Macedon*, to join their forces to divest the young monarch of his whole kingdom (R); the former was to invade the provinces *Palestine*

Ptolemy Epiphanes.
Year of the Flood
2795.
Before Christ,
204.

main purport of the story be nevertheless acknowledged to be true; for the *Jews* have undergone many such persecutions, and have been sometimes as wonderfully delivered.

The time in which this book was written, is thought to be after the other two of the *Maccabees* and that of the son of *Sirac*, called *Ecclesiasticus* (45). What is related in the beginning, concerning *Theodotus* and *Arifnoe*, seems taken out of *Polybius*, and therefore is supposed to have been written after this last (46); and yet both authors might have it from more antient records, so that no sure inference can be made about it.

It was written originally in *Greek*, and is quoted by some antient fathers (47) as canonical; but disputed by others, and was once received in the same apostolic canon with the other two; but the *vulgate version* has never admitted it, though the greatest part of the *septuagint* copies now extant have it, particularly our *Alexandrian* one; but this last not being in use in the western church at the time of the reformation, but the *Latin* only, that is the reason, why our *English* bibles have it not, though it may much better deserve a place in it, than some other apocryphal pieces that are in it.

There is still another book of the same name; commonly known by the name of the fourth book of *Maccabees*. We have often quoted it in the sequel of this chapter, though the author sometimes clashes with *Josephus* and other historians. Archbishop *Usher* quotes likewise sometimes an *Arabic* version of it, which has been printed in Mr. *Le Jay's* polyglot; the book itself is very much unknown to the *Latin* fathers, and the *Greek* ones, by whom it is mentioned; differed much about its author. The reader may see all that is worth knowing concerning it in *Calmet's* preface to it, and we shall here own once for all, that it is to him we owe all the following quotations out of that book.

(R) The second year of this young monarch's reign being, according to the *Jewish* chronology, the three thousand five hundred and sixtieth year of the world, those authors tell us, that *Josias* the son of *Berachiah* was choien *Nassi* or president, and *Nathan* the *Abelite*, *Ab beth din* or vice president, of the sanhedrin and of the university school at *Jerusalem*. They add, that when *Alexander*, the

(45) *Grot. Colim. & al.*

(46) *Prid. connect. sub an. 216.*

(47) *Euseb. Chronic. Theodoret. in Dan. xi. 7. Athanas. synops. Nephor. & al.*

leſtine and *Phœnicia*, and the latter *Egypt*, and each was to keep all he conquered. On this occaſion the *Jews* wonted loyalty failed them, ſo that they took part with *Antiochus*, who made a quick progreſs in that province, but was again as quickly deprived of it by *Scopas* the *Egyptian* general, who reduced the *Jews* to their former obedience. This advantage, however, proved but ſhort-lived, and the *Syrian* king ſoon recovered it all from him; and in this ſecond expedition the *Jews* did do him ſuch ſignal ſervices, that he reſolved to ſpare no favour to fix them to his intereſt; for when *Scopas* had only the citadel of *Jeruſalem* left, into which he had thrown a ſtrong garriſon, they received the *Syrian* troops and elephants into that city, and aſſiſted them with all their power, to drive the *Egyptians* out of it, which was ſoon accompliſhed by their united ſtrength (S).

Antiochus

Asmonean king of *Judæa*, put the *Jewiſh* doctors to death, for having dared to rebuke him for taking upon him the high-prieſthood, as well as the regal dignity, *Joſhua* fled into *Egypt*, and that *Jeſus* of *Nazareth* followed him thither, and became his diſciple (48).

One may ſee by this what wretched chronologers the *Jews* are, ſince that *Jewiſh* year of the world was many years before that *Asmonean* king, and above two hundred years before the birth of Chriſt (49).

(S) Our author doth not tell us the reaſon of this defection; but it is likely, that *Epiphanes*'s minority had encouraged his governors in thoſe provinces, to load them with heavy taxes, and ſuch like oppreſſions, eſpecially *Scopas*, who was of ſuch a rapacious temper, that he ſtuck at no rapine or cruelty to enrich himſelf.

On the other hand, *Antiochus* had ſhewed himſelf a great friend to the *Jews*, that were in the provinces of *Babylon* and *Meſopotamia*, and had granted them ſuch great privileges, as might eaſily induce thoſe of *Judæa* to prefer his government to that of the *Egyptians*, by which they were now ſo much oppreſſed. *Joſephus* tells us further, that the *Babylonish Jews* had ſhewed ſuch an attachment to that prince, and done him ſuch ſignal ſervices, that he confiſted the guard of his ſtrongeſt and moſt conſiderable garriſons to them, and ſent them into ſeveral provinces to quell his other ſeditious ſubjects. All which, being ſo many arguments of the great truſt he put in them, could not but be highly pleaſing to thoſe of *Paleſtine*.

(48) *Abr. Zaccut. in Juchasin. David Gantz, in Zemakh. Dav. Shalſbel Haccabal.* (49) *Vid. Prid. ubi ſupra, an. 202. Scallig. de emen. temp. Uſſer. & al.*

Antiochus therefore, willing to gratify the *Jewish* nation for their so freely engaging in his interest against the *Egyptians*, sent a letter to *Ptolemy*, his then general, which has been preserved at length by *Josephus*¹, and in which, having related the great services which that people had done him, he acquaints him, that he designed to restore their metropolis to its antient splendor, liberty, and privileges, and to recal all those *Jews* who had been driven out of it: that, out of his singular respect to the temple of their God, he granted unto them twenty thousand pieces of silver, towards the charges of victims, frankincense, wine, and oil; one thousand four hundred measures of fine wheat, and three hundred seventy five measures of salt, towards their usual oblations: that the temple should be thoroughly repaired at his own cost: that they should enjoy the free exercise of their religion, restore the public service of the temple, and the priests, levites, singers, &c. to their usual functions: that no stranger, or *Jew* that was unpurified, should enter within the sept (T) of that sacred place: and that no flesh of unclean beasts should be brought into *Jerusalem*, not even their skins; all these under the penalty of paying three thousand pieces of silver into the treasury of the temple. He further granted an exemption from all taxes for three years to all the dispersed *Jews* that should come within a limited time to repeople that metropolis: and that all that had been sold for slaves, within his dominion, should be immediately set free. By all these extraordinary favours, *Antiochus* did so fasten the *Jews* to his interest, that not only *Judæa*, but all the other neighbouring provinces readily submitted to him, and that monarch, having in the space of one campaign, subdued and quieted them, returned to his capital, and passed the winter there.

¹ *Idem* *ibid.* & *seq.*

But, whatever was the cause of this change, the same author tells us, that *Antiochus* no sooner came with his army, than they cheerfully surrendered themselves to him; and that, on his appearing before *Jerusalem*, the priests and elders went out in a solemn manner to meet him, and make their submission to him; they then received him into their city, and entertained both him and his army, his horses and elephants, and furnished him with arms and other necessaries for the war (50)

(T) This inclosure, which the *Hebrews* called *Chel*, was that which separated the circumcised from the uncircumcised, within which therefore it was unlawful for the latter to enter (51).

(50) *Joseph. ex Polyb. antiq. l. xii. c. 3.*
Lightfoot's prospect of the temple, c. 17.

(51) *Vid. int. al.*

Onias III. ABOUT three years after this died the high-priest *Simon II.*
 Year of and was succeeded by his son *Onias III.* a person of great
 the Flood, piety, clemency^m, and worthy to have lived in better times
 2504. than those of his pontificate proved, and of a better end
 Before than he met with, as the sequel will shew. This is the pon-
 Christ, tiff, to whom our learned *Usher* supposes *Aræus* king of *La-*
 195. *cedæmon* sent a letter, of which an account has been given in
 a former volume^{*}; but we have there shewn the impossi-
 bility of his being the person, and that it could be no other
 than *Onias* the first of that name. In the eighth year of *O-*
onias III. the *Jews* lost their great friend and protector *Antio-*
chus, who was murdered by the people of *Elymais*, as has
 been related in a former volume[†]. They found as kind a
 one in his son *Seleucus* for some time. The *Jews* were then
 in such high esteem, that sovereign princes courted their
 friendship, and made magnificent presents to the temple; and
Seleucus furnished out of his own treasury all the expences of
 it. *Judæa* enjoyed a profound peace, and their laws were
 observed with great strictness under their worthy high-priestⁿ,
 until a misunderstanding, which happened between him and
Simon a Benjamite, brought a series of evils on the *Jewish*
 state.

Seleucus
sacerdos
Antiochus

Onias had then enjoyed the sacerdotal dignity about sixteen years; and *Simon* had been made governor of the temple^o. Perhaps that place was devolved to him from *Joseph*, the generous son of *Tobias* lately mentioned, whose son he is supposed to have been; when an uproar happening in the city, caused this fatal breach betwixt those two great persons in the eleventh year of *Seleucus*. The author doth not tell us upon what account this tumult was raised. We shall give the best conjecture we can about it in the margin (V), it being

^m Antiq. l. xii c. 4, & 5. EUSEB. Chron. & Chron. Alexand.
^{*} Vol. VI. p. 403, & not. † Vol. VIII. p. 540.
ⁿ 2 MACCAB. iii. 1, & seq. ^o Ibid. ver. 4, & seq.

(V) We have lately taken notice of *Joseph's* progeny, and, among others, of his worthy son *Hyrcau*. The father being, before this time, grown so old, that he could not go down to congratulate the *Egyptian* king in person on the birth of his son, offered that office to all his other seven sons; none of whom being willing to accept it, *Hyrcau* undertook the journey, having first obtained a letter of credit from his father on his *Alexandrian* agent, for what sums he should want to defray the charges of his commission.

ing a sequel of the history of *Joseph* and his son *Hyrcau*, and in no case foreign to that of the *Jews* we are upon. This contest, whatever it was, grew to such a height, that *Si-*

It being then the usual custom to make those monarchs some considerable presents upon such occasions, *Hyrcau* having drawn one thousand talents from his father's banker, bought one hundred beautiful youths for the king, and the same number of the fairest damsels for the queen, which were presented to them, with the addition of a talent which each of them brought in their hands; so that this single article amounted to four hundred talents. The rest he either bestowed in presents to the great ones of the court, or spent it in making a suitable figure during his abode there; so that the whole expence of this expedition amounted to two hundred thousand pounds sterling; whereas his father supposed that the one hundredth part of that sum would have defrayed the whole expence.

If *Hyrcau* therefore, by this uncommon munificence, secured to himself the favour of the *Egyptian* court, it did no less expose him to the anger and resentment of his old father and brethren; inasmuch that the latter way-laid him in his return, with a design to murder him; but *Hyrcau*, who had obtained the reversion of his father's farms, had provided himself with such a strong escort, that two of his brethren were killed on the spot, and the rest put to flight.

This increased still their enmity, especially when, after his father's death, he went to levy the yearly tribute in his stead; and this raised him so many enemies, that he was forced to retire over *Jordan*, where he built himself a strong and stately palace, which he called *Tyre*, whence he continued to make inroads and depredations on the neighbouring *Arabs* (52).

During this time it is probable he had regained the high-priest's favour, by sending into the treasury of the temple two hundred talents of gold, and four hundred talents of silver (53), which *Simon*, the supposed eldest son of *Joseph*, seems to have challenged as his own, during *Hyrcau*'s abode on the other side of *Jordan*; but the strenuous *Onias* refusing to deliver it up, because consecrated to the maintenance of widows and orphans (as he himself confessed to *Apollonius*) this refusal might, in all probability, so exasperate the angry *Benjamite*, that he chose to have the whole treasure of that sacred place betrayed to that governor, rather than *Hyrcau* or *Onias* should reap the benefit of what the former had intrusted with the latter.

As for *Hyrcau*, he found himself soon after in such danger of being called to a severe account for his depredations by *Antiochus Epiphanes*, who had succeeded *Seleucus Philopator*, that, to avoid the worst, he ran himself upon his own sword (54).

(52) *Joseph. antiq. l. iv.*

(53) *Vide 2 Maccab. iii. 11.*

(54) *Joseph. ubi supra, c. 5.*

Simon's
treachery.

mon, finding he could not get the better of the strenuous pontiff, went away to *Apollonius* the son of *Thraseas*, who was then governor of *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine*, the only two provinces the *Romans* had left untaken from *Seleucus*^P, and acquainted him, that there were immense treasures laid up in the temple of *Jerusalem*, which might, at his pleasure, be seized upon for the king's use. The governor sent to inform *Seleucus* (W) of it, who dispatched immediately *Heliodorus* to fetch it away to *Antioch*.

^P LIV. lib. xxxv, & seq. APPIAN. in Syriac. & al. 2 MACCAB. iii. per tot.

(W) It is plain from this whole story, which is taken from the second book of the *Maccabees* (55), and confirmed by *Josephus* (56), that *Seleucus* had enjoyed *Palestine*, *Cæle-Syria*, and *Phœnicia*, some time before his death; and how his father got these provinces from the king of *Egypt*, we have already seen; but how they reverted to that monarch, after they had been restored to *Ptolemy* upon his marriage with *Cleopatra*, we can no-where find.

It is true, *Polybius* seems to intimate, that this restitution was never made to *Ptolemy* (57); but that both *Antiochus* and his son still kept those provinces in their hands after the marriage; and elsewhere he introduces *Antiochus Epiphanes* denying that his grandfather had ever promised to surrender them to *Ptolemy* the king of *Egypt* (58). Hence some have concluded, that they had never returned to the latter, but had been constantly kept by the three former.

But all this seems clearly contradicted by what *Josephus* affirms of *Hyrcaus*'s being sent to *Egypt*, to congratulate *Ptolemy* on the birth of a son by his queen *Cleopatra*. Shall we then say, that *Joseph* sent this compliment to him, not as to his king, but as to his *quondam* benefactor? But our *Jewish* historian adds, that all the nobility of *Cæle-Syria* flocked thither on the same errand; which plainly intimates, that he was in possession of those provinces.

We must therefore suppose, either that these compliments were paid to *Ptolemy* by the *Jews* and *Cæle-Syrians*, as to the son-in-law of *Antiochus*, to whom those provinces were shortly to devolve in virtue of the marriage; or else, that if they had been really surrendered to him, *Seleucus* took afterwards the advantage of his son *Philopator*'s minority to divest him of them; since it is plain by the history of *Simon*'s applying to *Apollonius*, of *Seleucus* sending *Heliodorus*, and of *Onias* applying himself, not to *Ptolemy*, but to *Seleucus*, for redress, that this last had possessed them some time before his death.

(55) Cap. iii. & iv.
Legat. 72.

(56) Lib. de Maccab. c. iv.
(58) Idem, 30.

(57)

Heliodorus.

Heliodorus, the better to conceal the purport of his commission, pretended that he was ordered to go and view all the cities of *Cæle-Syria* and *Phœnicia*, and only to take *Jerusalem* in his way; but when he came thither, where he was received by the *Jews* with singular honours, he acquainted *Onias* with the orders he had received from the king, and made a more particular enquiry after those treasures. The high-priest told him, that there was indeed such a treasure in the temple, though nothing so large as he had been informed; that besides those things that had been consecrated to God, the rest had been deposited there by, or for the widows and orphans for their security, whose property therefore they were; that a considerable sum had been likewise laid up there by *Hyrca*n the son of *Joseph*, a man of great dignity; and that he, being the guardian of this wealth, could never give his consent that it should be alienated from the right owners, to the disgrace of his dignity and of that sacred place, which was revered by all the world: but all this not being sufficient to outweigh the positive orders which *Heliodorus* had received from the king, he marched directly towards the temple. The high-priest and the rest of the ministers of the place did in vain endeavour to obstruct his passage. Whilst the whole city was in the utmost confusion, the gates of the place were ordered to be broken down, and the *Syrians* were just going to enter, when God smote them with such a panic dread, that they fell down half dead. *Heliodorus* among the rest, who saw a vision of a man on horseback sumptuously dressed, who flew upon him with the utmost speed and fury, and crushed him under his horse's feet, was forthwith carried out almost dead by his men, and continued some days in that condition. At length *Onias*, fearing lest this wonderful accident should bring the *Jews* under the suspicion of having made some unlawful attempt against the *Syrian* minister, went to the temple, and offered some sacrifices for his recovery; which being obtained, he immediately left *Jerusalem*, and went to acquaint the king of what had happened to him. *Seleucus*, however, whether he suspected the truth of his relation, or was resolved at any price to get the *Jewish* treasure, asked him further, whether he knew any man that was fit to be sent upon that expedition? *Heliodorus* answered, that if the king had any enemy that he would be glad to get rid of, he need but send him to rifle that sacred place, and he would see him come back in such a condition, as would convince him, that

Heliodorus endeavours to force the temple. Is punished by God.

it was under the protection of some divine and irresistible power^q.

WHEN *Simon* found that he had missed his aim, he endeavoured to throw all the blame upon the good high-priest, pretending that he was the person who had called *Heliodorus* to *Jerusalem*; and drew such a party against him, that several persons were killed on both sides. At length *Onias*, fearing the consequences of such an intestine faction, especially seeing his rival in high favour with *Apollonius* the then governor, went to complain to the king at *Antioch*. He was well received, and *Simon* was thereupon banished^r; but *Seleucus*, dying soon after, was succeeded by his son *Antiochus*, surnamed *Epiphanes*, whose brutish character we have seen in a former volume*, and who soon made his subjects repent of the joy they had expressed at his first coming to the crown. The *Jews*, of all others, were not long before they felt the dreadful effects of his fury, more through the ambition of some, and the factions and feuds which reigned then in that unhappy state, than the cruel temper of this new monarch.

*Jason sup-
plants his
brother
Onias.*

HE was scarce settled on his throne before *Jason* (X), the brother of *Onias* the then high-priest, taking advantage of the king's penury, his treasury having been quite exhausted by the large tribute his predecessors had paid to the *Romans*; went to *Antioch*, and procured from him the high-priesthood at the price of three hundred and fifty talents, and obtained an order that his brother should be sent to, and confined to dwell at, that metropolis. Without this last, there would indeed have been little likelihood of his enjoying his ill-gotten dignity with any satisfaction, since the very presence of the deposed pontiff, so highly admired for his singular piety, must of course have revived the resentment and hatred of the people against him, and have proved a constant check to his authority^s. *Jason* finding how welcome this money was to the young monarch, and being desirous to lessen, as much as possible,

^q Ibid ver. 37, & seq. ^r ESRAS. in Chronic. * Vol. VIII. p. 554, & seq. ^s 2 MACCAB. iv. 7, & seq.

(X) This wretch was called *Jesus*; but as he was going to purchase the favour [of the king and court, at the expence of every thing that ought to have been valuable to an honest *Jew*, he began with changing his name into that of *Jason*, which he thought more conformable and pleasing to the *Greeks*, whose customs he was then going to introduce into his nation.

the

the antipathy which other nations had against that of the *Jews*, offered him another sum of one hundred and fifty talents, for the liberty of erecting at *Jerusalem* a gymnasium or place of public exercises, such as were practised in *Greece*; an academy for training up the youth after the *Grecian* manner; and for the liberty of making such *Jews* as he thought fit, free of the city of *Antioch*; all which was readily granted to him. He then set out for *Jerusalem*, and with these powers formed so strong a party in *Judæa*, as he thought would easily overbear that of his rival *Onias*, which was still very strong, especially in *Jerusalem*. Among those that joined themselves to this intruder, were the malecontent sons of *Joseph* lately mentioned, and a number of others, who, through a wanton inconstancy, were become excessively fond of the *Grecian* customs, and as weary of their own¹. The freedom of the city of *Antioch*, a very valuable privilege, was another bait, which drew still greater numbers over to him. From this time a general apostacy from the *Jewish* religion overspread the greatest part of the nation; the academies were erected by the usurping high-priest both for their youth and for men grown; and as some of these exercises were to be performed naked, these vile apostates found means to efface the scar of circumcision, to prevent their being distinguished from other nations. The priests, as well as the people, from thenceforward neglected the service of the temple, to assist at these new heathenish exercises; and the laws, which the *Jewish* nation had obtained for the free exercise of their religion and rights, became of none effect, through the baseness of one single renegado, who sacrificed his religion and country to his ungovernable ambition.

As he stuck at nothing that could ingratiate himself to *Antiochus*, he sent the next year a number of his partisans, on whom he had bestowed the freedom of *Antioch*, to assist at the olympic games, with a considerable sum to (Y) be spent
in

¹ Vide I MACCAB. i. 12, & seq. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xii. c. 6.

(Y) This sum, the common *Greek* copies say, was only three hundred drachms; but as the learned *Usher* observes (59), this was too inconsiderable a sum upon such an occasion, it amounting to but a little above eleven pounds sterling; and therefore prefers the

(59) *Sub A. M.* 38 30.

Abundantian

in sacrifices to the *Tyrian Hercules*, in whose honour those games were celebrated * ; but these men, whether out of conscience or fear, chose rather to make a present of it to the *Tyrians* towards the repairing of their fleet. *Antiochus*, by this time understanding that the young king of *Egypt*, now of age, designed to attempt the recovery of *Palestine*, *Phœnice*, and *Cœle-Syria*, made a tour into these provinces, and took *Jerusalem* in his way, where *Jason* received him with a magnificence suitable to the value he put upon that monarch's favour and friendship.

He did not, however, enjoy his ill-gotten dignity long, before he was thrust out of it by his own brother *Menelaus* (Z), whom he had sent to *Antiochus* with the usual tribute. *Menelaus*, instead of consulting the king about those matters which his brother had charged him with, took that opportunity to insinuate himself to him by the most flagrant flatteries ; to which having added the sum of three hundred talents more than *Jason* had paid for the high-priesthood, he easily obtained it, and returned with his new commission to *Jerusalem* in the third year of *Jason's* pontificate. He soon got himself a strong party, at the head of which were the sons of *Tobias*, who were then very powerful in *Judæa* ; but *Jason* was not without his powerful friends, who, detesting *Menelaus's*

* See Vol. V. p. 275. 554, & Vol. VI. p. 350, not. & alib.

Arundelian manuscript, which calls it three thousand three hundred, which was a more likely present, considering the person who sent it, who was a man wholly devoted to that monarch's pleasure.

(Z) This apostate's right name was *Onias*, which he changed for that of *Menelaus*, in imitation of his brother, and in complaisance to the *Greeks*. The book of the *Maccabees* (60) makes him the son of *Tobias*, and brother of *Simon* abovementioned ; but if he had been of that family, he could not have entered into the sacerdotal office, without such a manifest violation of the *Mosaic* law, as would have set the whole *Jewish* nation against him ; for tho' they proved but too complying to the *Grecian* customs lately introduced, yet they seem to have had an invincible attachment to the *Aaronic* family.

Josephus therefore is most generally followed, who expressly tells us (61), that he was the brother of the deposed *Onias* and of *Jason* ; and that he did but requite the latter for having supplanted the former, in which case the high priesthood was still retained in the right line.

(60) 2 *Maccab.* iv. 23. (61) *Antiq.* l. xii c. 6.

treachery,

treachery, soon forced him to retire, with the heads of his faction, into *Antioch*. Hither, the better to gain their point against *Jason*, they went, and acquainted *Antiochus*, that they were fully resolved to forsake their old religion, and wholly to conform to that of his country; which so pleased that proud monarch, that he sent them back with a force sufficient to drive *Jason* out of *Judæa* into the land of the *Ammonites*. Being thus rid of his rival and seated in his new dignity, his next care was to perform his promise to the king, and to outdo his brother in his apostacy^u.

BUT whilst he was endeavouring, by all wicked means, to ingratiate himself to *Antiochus* and to his court, he neglected one main article, the paying of the money he had promised to him, tho' *Sostratus*, then governor of the citadel of *Jerusalem* and receiver of the king's customs in *Palestine*, was continually pressing him to it. At length *Antiochus*, suspecting some private intelligence between them, ordered them both to come to *Antioch*, *Menelaus* leaving his brother *Lyfimachus* his vicegerent at *Jerusalem*. At their arrival at *Antioch*, they found that the king had been forced to go and quell a sedition in *Cilicia* †, and had left the government of *Antioch* to *Andronicus*, one of the prime nobles of his court. *Menelaus* having exhausted his coffers, and finding that nothing but the payment of the king's money could recover his favour, sent private instructions to his brother at *Jerusalem*, to convey to him as many of the golden vessels as he could conveniently strip the temple of; which having received soon after, and caused to be sold at *Tyre* and in the neighbouring cities, raised him a sufficient sum, not only to satisfy the king, but also to bribe his courtiers in his favour. All this, however, could not be transacted so secretly, but his brother *Onias*, who had been, ever since his deposition, confined to that capital, had intelligence of his sacrilege. He made such bitter complaints against *Menelaus*, as were like to have raised all the *Antiochian Jews* against him. He was therefore obliged to have recourse to *Andronicus*, whom he had already bribed by his presents; and for a fresh sum of money engaged him to cut off the good old high-priest, who, being by this time apprized of his intrigues, had taken sanctuary at *Daphne*, an asylum near the city of *Antioch*. *Andronicus* went to him, and, under some pretence or other, accompanied with the most solemn vows

*Menelaus
summoned
to Anti-
och.*

^u *MACC II* ubi supra, & *JOSEPH* ubi supra.
VIII. p. 558.

† See Vol.

Onias
murdered.

and protestations for his safety, had no sooner got him out of the place, than he put him to death^w, without regard to his oaths, the sacredness of the place, or the laws of hospitality (A).

Androni-
cus put to
death.

THIS treacherous murder of a person so venerable for his age and exemplary piety, and so respected in that metropolis, both by *Jews* and *Gentiles*, drew the bitterest complaints against the sacrilegious assassin, as soon as the king was returned to *Antioch*; and that prince, bad as he was, could not forbear shedding of tears at the news of it. As soon therefore as he had taken full cognizance of the fact, he caused the murderer to be stripped of his purple, and to be conducted with infamy to the place where it had been committed, and there to be put to death. As for *Menelaus*, though the most guilty of the two, he found means to avoid the present storm, and to maintain his credit some time longer; but this obliged him to draw such large sums from *Jerusalem*, that *Lyfimachus* was forced to raise them by the most unheard-of violences and sacrileges, which ended in an universal mutiny, in which the *Jews* fell upon him and the three thousand men he had got to defend him, with such desperate fury, that they killed a great number of them, and put the rest to flight. *Lyfimachus*, no longer able to resist, was pursued to the treasury of the temple, and there massacred by the enraged multitude. *Antiochus* coming soon after to *Tyre*, the *Jewish* sanhedrin resolved to send a deputation to him, both to justify the putting to death *Lyfimachus*, and to accuse *Menelaus*, as the author and cause of all the troubles that had happened both in *Judæa* and *Antioch*. The three deputies pleaded their cause so well before the king, that *Menelaus*, not knowing which way to clear himself and avoid the impending punishment, had recourse to his old secret of bribery. He applied

Year of
the Flood,
2829.
Before
Christ,
170.

^w Vol. viii. p. 559. JOSEPH. ubi supra.

(A) This worthy person, whose character is excellently well drawn by the author of the second book of *Maccabees* (12), is supposed to have been murdered in the twenty-fourth year of his pontificate.

There is indeed some difference between *Josephus*, and *Eusebius*, and the *Alexandrian* chronicle, concerning the length of time between his accession to that dignity and his being murdered at *Antioch*; but as the last quoted author assigns expressly twenty four years to it, he has been preferred before the other two. The reader may see the reasons for it in our learned *Prideaux* (13).

(12) 2 *Maccab.* iii. 1, 2, 3.

(13) *Connect. sub an* 170
hinc



himself to a favourite of *Antiochus*, named *Ptolemy Macron*, the son of *Dorymenes*, and promised him so large a sum, that that courtier, who knew the inconstancy of that monarch's temper, easily prevailed upon him, not only to absolve the apostate high-priest, but also to condemn the three *Jewish* deputies to death. This sentence, unjust as it was, was forthwith put in execution, and those venerable men were hurried to death, who, as the author of the *Maccabees* expresses it, would have gained their cause, had they pleaded it before even the *Scythians*; and indeed this piece of cruelty and injustice was so shocking to the *Tyrians*, that though they dared not openly exclaim against it, yet they ventured to shew their respect to those deputies, by bestowing an honourable burial upon them *.

THIS unjust sentence gave the traitor *Menelaus* such a compleat victory over all his opposers, that from thenceforth he gave himself up to all manner of tyranny and wickedness; *Jerusalem* became destitute of protectors; the sanhedrin, if there were any zealous men left among them, were so terrified by this last cruelty on their deputies, that they no longer dared to oppose him, though they saw that every step he took was with design to enslave the nation still more, and to overturn the small remains of their religion and liberties. These were the sad prognostics of those evils which soon after overtook that rebellious nation, and in which God chose to punish them for their apostacy, by means of that very monarch, whose favour they had bought at the expence of their religion and laws; and to convince them that these grievous calamities were the effects of his anger, they were pre-signified to them by the most terrifying apparitions in the air for the space of forty days, during which there were seen multitudes of armed men, both foot and horse, magnificently armed and apparelled, charging and fighting against each other in battle-array, whilst their ears were dinned with the clashing of swords, lances, and shields; all which dreadful omens threw the whole city into the deepest consternation, whilst they all looked upon them as the sure forerunners of some sad calamity, which they in vain endeavoured, when it was too late, to avert by their prayers from that unhappy land †.

THIS fatal change was occasioned by an accident, which seemed at first of no great consequence, but proved in a little time the cause of all their miseries. *Antiochus* was then taken up with the conquest of *Egypt*, when a false rumour was by some means spread, that he had been killed before *Alexan-*

*Signs seen
in the air*

*Jason &c.
at Jerusa-
lem.*

* 2 MACCAB. iv. 44, & seq.
VOL. IX.

4 G

† Ibid. c. v. 2, & seq.

driss.

dria. *Jason*, who had been forced to retire into the land of *Ammon* after his deposition, heard of it, and thought it was a fit opportunity to attempt the recovery of his dignity, and that his nation, tired with the *Syrian* government, and especially with the tyranny of *Menelaus*, would readily receive him again with open arms. To this end he got him a band of about one thousand resolute men, at the head of whom he quickly appeared before the walls of *Jerusalem*, which, by the help of a party which he had within that metropolis, he easily entered, and forced his brother to retire into the citadel; after which, minding nothing but his resentment, he committed the most horrid butcheries against such of the *Jews* as he suspected to have been of the contrary party. He was, however, soon after forced to leave both the city and country, at the news of *Antiochus* coming with a powerful army against him (B); for that prince, highly provoked at this rebellion, and especially at the news, that the *Jewish* nation had made some rejoicings at the report of his death, was actually coming with a great army against *Jerusalem*. The *Jews* apprised of his will towards them, seem to have made a stout resistance, and to have given him no small trouble in forcing his way into their metropolis (C); but the gates being at length forced open to him, perhaps by some of his friends from within, he spared no cruelty

Antiochus
takes it by
storm.

His cruelty

(B) Our historian says, that he retired at first to the *Ammonitish* king, where becoming soon after suspected by that prince, he was forced to withdraw, and to wander from city to city, being detested by all that knew him, as a betrayer of his country, and a monster of mankind (14).

He came at length into *Egypt*, and finding no safety there, he hoped he might at least find it among the *Lacedæmonians*, in virtue of the pretended kindred between their nation and his own; but here he also missed of his aim, at least it seems as if he had not met with any favourable reception, since our author adds, that, at his death, his carcass was left to rot above ground, being denied even the common sepulchre that was allowed to other strangers (15).

(C) So says the book of the *Maccabees* (16), with whom agrees *Diodorus Siculus* (17), and even *Josephus*, in his wars of the *Jews* (18), where he expressly says, that he laid siege to that city, and represents him as enraged at the trouble it gave him; but in his

(14) 2 *Maccab.* v. 5, 6, & seq. (15) *Ibid.* ver. 10. (16) l. 2. c. v. 11. (17) cap. xxxiv. (18) l. i. c. 1.

ty against its unhappy inhabitants, insomuch, that within three days they reckoned no less than forty thousand killed, and as many taken captives, and sold for slaves to the neighbouring nations ².

HIS fury did not stop here ; he caused the traitor *Menelaus*, who, by this time, had by some means recovered his good graces, to lead him to the temple, which he entered, even to its most sacred recesses (D), laying his impious hands on all the vessels that were in it, and caused the golden altar of incense, the golden table of the shew-bread, the golden candlestick, the censers, bowls, and other utensils belonging to that holy place to be seized, together with the golden shields, crowns, and other ornaments which had been dedicated to it. He caused also the gold plating that covered the gates and other architecture of the temple, the veil that divided the holy

*Profanes
and plun-
ders the
temple.*

² Ibid. ver. 11 & 14. See Vol. VIII. p. 563, & seq.

antiquities he tells us, that he entered it without force ; and that those of his party within did open the gates to him (19). The former is indeed the most probable, and *Josephus* might easily forget himself through the distance of time in which he wrote those two books ; and this may in some measure atone for such-like inconsistencies which are to be met with in him.

(D) *D. Siculus*, in the place last quoted out of him, tells, upon some *Heathenish* report, that *Antiochus* being entered into the most sacred part of the temple, where the high-priest alone was to be admitted, he there found the statue of a man carved in stone, with a long beard, holding a book in his hand, and mounted upon an ass ; and supposing it to have been the statue of *Moses*, the *Jewish* law-giver and founder of *Jerusalem*, he took it into his head to destroy the mutual hatred between the *Jews* and the rest of the world, by destroying of their law.

To this end he caused a large sow to be sacrificed on the altar of burnt-offerings to that law-giver, sprinkled the porch and the sacred books with the blood of it, caused the high-priest and others to eat of the flesh, and put out the lamp which burnt night and day in the temple. All which *Josephus* has sufficiently confuted (20), from *Polybius*, *N. Damascen*, and other authors better acquainted with the *Jewish* religion than this *Sicilian*. Only he adds, that *Antiochus*, not contented with rifling the temple of all its riches, caused it to be polluted, by sacrificing some swine upon its altar, and sprinkling the broth of them upon the *Jews* (21 ; but this circumstance, if true, has been omitted by the authors of the two books of the *Maccabees*.

(19) *l. xii. c. 7*
viii. c. 16

(20) *Cont. Apion. l. ii*

(21) *Antiq. l.*
1024

from the most holy place, and, in a word, all that was valuable, either for its metal or workmanship, to be carried off, besides one thousand eight hundred talents of gold and silver, which he forced out of the treasury. Having thus glutted his revenge and avarice, he returned in such a kind of triumph to *Antioch*, as if he had had it now in his power, to use our author's words, to make the land navigable, and the sea passable on foot ^a. As a further mark of his spleen against that unhappy nation, he put it under the government of one *Philip*, a most barbarous *Phrygian*, and *Samaria* under that of *Andronicus*, a person of the same brutish disposition, and left the apostate *Menelaus*, the most hateful of all the three, in possession of the high-priesthood ^b.

WHAT the *Jewish* nation suffered under those governors, or rather butchers, is more easily imagined than described; but their miseries were not to end there. Some time after *Antiochus* having received the mortifying letter from the *Roman* senate we have elsewhere taken notice of †, he chose them above all other people to wreck his resentment against, and with as much cruelty as if they had been the cause of his disgrace. To this end he dispatched from his army, as he was marching through *Judæa*, *Apollonius*, at the head of twenty two thousand men, with orders to plunder all the cities of *Judæa*, to murder all the men, and to save only the women and children for sale. *Apollonius* came accordingly with his army (E), and, to outward appearance, with a peaceable intention, which was not suspected by the *Jews*, because he was superintendant of the tribute in *Palestine*. He kept himself quiet till the next sabbath, when they were all in a profound quiet, when on a sudden he commanded his men to arms, some of whom he sent to cut all in pieces that were gone to the temple and to the other synagogues; whilst the rest, going through the streets of the city, massacred all that

^a MACCAB, *ibid.* ver. 23. ^b *Ibid.* ver. 24. † Vol. VIII. p. 570, & seq.

(E) *Josephus* seems to have confounded this slaughter with that which was made by *Antiochus* two years before, by making him present at this also (22); but it appears from the author of the *Maccabees*, who rightly distinguishes these two persecutions, that the one was executed in the presence of that monarch, and the other by his vicegerent *Apollonius*.

(22) *l.* xii. c. 7.

came in their way, which they did without the least resistance from those unhappy wretches, who suffered themselves to be butchered in that merciless manner, rather than break their sabbath by standing on their defence. He next ordered the city to be plundered, and then set it on fire, pulled down all their stately fabrics, caused the walls to be demolished, and carried away captive about ten thousand of those that had been saved from the slaughter ^c. From that time the service of the temple was quite abandoned, that place having been every-where polluted, both with the blood of the slain, and with many other defilements. From the ruins of the city the officers of *Antiochus* built a large fortress on an eminence in the city of *David* *, fortified it with a strong wall, stately towers, and placed a garison in it to command the temple, over-against which it was built; so that the soldiers could easily see and sally upon all those that ventured to come to that sacred place, so many of whom were continually plundered and murdered by them, that the rest, not daring to stay longer in *Jerusalem*, went and dwelt in the neighbouring cities of the *Gentiles*. In this polluted and forsaken condition did this metropolis and its temple continue three full years and a half; that is, till *Judas Maccabeus*, having wrested both out of their hands, did purify and restore them to their antient splendor and use, as we shall see in due time ^d (F).

THE

^c 1 MACCAB. i 30, & seq. 2 MACCAB. v. 24, & seq. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xii. c. 7. * See the draught at, p. 589, vol. iii. ^d Vide 1 MACCAB. iv. pass. 2 MACCAB. x. JOSEPH. ubi supra, & præfat. in bell. Judaic. & histor. de bell. l. i. c. 1. l. vi c. 11.

(F) In the time of this persecution under *Antiochus*, is generally supposed to have lived *Jesus* the son of *Sirac*, author of the apocryphal book of *Ecclesiasticus*. Some place him indeed in the time of *Onias* II. (23); but by some passages scattered here and there in his work, he seems rather to have lived about the time of *Onias* III. and at a time when his nation suffered some grievous persecution †. He praises the high-priest *Simon* II. as a person long since dead (24). His grandson did afterwards translate this book into *Greek*, under the reign of *Ptolemy Euergetes* (25), about

(23) Vide *Poid Connecr. sub ann. 132.* † Vide *Ecclus* xlv. 17. & seq. & xxxvi. pass. (24) *Ibid* l. l, & seq. l. 1. See his preface at the head of the book, which is the second in the table.

the

Jews per-
secuted e-
very-
where.

THE *Jews of Palestine* were not the only ones who felt the fury of this persecution. *Antiochus*, resolved either totally to abolish their religion, or to destroy their whole race, as far at least as he could reach them, caused a decree to be issued out the following year, that all nations within his dominions should forsake their old religion and gods, and worship those of the king, under the severest penalties. To make

the year 132, that is, about thirty-six years after this time we suppose him to have wrote it.

Who this author was, is neither agreed nor easily guessed. Some make him of the sacerdotal line, as descended from *Josbua* the son of *Josedech* (26). Some *Greek* copies give him for grandfather *Eleasar* the father of *Sirac* of *Jerusalem*; but we find nothing like this pretended priesthood or descent in those places of the book where he speaks more particularly of himself (27). Only it appears, that his great thirst after wisdom (28) made him pray fervently, study hard, travel much, and undergo many great dangers for it (29); that he had been unjustly traduced to the king (30); whence he is supposed to have retired into *Egypt*, and there composed his book. Lastly he tells us, that he was the last writer of the *Jewish* nation who treated of moral subjects (31). This is all that we know of the author.

As to the work, which was antiently called *Παναρετος*, that is, according to the *Greek* energy, *the store or treasure of all virtues*, we shall have occasion to speak of it, when we come to the time of its being translated into *Greek*. Some antients, particularly *St. Austin* (32), thought once the same person the author of the book of *Wisdom*, as well as of this of *Ecclesiasticus*, but he owns his mistake in another place. And as to the latter of these, it is not known who wrote it, only it is generally believed, that it was never wrote originally in *Hebrew*, because there are none of those *Hebraisms* in it, which are every-where found in other versions out of that language; and there are in it many *Greek* ones, which convince one, that it was originally written in that language. This might be sufficient to confute those who pretend it to have been originally written in *Hebrew* and by king *Solomon* (33); but, besides this, we may urge against them the unlikenels of style with his other writings; its never being mentioned by *Jewish* authors; its being rejected out of their canon, and many more too obvious to be mentioned.

(26) Vide Genebr. in Chronic. & al. (27) Vide int. al.
Ecclus. c. l. 27, & seq. li. pass. & alib. (28) Ibid.
xxxiv. 10, & seq. li. pass. (29) xxxiv. 12. li. pass. (30)
Ibid & seq. (31) xxxiii 16 & seq. (32) De doctrin.
Christ. l. ii. (33) Sect. Sen. bibl. l. viii. Salmer. chr a Castro.
& al.

his orders more effectual, he sent overseers into every province to see them strictly put in execution ; and as the *Jews* were the only people who he knew would disobey them, so especial directions were given to have them treated with the utmost severity. Many therefore of them, either to avoid the effects of his rage, or to ingratiate themselves to him, did not only comply with great readiness, but, having once apostatised, became the bitterest enemies of those who had the courage to refuse ; all which did but increase the already too general defection, as it did on the other hand the sufferings of those who stood firm to their religion^e. As for the *Samaritans*, a much less danger would have cooled all their zeal, either for the *Jewish* nation, or the *Mosaic* law. To convince the king therefore, that they did not design to die martyrs to either, they sent a deputation to him, setting forth, that tho' they had hitherto conformed in many of the *Jewish* superstitions, in imitation of their fore-fathers who had been persuaded to it for their own safety, yet they were now ready to forsake them all, and to embrace the king's religion. They added, that they had a temple on mount *Garizim*, which was dedicated to a God without a name (G) ; but begged it might thenceforth be dedicated to the *Grecian Jupiter*, as *Josephus* has it, or rather, as the author of the *Maccabees* calls him ^f, *the hospitaller*, or, *the receiver* or *protector of strangers*, intimating thereby, that they were not originally natives of that country, but strangers settled there in times past. They concluded with a petition, that as they were not of *Jewish*, but *Sidonian*, race, and were ready to conform in every thing to the king's will, they might not be involved in the same calamities with their wicked rivals.

*Samari-
tans policy.*

^e JOSEPH. ubi supra. 2 MACCAB. vi. 1, & seq. ^f 2 MACCAB. vi. 1, 2. Vide & JOSEPH. antiq. l. xii. c. 7.

(G) We have, in a former volume †, acquainted our readers, that the *Jews*, after their return from the *Babylonish* captivity, had left off pronouncing the name *Jehovah*, and substituted that of *Adonai* to it, where-ever it occurred in their reading of the sacred books. As therefore the temple was simply called the house or temple of God, and oftner emphatically the house or temple, without adding any proper name, the *Samaritans* made this a pretence for calling theirs the temple of a nameless deity, as the superstitious *Jews* called that name of God, *Ανεκφώνητον*, *unutterable*, or *unlawful to be uttered*.

† See Vol. II. p. 488, (T).

Antiochus

Antiochus readily granted them their request, and dispatched a letter to *Nicanor* his sub-governor there, with orders, that they should be distinguished from the *Jews*, and that their temple should be dedicated according to their petition; all which was punctually observed.

A cruel persecution in Judæa. WHILST the *Samaritans* peacefully enjoyed the fruits of their treacherous complaisance, *Atheneas*, an old minister, well versed in all the *Heathenish* rites, as well as in cruelty, made those of *Judæa* undergo the most severe punishments for their steadfastness to their religion. He began with dedicating the temple to *Jupiter Olympius*, and causing his statue to be erected on the altar of burnt-offerings (H), with another

(H) This idol was set up in the temple on the fifteenth of the month *Cisleu*, which answers to part of our *November* and *December*; but they did not begin to offer sacrifices to it till the twenty fifth of that month, which was the king's birth-day; so that from thenceforth they continued sacrificing to it every twenty fifth day of the month, till the *Jewish* religion and state were restored by *Judas Maccabeus*.

The profanation of the temple, and the setting up this idol in it, had been long before foretold by the prophet *Daniel* (34, under the name of *abomination of desolation*; but there are in that chapter many other strokes, which do plainly delineate this persecution, and the tyrant that caused it. We shall content ourselves with subjoining some of the plainest of them.

This expedition begins at the 29th verse of that chapter thus: *He shall return at the time appointed, and come towards the south (Egypt); but it shall not be as the former or as the latter. for the ships of Chittim (the Romans) shall come against him; therefore he shall be grieved, and return with indignation, or turn his indignation against the holy covenant (the Jewish religion). Thus shall he do, he shall get intelligence of those that forsake the covenant. Some shall stand on his side, and he shall pollute the sanctuary of strength, and shall take away the daily sacrifice, and they shall place the abomination (or abominable thing) that maketh desolate; and such as do wickedly against the covenant, shall be corrupt by flatteries. But the people that know their God shall behave valiantly, and such as have understanding, and instruct the people, (divert them from apostatising) shall fall by the sword, by flame, by captivity, by spoil. — And the king shall do according to his will, and shall exalt and magnify himself above every god. He shall speak wonderful things against the God of gods, and shall prosper till the indignation be accomplished; for that which is determined shall be done, &c.* The same prophet points him out thereby, as scattering the prey, spoil, and riches among his followers.

another lesser altar before it, whereon they sacrificed to that false deity. All those therefore that refused to come and worship it, were either massacred out of hand, or put to some more lingering torments, till they either complied, or died under the hand of their butchers. At the same time there were altars, groves, and statues set up in every city and town of *Judæa*, to which the inhabitants were compelled to come and sacrifice, under the same severe penalties; insomuch, that the whole land was but a scene, either of the most abominable idolatries and debaucheries, or of the most horrid butcheries; and when the feast of *Bacchus* was come, they were either forced to assist at it, and to go about the streets with their heads crowned with ivy, in honour of that beastly deity, or exposed themselves to some cruel death. All this while it was made immediate death to be caught observing either the sabbath, the rite of circumcision, or any other branch of the *Mosaic* law; insomuch, that two women having been found to have circumcised the children of which they had been lately delivered, were both led, with the infants hung about their necks, through several streets of *Jerusalem*, and cast headlong down from the highest walls of the city, and all that had assisted at the ceremony were put to death⁸.

THESE unheard-of barbarities having obliged many of the *Jews* to leave their habitations, and to go and hide themselves among the cragged rocks in holes and caverns, and to live upon wild roots and herbs, to avoid either death or apostacy, some of them ventured to assemble themselves in a cavern near *Jerusalem*, to celebrate the sabbath. But *Philip*, their barbarous *Phrygian* governor, having been informed of it, came against them with a sufficient force; and after having, in vain, offered them a general amnesty, if they would forsake their religion, and conform to that of the king, he

⁸ MACCAB. & JOSEPH. ubi supra.

and it is well known, that his extravagant largesses had not only emptied his coffers, but gained him the title of *magnanimous* and *munificent*.

The reader may remember, that whilst *Antiochus* was preparing himself for the conquest of *Egypt*, the *Romans* sent their deputies to him, who obliged him to set aside that enterprize; for which he vented his resentment on the innocent *Jews* in the manner we have related, and exactly as it had been foretold in the prophecy before us; so that it is impossible not to know that he was the person designed by providence to be the scourge of his people.

waited without any other hostilities, till the next sabbath ; on which day, entering the cave without resistance, he caused them all, men, women, and children, to be massacred, to the number of 2 thousand ^d. As to the sacred *Jewish* books, *Philip* and his officers had taken care to burn and destroy all that they could lay hands on, whether in the temple, in their synagogues, or even in their private houses ; after which, if any *Jew* was found to conceal any of them, he was dragged to immediate death ⁱ. They had several other ways of trying those who retained still a due regard to the law of *Moses* ; and in order to make as many as they could comply with the king's command, they spared neither flatteries nor caresses to encourage, nor threats and tortures to deter them ; so that, though vast numbers were seduced by these means, yet there were still a sufficient number, especially in and about *Jerusalem*, who continued proof against them, to vex the tyrant for not being universally obeyed.

Eleazar
martyred.

As soon, therefore, as he heard, that there were such numbers who remained still inflexible, he resolved to come in person to *Jerusalem*, and to see either his orders more punctually obeyed, or the recusants punished with the most exquisite cruelties. One of the first that fell a victim to his fury was the venerable *Elcazar*, a man of ninety years of age, respected by all for his great learning, probity, and zeal for his religion, and whose example had preserved a great number of *Jews* from falling into apostacy. Him they brought upon the butchering stage, and endeavoured to force him to eat swine's flesh ; and when they could not prevail upon him by any means to comply, they desired him, that at least he would, out of regard to his extreme old age, consent to eat some other unforbidden flesh, that they might make the king believe that he had obeyed. The good old man answered with a becoming courage, that the most dreadful death was preferable to such a base dissimulation, so unworthy his old age and character, and so dangerous in its consequence, since it might be a means of seducing many of his nation to follow his example. As soon as he had ended this speech, which was interpreted as the effect of his pride rather than of his zeal, he was haled to execution ; and when he was ready to expire under the strokes of his butchers, he gave a great groan, and expired with these words in his mouth, *O Lord, thou knowest what pains I suffer in my body, from which I might have freed myself ; but my soul feels a real joy, because I suffer*

^d 2 MACCAB. vi. 10, & seq.

ⁱ 1 MACCAB. i. 56, & seq.

them

them for the sake of thy law^k. After him the seven brethren, whose martyrdom is related in the same book^l, suffered, one after another, the most exquisite torments with invincible courage and constancy, whilst their heroic mother, divested of all the weakness of her sex, stood by encouraging and strengthening them in the *Hebrew* tongue, with the assurance of a glorious recompence in the next life, for which she was, last of all, sacrificed to the tyrant's fury, and died with the same chearfulness, and intrepidity, which she had inspired into her seven sons (I).

It

^k 2 MACCAB. vi. 18. & seq.^l cap. vii.

(I) *Josephus* has likewise given us the history at large of those heroic martyrs, in a book by itself, which was intitled, *Of the empire of reason*. It is now better known to us by that of the book of the *Maccabees*; but as neither he, nor the author of the second book of that name, do expressly mention the place where this dreadful scene was acted, *Rufinus* has taken it into his head, that it was done at *Antioch* (35), because they shewed their tomb in that city in St. *Jerom's* time, and had there built and dedicated a church to them (36). But as *Josephus* seems to believe that it was done at *Jerusalem* (37), and is followed by many learned men, and *Rufinus* gives no better reason than that of his tradition, we see no reason for following him, as some others have done (38); it being more likely that *Jerusalem* should be the place, where, above all others, the *Jews* shewed the greatest firmness for their religion, and consequently where such severe examples were thought most necessary by that exasperated prince.

Josephus, in the book above quoted, gives us the names of those seven brothers, and of their mother, whom he calls *Solomona*; but the *Jews* call her *Hannab*. He adds, that she flung herself into a large fire which was there kindled, to prevent the executioners laying their profane hands on her. The *Latin* version says, that she was dragged on the ground to execution, where having cut off her breasts, and scourged her naked body, they flung her into a boiling caldron. *Rufinus* is of the same opinion (39).

The *Arabic* version and *Josephus Ben-Gorion*, on the contrary say, that having lived to see her seven sons martyred, and lying dead on the ground before her, she flung herself into the midst of them, and prayed to God to take her out of this world; and that she immediately fell upon them, and expired. An antient poet

(35) *Paraphr. in lib. de imper. ration.*(36) *Vide Hieron. loc.**Hebr. sub. voce Modin, & August. serm. de Maccab. i.* (37)*Antiq. l. xii c. 7, & lib. de imper. ration.* (38) *N. de Lya,**Serrar. Calmet.* (39) *Paraph. in lib. de imper. ration.*

It was about this time that *Mattathias*, an eminent priest of the family of *Joarib* (K), began to signalize himself by his brave zeal for his religion. He had been some time before forced to retire to *Modin* his native place, to shun the sight of those scenes of cruelty and profaneness, which were acted at *Jerusalem* by *Apollonius* and the apostate *Jews*. During his recess there, *Apelles*, one of the king's officers, came to oblige the inhabitants of the place to execute his commands^m. Having got the people together, with *Mattathias* and his five sons (L), he addressed himself to him on account of his dignity and the great esteem he was in, hoping, that if he could persuade him to comply, his example would soon draw all the rest. He made him in vain the amplest promises, that the king's favour and protection, both of him and his sons, would be the immediate reward of his compliance. *Mattathias* answered him, with a voice loud enough to be heard by all the assembly, that tho' the whole *Jewish* nation, and the whole world, were to conform to the king's edict, yet both he and his sons would continue faithful to their God to the last minute of their lives, and that no consideration should prevail on them to forsake the religion of their forefathers. In the mean time some of the king's officers had prevailed on some cowardly *Jews* to take another way; and one of them was just then offering himself to sacrifice to an idol, when the good old priest calling to mind what the law

^m JOSEPH. Ant. l. xii. c. 8. 1 MACCAB. ii. 1. & seq.

makes her die of excess of joy, in these words: *Solverunt gaudia matrem* (40).

(K) We have already spoken of this family, which was the first of the twenty four classes appointed by *David* to officiate at the temple (41); and was one of the four that returned from the captivity. *Mattathias* was the son of *John*, the son of *Simon*, the son of *Asmoneus*, from whom descended the *Asmoneans* (42). From this *Mattathias* descended the *Maccabees*, so famed in history for their zeal and bravery, and of whom we shall speak in the following section.

(L) These were *Johanan*, surnamed *Kaddis*, *Simon*, surnamed *Thassi*, *Judas*, called *Maccabeus*, and the most famous of all the rest, *Eleazar*, surnamed *Avarani*, and *Jonathan*, surnamed *Ap-phus* (43).

(40) *Victorin. African. poem. in Maccab.*

(41) 1 *Chron. xxiv.*

(42) *Joseph. antiq. l. xii. c. 8.*

(43) 1 *Maccab. ii. 2,*

& seq.

of *Moses* ordains against such transgressors, that they should be put to immediate death^a, fell upon the man, and killed him upon the spot. His sons at the same time, being fired with the same zeal, killed the king's officer and his men, overthrew the altar and idol, and running about the city, cried out; that those who were zealous for the law of God should follow them; by which means they saw themselves at the head of a numerous troop, with whom they soon after withdrew into some of the deserts of *Judæa*. These were presently followed by great numbers of others, who, to avoid persecution, flocked to him from other parts of the country^b; so that the deserts of *Judæa* were filled every-where with them.

As soon as *Mattathias* and his men were come into a place of safety, they set themselves on consulting the best means for standing on their defence. Here the remembrance of those of their brethren, who had suffered themselves to be butchered by their enemies on the sabbath, soon made them sensible of their danger, unless they steered a different course; for as long as they continued in that scrupulous notion of non-resistance for fear of breaking the sabbath, they would be still liable to the same stratagems, and by that means, in a little time, be totally extirpated. Having, therefore, maturely weighed the matter, and consulted other learned priests and rulers that were come over to him, it was resolved, that, for the future, it should be lawful, nay obligatory, to take up arms in their own defence, whenever they were attacked, on the sabbath as well as on any other day^c. This decree, having been privately communicated to the *Jews* in and out of *Palestine*, together with their reasons for passing it, was universally received by all; and from that time they made no difficulty to defend their lives and properties, at all times, and upon all occasions. Among those who resorted to; and did not a little strengthen, the little flying army of *Mattathias*, were the *Assideans*, or rather *Hassideans*, a brave and strenuous sect, formed among the *Jews* soon after their return from the captivity. We have already given some account of them in a former volume^d; the rest the curious reader may find in the margin (M). These being known to be the most strict

The Assideans join Mattathias.

^a DEUTER. xiii 6, & seq.
^b Idem ibid.

^c JOSEPH. I MACCAB. ubi supra.
^d Vol. III. p. 432, (N).

(M) We have already seen what their doctrine was concerning *murder*.

strict observers of the *Jewish* laws and traditions ⁹, their example did very much influence the rest in the late decision, and encourage them to set aside their scruples about the sabbath, whenever the safety of their lives came in competition with the observance of it.

Mattathias restores the worship of God.

Mattathias having by this time strengthened his little army with these and other stout and religious men, who daily resorted to him, began to come down with them into the plains, and to try his force not only against their persecutors, but also against his apostate brethren. As many of these as he caught, he put to death; the rest, in much greater numbers, he forced to fly into foreign countries, to secure themselves from his resentment. Having once injected an universal fear on all his enemies, he marched from city to city, overturned the idolatrous altars, opened the *Jewish* synagogues, which had till then, been either shut, or appropriated to other uses; made a diligent search after all the sacred books which had escaped the fury of their enemies, and ordered fresh copies to be written of them; caused the reading and expound-

⁹ 1 MACCAB. ii. 42.

meum and *tuum* *. They differed likewise from the *Zaddikim* their opposite sect, in that these contented themselves with observing all that was written in the *Mosaic* law, without troubling themselves with the traditions, comments, and constitutions of the elders; whereas the *Assideans* insisted upon a strict observance of all.

Scaliger suppose, them, not without some good reasons (44), to have been rather a fraternity than a sect of *Jews*, who had given themselves up more strictly than the rest to the service of the temple, to the keeping up the repairs of that place, and the divine worship in it. To this end, besides the half shekel which every man was to pay towards it, they contributed other voluntary sums, They likewise sacrificed every day, except that of the grand expiation †, a lamb, besides those of the daily sacrifice; and this was called the sin-offering of the *Assideans*. They practised greater hardships and mortifications than the rest, and their common oath was, *by the temple*. To their zeal and love for that sacred place, now polluted and profaned, was owing their coming to *Mattathias*, and that courage which they shewed from thenceforth under him and his brave offspring; for the book of the *Maccabees* expressly says, that they were mighty men of *Israel*, and wholly devoted to the law. Whether the sect of the *Essenians*, or any other, sprang from the *Assideans*, we shall have occasion to speak in another place.

* Vol. III. p. 432. (44) *Elench. Tribæres.* c. 22. † *De hoc.* vide Vol. III p. 201, & seq.

ing of the scriptures, prayers, and other parts of divine worship to be resumed (N), and all the males born since the persecution to be circumcised^r. In all these God blessed him with such success, that he had extended this reformation through a considerable part of *Judæa*, within the short space of one year; and had, in all likelihood, gone through with it, even to *Jerusalem*, where the strongest *Syrian* garison was kept, had he not been prevented with death. But what he left unfinished, was soon after perfected by his worthy sons, especially by *Judas Maccabeus*, of whom we shall speak more fully in the next section.

IN the mean time *Mattathias*, finding himself quite worn out with age and sickness, called his sons together, and spoke to them to this effect. Hitherto pride and oppression have been suffered to prosper over us, for a punishment of our sins; but now be ye valiant and zealous for God's laws, and fear not to expose your lives in defence of God's covenant with your forefathers, if you expect the reward promised to it. Call to your remembrance the obedience of *Abraham*, the faithfulness of *Joseph*, the zeal of *Phineas*, *Caleb's* courage, *David's* constancy, *Elijah's* zeal, and the intrepidity of *Daniel* and his faithful companions. Let their miraculous deliverances inspire you with a sure trust in the Almighty's protection. Be not discouraged by the threats and weak ef-

*His last
speech to
his sons.*

^r I MACCAB. ii. 43, & seq.

(N) We have already taken notice, that the king's prohibition extended only to the five books of *Moses*; which had therefore been taken away from them, and been either burnt and destroyed, or polluted with blood, swine's broth, idolatrous pictures, and other such defilements, which rendered them unfit for future service, and to which therefore he substituted new ones, which he caused to be transcribed from the best copies

But this had not obstructed the lecture of other sacred books, *the Prophets* and *Hagiographa*, amongst those who had persisted in the exercise of their religion, and who then substituted these to the pentateuch; so that when the public worship came to be restored, and the law to be again read and expounded as formerly, they still retained also the reading and explaining of the other books; and this occasioned double lessons, one out of the law, and the other out of the prophets, &c. which continued ever after; and for the understanding of which, new *targums* or paraphrases in the *Chaldee* were compiled by proper persons, as we have elsewhere hinted in this chapter*.

* *Supra*, p. 524, Z.

forts

His death.
Year of
the Flood,
2833.
Before
Christ,
166.

forts of the greatest men, who, though they seem to triumph now, will shortly be cut off, and become the food of worms; but arm yourselves with courage in defence of our laws, liberties, and religion, and you will not fail of success. *Simon*, your eldest brother, has always shewed himself a man of consummate wisdom; let him supply the office of a father and a counsellor, and do nothing without his advice. *Judas* is well known to you all for his valour and conduct; let him be your general, and lead you against your enemies. And may heaven crown his and your valour with glory and success. Having thus said, he expired in a good old age, and was buried at *Modin* with his ancestors, greatly lamented by all the faithful in *Israel* (O). He was, according to his desire, succeeded by his brave son *Judas* in the command of the army; and by him the *Jewish* religion and state were soon after restored to their antient splendor, as we shall see in the next section.

† Ibid. ver. 49, ad fin.

(O) The first book of *Maccabees* doth barely tell us, that he died in the one hundred and forty sixth year, without mentioning whether of his life, or of the æra of the *Seleucidæ*. Some therefore have taken it in the former sense; but the far greater part in the latter; for the one hundred and forty sixth year of the kingdom of the *Greeks* falls exactly with the *Julian* year 166 before Christ, which is the year in which he died (45).

His deciding the point about the necessity of taking arms on the sabbath, has made several learned men, both *Jews* and *Christians*, fancy, that he had been high-priest of the *Jews* (46); but it is plain he did not determine the case by his own authority, but by the advice of such learned men as were with him; neither doth the book of *Maccabees* or *Josephus* say any thing of this imaginary dignity. It appears on the contrary, that *Menelaus* was still alive, and in credit at the court of *Antiochus*, and was succeeded by his brother *Alcimus*, of whom we shall speak in the sequel.

(45) Vide *Usser* & *Prid* sub anno. (46) *Joseph ben-Gorion*
Aben. Ezra, & al. *Sarrar. Fuller. Genebr* & al.

A N
I N D E X
T O T H E
N I N T H V O L U M E.

*The Numbers direct to the Page, and the great Letters
to the Notes.*

A.

- A** *B A, Abus, a mountain in Armenia, 183.*
Ab-beth-din among the Jews, his office, 582.
Abdera, by whom founded, 362. The inhabitants
deemed a dull stupid people, ib.
Abgarus I. founder of the kingdom of Edessa, 480. ——— II.
His conquests, 481. ——— III. His letter to Christ, ib.
IV. His treachery to the Romans, ib. & seq. ——— V. Al-
lies with Rome, 482. ——— VI. &c. ib.
Abias invades Abilene, 486, & seq. Defeated by Izates,
487. Escapes captivity by a voluntary death, ib.
Abfarus, river in Colchis, 454.
Abulpharagus, his works, 58, & note.
Acherusian lake in Chaonia, 385.
Achillas drives out Cleopatra, 142. Besieges Cæsar in Alex-
andria, 147. Not able to force the city, ib. Put to death,
149.
Ara, the fortrefs of, built to command the temple, 605.
Ætiac æra, how computed, 177.
Adiabene, the kings of, 484, & seq. Embrace Christianity,
489. Conquered by Tigranes, 195.
 VOL. IX. *Admetus*

Admetus king of *Epirus*'s kindness to *Themistocles*, 390.

Adrianople in *Thrace*, built by *Adrian*, 364.

Aea, a city in *Colchis*, 454.

Acacides, king of *Epirus* driven out, 394, & seq. Slain by the *Macedonians*, 395.

Æetes, king of *Colchis*, 456. Ill treated for his kind reception of the *Argonauts*, *ib.*

Ægypt, the kings of, 46.

Ænos, metropolis of the *Cicones*, 370.

Agathoclea married to *Philopator*, 90, & seq. Endeavours to usurp the regency, 91. Her sad catastrophe, 92.

Ahasuerus, vid. *Artaxerxes*, 518, & seq.

Albana, a city of *Albania*. 462.

Albania the kingdom of, described, 462, & seq.

Albanians their simple manners, 463. Women remarkable for beauty, *ib.* Government, kings, &c. *ib.* & seq.

Albanus, the river of, 462.

Alcetas I. king of *Epirus*, driven out, flies to *Dionysius*, 391.

—— II. defeated by *Cassander*, 395, 396. Murdered, 396.

Alexander the Great's friendship to the *Jews*, 557. Revenge on the *Samaritans*, 560.

Alexander, king of *Epirus* allies with *Philip*, 391. Wars against the *Brutii*, 392. Deceived by an oracle, *ib.* Defeated and killed, 393, 394. His character, 394.

—— the son of *Pyrrhus* invades *Macedon*, 428. Driven out by *Demetrius*, *ib.*

—— *Balas*, his coin, 43, note.

—— *Zebina* set up against *Demetrius*, 20. Defeats *Demetrius*, 21. His character, 24. Defeated by *Physcon*, 25. His death, *ib.* Coin, 45, note.

—— *Janneus* defeated by *Aretas*, 32. Besieges *Ptolemais*, 117. Defeated by *Lathurus*, 118. Spared by *Gleopatra*, 119.

—— the son of *Physcon*, set up against his elder brother, 114. Kills his mother, 121. Defeated and killed, *ib.*

—— II. the grandson of *Physcon*, murders *Gleopatra*, 127, & seq. Banished for his cruelties, 128. Dies in exile, *ib.* Bequeaths *Egypt* to the *Romans*, 129.

—— king of *Emessa*, taken prisoner, 483.

Alexandria, queen of the *Jews*, sues to *Tigranes*, 197.

Alexandria filled with *Jews*, 559.

Alexandrian Jews highly courted, 572.

Alexandrians, greatly oppressed by *Physcon*, 108. Massacred, 111.

Alexandrian

Alexandrian library described, 57. Destroyed by the *Saracens*, 59.

Alopeconnesus, where situate, 364. Why so called, *ib.*

Amadocus, king of the *Odrysæ*, 372.

Amasia, a city in *Pontus*, described, 234.

Amestris murdered by her sons, 437, & seq.

———— a city built by her, 438.

Amazons some account of them, 235, & seq.

Ambracia a city in *Epirus*, 381.

Amisus, a city in *Pontus*, described, 234. Besieged by *Lucullus*, 280. Taken by him, 286.

Amphialus kills *Arius* king of *Teuthrania*; and settles at *Pergamus*, 389.

Ananias, a *Jewish* time-server, 485.

Anaphas I. and II. kings of *Cappadacia*, 319.

Andronicus corrupted by *Menelaus*, 599. Assassinate his brother, *ib.* His punishment, 600.

Anicetus invades *Pontus*, 313. His success there, *ib.* Delivered up to the *Romans*, *ib.*

Antigonus seizes on *Judea*, 570. A cruel tyrant, 572.

———— *Socho* made president of the sanhedrin, 574. His doctrine, *ib.* Death, 582.

Antioch, burnt by the *Jews*, 4.

Antiochus the Great, his coin, 41, note.

———— *Eupator*, his coin, 41, note.

———— *Theos*, the son of *Balas*, set up by *Tryphon*, 3, & note. Crown'd at *Antioch*, 4, 5. His coin, 43, note. Friendship to the *Jews*, 582. Invades *Galilee*, 586. Defeated by *Philopator*, 587. Conquers *Judæa*, 589, 590. Farther instances of his friendship to the *Jews*, 590, S.

———— *Sidetes*, whence so called, 11, note O. Marries his brother's wife, 11. His letter to *Simon Maccabee*, 12. Treachery to him, 13. Defeats the *Parthians*, 15. His death, 16. And character, 18.

———— *Grypus*, set upon the *Syrian* throne, 24. Puts to death *Zebina*, 25. Defeats his brother *Cyzicenus*, 26. Defeated by him, 27. Divides the kingdom with him, 28. Falls out with him, *ib.* Assassinated by one of his subjects, 29. Coin, 45, note.

———— *Cyzicenus* mounts the throne, 29. Defeated and killed by *Seleucus*, *ib.*

———— *Eusebes* defeats *Seleucus*, 29. Wars with *Philip*, 30. Defeated, *ib.* Driven out by *Tigranes*, 32, 33.

———— *Dionysius* supplants his brother *Philip*, 31. Cut off by the *Arabians*, 32.

- *Asteticus* sent to *Rome*, 33. His adventure at *Syracuse*, *ib.* & seq. Reigns over part of *Syria*, 37. Stript of it by *Pompey*, *ib.* & seq. His death, 38.
- king of *Commagene* defeated, and restored by *Pompey*, 492. Put to death, *ib.*
- II. succeeds his father, 493. — III. assists *Vespasian*, *ib.* — IV. serves under the *Romans*, *ib.*
- *Epiphanes*, his character, 596. Cruelty to the *Jewish* deputies, 601. Against *Jerusalem*, 602, 603. Defiles and strips the temple, 603, & D. His bloody persecution of all the *Jews*, 604. Comes to *Jerusalem*, 610.
- Antipater*, the *Jew*, assists *Cæsar* in *Egypt*, 152. Relieves him when besieged in *Alexandria*, *ib.* & seq. Is wounded, 153.
- Antony Marc*, sent into *Egypt*, 138. His success there, *ib.* & seq. Captivated by *Cleopatra*, 155, & seq. Marries *Octavia*, 158. Bewitched from her by *Cleopatra*, *ibid.* His profuseness to her, 160. Treachery to *Artabazus*, 161. Betrayed by *Artasdes*, 210. Seizes on his kingdom, 211, & seq. Marches against *Octavianus*, 162. Defeated by him, 164, 165. Betrayed by *Cleopatra*, 167, & seq. Kills himself, 170.
- Apellicon's* noble library, 268, note. Carried by *Sylla* to *Rome*, *ib.*
- Apion*, the son of *Physon*, made king of *Cyrene*, 114. Reigns in peace, 121. Bequeaths his kingdom to the *Romans*, *ibid.*
- Apollonius* sent to massacre the *Jews*, 604.
- Appius*, *Claudius's* speech against *Pyrrhus*, 412.
- Aquilius's* inhumanity to the *Pergamenians*, 359. Subdues the kingdom to the *Romans*, *ib.* Defeated by *Mithridates*, 253. His cruel death, 254.
- Aratus*, highly favoured by *Ptolemy*, 71.
- Araxes*, a river in *Armenia*, 179, 182, & 183, C. From whom so called, 188.
- Archelais*, in *Cappadocia*, whence so called, 315.
- Archelaus*, king of *Egypt*, defeated by *Gabinus*, 139. His gallant death, *ib.*
- Archelaus's* successes in *Attica*, 257, & seq. Defeat and treachery, 260, & 261, note.
- made king of *Cappadocia*, 326. His death, 327.
- Archias*, governor of *Cyprus's* treachery to *Ptolemy* punished, 104.
- Archisynagogoi*, their office, 550, note.
- Aretas* chosen king of *Damascus*, 32. Defeats the *Jews*, *ibid.*

Argaus

- Argaus* mount, described, 316.
Argonauts, their expedition into *Colchis*, 456.
Argos, doubly beset, 421, & seq.
Ariaramnes, I. & II. kings of *Cappadocia*, 319, 320.
Ariarathes I. king of *Cappadocia*, 319.
 ——— II. Crucified by *Perdiccas*, 320.
 ——— III. Recovers his father's kingdom, 320.
 ——— IV. Defeats *Arfaces*, 320.
 ——— V. allies with the *Romans*, 320, 321.
 ——— VI. His character, 321. Dethroned by *Demetrius* & *Orophernes*, 322.
 ——— VII. Poisoned by *Mithridates*, 323.
 ——— VIII. stabbed by the same hand, 324.
 ——— IX. Dethroned by the same, *ib.*
Ariobarzanes, king of *Armenia*, 214.
Ariobarzanes I. made king of *Cappadocia*, 325. Wars with *Mithridates*, *ib.*
 ——— II. Friend to the *Romans*, 326. Put to death by *Cassius*, *ib.*
 ——— III. Killed by *Marc Antony*, 326.
Aristarchus made king of *Colchis* by *Pompey*, 457.
Aristeas's story of the septuagint version considered, 575, & 576, & seq. note O.
Aristobulus, a learned *Jewish* philosopher, preceptor to *Ptolemy*, 106.
Aristomenes sent guardian of *Egypt*, 95. Put to death for his fidelity, *ib.* & seq.
Aristonicus seizes on *Pergamus*, 354, 355. Defeats *Crassus*, 356. Defeated by *Perperna*, 358. Sent prisoner to *Rome*, 359, & seq.
Aristotle's books carried off by *Sylla*, 268, note.
Armenia the *Lesser*, described, 230. Its kings, *ib.* & seq. Kingdom of, described, 178, & seq. Its rivers, mountains, and soil, 183, & seq. Origin and government, 187, & seq.. Kings, *ib.* & seq. Laws, religion, learning, and arts, 189, & seq. Given to *Cleopatra's* son, 212. Recovered, *ib.* Becomes tributary to *Rome*, *ib.* & seq. Its various fates since, 228, & seq.
Armosuta, a city of *Armenia*, where situate, 180.
Arjaces seizes the *Armenian* crown, 215. Murdered, *ib.*
Arfinoe, queen of *Egypt*, murdered, 90.
 ——— daughter of *Auletes*, set up by *Ganymedes*, 149. Taken prisoner by *Cæsar*, 154. Led in triumph, *ib.* Put to death by *Antony*, at the instigation of *Cleopatra*, *ibid.*

- a city in *Cyrene*; described, 122. .
Artabanes, led in triumph by *Marc Antony*, 161.
Artabanus's bold letter to *Tiberius*; 215.
Artabazes, first king of *Pontus*, 240.
 ——— king of *Media*; wars with the *Parthians*, 476.
Artagera, taken and razed by the *Romans*, 214.
Artanes killed by *Tigranes*, 195, 231.
Artanissa a city in *Iberia*, 458.
Artaxata, metropolis of *Armenia*, 179. Taken by *Pharasma-
 menes*, 215. Razed by *Corbulo*, 223. Rebuilt by *Tiri-
 dates*, 228.
Artaxerxes; one of the magi; obstructs the rebuilding of
 the temple, 513. His various names, *ib.* note, O.
 ——— the son of *Xerxes*, the *Ahasuerus* of scripture, 517.
 Marries *Esther*, 518. His decree in favour of the *Jews*;
 518, note T; & 519.
Artaxias I. king of *Armenia*, defeated by *Antiochus*, 193.
 Taken prisoner, *ib.*
 ——— II. Driven out of *Armenia*, 212. Recovers it, *ib.*
 Strangled *ib.*
 ——— III. Crowned by *Germanicus*, 215.
Artoces king of *Iberia*, wars with *Pompey*; 460. Acts very
 deceitfully, *ib.* Makes an honourable peace, *ib.*
Artuafdes I. succeeds *Tigranes* in *Armenia*, 210. His treachery
 to *Marc Antony*, *ib.* Caught and put to death by him,
 211; 212.
 ——— II. Invaded by *Phraartes*, 213. Restored by *Caius*,
ib. His death, *ib.*
Asander gets the kingdom of *Bosporus*, 474. Starves him-
 self, *ib.*
Ascalonites severely punished by *Joseph*, 585.
Asculum, the battle of, 414, & 415, note.
Asps of *Egypt*, how they kill, 175.
Assideans, see *Hassideans*, 63, & note.
Astacus in *Bithynia*, different from *Nicomedia*, 432.
Atamnas, king of *Cappadocia*, 319.
Atheneas sent to persecute the *Jews*, 608. Dedicates the
 temple to *Jupiter Olympius*, *ib.*
Athenians betrayed to *Mithridates*, 258.
Athenion sent into *Judæa*, 79, & 583. His friendship to *Jo-
 seph*, 80, & seq. & 584.
Athens besieged and taken by *Sylla*, 259.
Atropatene by whom so called, 476. The kings of it, *ib.* &
 seq. By whom conquered, 477.
Atropatus makes himself sovereign of *Atropatene*, 476.

Attalus,

Attalus, king of *Pergamus*, defeats the *Gauls*, 329. His conquests, 330, & seq. Friendship to the *Romans*, *ib.* Love of learning, 331. Death, *ib.*

—— II. brother to *Eumenes*, sent to *Rome*, 332. His cowardice at *Pergamus*, 333. Generosity at *Rome*, 344. Succeeds his brother, 346. Invaded by *Prusias*, *ib.* Assisted by the *Romans*, 347. Assists *Nicomedes* against his father, 350. His death and excellent character, 352.

—— III. his cruelties and wild extravagancies, 352, & seq. Death, 353. Why surnamed *Philometor*, *ib.* Bequeaths his kingdom to the *Romans*, 354.

Autolycus, the famed statue of, 288, note O.

Autonomi, subdued by *Alexander*, 376.

Azizus, last king of *Emessa*, turns *Jew*, 483.

B.

B *Aanah*, one of the heads of the returning *Jews*, 503.

Babylonish captivity, the time of computed, 499, & 500, A & B.

Bactra, metropolis of *Bactria*, 477.

Bactria, the kingdom of described, *ib.* Invaded by the *Scythians* 480.

Bactrians, their character and brutish customs, 478.

Bagoses imposes a fine on the *Jews*, 555. The sum discussed, *ib.* A.

Baithus, an *Epicurean Jew*, 582.

Baris worshipped by the *Armenians*, 189.

Barzanes, by whom conquered, 187.

Bas, king of *Bithynia*, 444.

Bascana, where situate, 8; N.

Basil, saint, his episcopal see, 315.

Batelnim among the *Jews*, what, 551, Note.

Beans, a wonderful kind, spring out of a lake, 428.

Bebrices, their origin, 442, & seq.

Bellona, the temple of at *Comana*, 315, 317.

Berenice, daughter of *Auletes*, set upon the throne, 132.

Murders her husband *Seleucus*, *ib.* Marries *Archelaus*, *ib.*

Put to death, 140.

Berenice's-Coma made a constellation, 78.

Bessi, a people of *Thrace*, described, 368, 369. Conquered by the *Romans*, 369.

Bethsan described, 6, (M).

Bibulus's sons murdered in *Egypt*, 142.

Births, how celebrated by the *Thracians*, 365.

Bistones in *Thrace* subdued by the *Romans*, 369.

Bithynia,

Bithynia, the kingdom of, described, 431, & seq. Its origin and government, 442, & seq. Invaded by *Mithridates*, 251. Reduced into a *Roman* province, 451.

Bithynian embassy, whence a proverb, 351.

Bithynians, their origin, 442. Kings, &c. 444. Defeated by *Mithridates*, 253. Set up *Nicomedes* against *Prusias*, 350.

Blossius the philosopher, his character and death, 358, note G.

Bæotians forced to build *Heraçlea*, 434.

Bosporans, revolt from *Mithridates*, 473.

Bosporus, the kingdom of, described, 467, & seq. Its government, kings, &c. 470, & seq. Given to *Pharnaces*, 473.

Boteras, king of *Bithynia*, 444.

Botticeï, antient *Thracians*, 441.

Bruchium, the library of, burnt, 58.

Brygi, a people of *Thrace*, 371.

Brytius defeats *Metrophanes*, 258.

Byfas, the supposed founder of *Byzantium*, 363.

Byzantium, by whom founded, 363.

C.

Abira, a city in *Pontus*, 234. Surrendered to the *Romans*, 284.

Cabistra, a city in *Cappadocia*, 315.

Cæsar Julius, studies oratory at *Rhodes*, 271. Compounds with *Auletes* for a large sum, 130. Lands in *Egypt*, 144. Arbitrates between *Ptolemy* and his sister, 145. Besieged in *Alexandria*, 147. Burns *Ptolemy's* ships, 148. Defeats *Ganymedes*, 150. Forced to swim for his life, ib. His victory at *Canopus*, 152. On the *Nile*, 153. Settles the crown on *Cleopatra*, ib. Defeats *Pharnaces*, 310.

Cæsarion, son of *Cæsar* by *Cleopatra*, made king of *Egypt* by *Marc Antony*, 161. Put to death by *Octavianus*, 176.

Cassa, metropolis of little *Tartary*, 469.

Caius, sent to oppose the *Parthians*, 213. Wounded at *Artagera*, 214. His death, ib.

Calcedon, a city in *Bithynia*, 432. Why called the city of the blind, ib.

Callimachus favoured by *Philadelphus*, 78. His hymns extant, ib.

—— a famous engineer, 206. & 286. Put to death, 287.

Callipolis, the streights of, in *Thrace*, 365.

Cambyfes

- Cambyfes* privately obstructs the building of the temple, 512.
Cappadocia, the kingdom of, described, 314, & seq. Product, 315. Origin, government, &c. 316. Kings, 319, & seq. Subdued by *Tigranes*, 194. Invaded by *Mithridates*, 248. Made a *Roman* province, 327.
Cardia in *Chersonesus*, where situate, 364.
Cariata destroyed by *Alexander*, 478.
Cars, a city in *Armenia*, described, 182, (B).
Casiphia, where situate, 520, & (U).
Cassiope, a city in *Epirus*, 380.
Cassius sent against *Mithridates*, 252.
 ——— *Jupiter Cassius*, his temple, 380.
Catanius, *Apollo*, his temple at *Dastacum*, 317.
Cato, his advice to *Auletes*, 131, & seq.
 ——— *Portius* expounds the *Sybilline* oracle, 134, & seq.
Celeæ, a people of *Thrace*, 378.
Cendebeus sent against the *Jews*, 13, & seq.
Cerasus, a city in *Pontus*, why so called, 236.
Ceraunian mountains in *Epirus*, 385.
Chadaca, metropolis of *Albania*, 462.
Chalcedon, vid. *Calcedon*, 432.
Chalcidene, the kingdom of, described, 494.
Chaonia, a province in *Epirus*, described, 380.
Chaldee paraphrase, when and why first brought into use, 551.
Characene, the kingdom of, described, 491. Founded by *Pasines*, ib.
Charistus, a river in *Colchis*, 454.
Chel, of the temple, what, 591, (T).
Cherries, why called *Cerasa*, 236.
Cheronea, the battle of, 260.
Cherson, the ruins of, 469.
Chersonesus, *Thracian*, described, 364, & seq. The kings of, 378.
 ——— *Taurica*, described, 468, & seq.
Chimæra, its hot baths, 381.
Chorax, king of *Arabia*, stops the overflowing of the *Tigris*, 491.
Chorfa, a city of *Armenia*, 181, 182, (B).
Chrysippus, put to death for treason, 66.
Cicero, his letter to *Lentulus*, 136.
Cicones, a people of *Thrace*, 370.
Cimmerians, their character, 468. A colony of them in *Italy*, ib.
Cisja, river in *Colchis*, 454.
Cius in *Bithynia*, by whom built, 431.
Clazomenians, driven out of *Abdera*, 362.

- Clearchus*, tyrant of *Heraclea*, 437. His parricide and death, *ibid.*
- Cleomenes*, king of *Sparta*, well received by *Euergetes*, 83. Ill treated by *Philopator*, 85. His sad catastrophe, 86.
- Cleopatra*, a common name of the *Egyptian* princesses, 127.
- Cleopatra*, wife of *Demetrius*, marries young *Sidetes*, 11, & seq. Shares *Syria* with *Zebina*, 22. Murders her own son, 23. Her death and character, 25, & seq.
- wife of *Physcon*, invites *Demetrius* against him, 20.
- daughter of *Physcon*, marries *Cyzicenus*, 26. Murdered by her sister, 27. Her coin, 45, note.
- wife of *Philometor*, left regent, 106. Cruelly used by *Physcon*, *ib.* & seq. Divorced from him, 110. Takes refuge in *Syria*, 113.
- widow of *Physcon*, left regent in *Egypt*, 114. Her ambition and partiality, *ib.* & seq. Treachery to *Lathurus*, 115, & seq. Drives him out of *Phœnice*, 119. Takes *Ptolemais*, *ibid.* Murdered by her son *Alexander*, 121. Falsely confounded with the former *Cleopatra*, 125, & 126, note.
- daughter of *Lathurus*, succeeds him, 125, & seq. Marries *Alexander II.* 127. Assassinated by him, 128.
- daughter of *Auletes*, married to her brother, 142. Driven out by his ministers, *ib.* Is privately carried to *Cæsar*, 146. Reenthroned by him, 153. Goes to *Marc Antony* at *Tarsus*, 155. Her magnificence and profuseness, 156. Cruelty and avarice, 158, & seq. Takes the name of *Isis*, 162. Her fatal counsel to *Marc Antony*, 164. Treachery to him, *ib.* & seq. Treats with *Proculeius*, 171. Surprized by him, 172. Buries *Marc Antony*, 173. Deceives *Octavianus*, *ib.* & seq. Kills herself, 175. Her character and funeral, 176.
- wife of *Antiochus Pius*, put to death by *Tigranes*, 167.
- Clodius Publius*, his unjust decree against the kingdom of *Cyprus*, 130. Raises a mutiny against *Lucullus*, 206, & seq.
- Coca*, the famed mountain of, 466.
- Coin*, of *Syria*, 39, & seq. note.
- Colchis*, the kingdom of, described, 453, & seq. Origin, kings, &c. 455. Gold mines, 456, 457. Subdued by *Mithridates*, 457.
- Colonia*, the strongest city in *Armenia*, 181.
- Colpas*, a river in *Bithynia*, 442.
- Comana*, a city in *Pontus*, 234. --- In *Cappadocia*, 315.
- Comets*, two large ones at the birth of *Mithridates*, 245, & 246, (P).

Commagene,

- Commagene*, the kingdom of, described, 492, & seq. Subdued by the *Romans*, 493.
- Comneni*, their residence at *Trapezus*, 237, & seq.
- Conacorex*, betrays *Heraclea* to the *Romans*, 285.
- Conon*, the contriver of *Berenice's-Coma*, 77, & seq.
- Constantine* miraculously hindered from rebuilding *Chalcedon*, 433.
- Corax*, river in *Colchis*, 454.
- Corbulo*, sent to quiet *Armenia*, 220. His severe discipline, 221. Success against *Tiridates*, 223. Interview with him, 227.
- Cornelia* rejects *Physcon's* offer, 102.
- Cosis*, a brave prince of *Albania*, killed by *Pompey*, 464.
- Cotta's* ill success against *Mithridates*, 272, & seq. Against *Heraclea*, 285. Returns to *Rome*, 286.
- Cotys* I. king of the *Odryse*, assassinated, 372.
- II. joins *Perfes* against the *Romans*, 373.
- III. allies with the *Romans*, 374.
- IV. made king by *Brutus*, 375.
- V. murdered by his brother, *ibid.*
- king of the *Sapæi*. 377. Murdered, 378.
- Crassus* sent into *Pergamus*, 355, & seq. Defeated and killed, 356, & seq.
- Crobysi*, a people of *Thrace*, 376.
- Cræsus's* ambiguous threats to the *Lampsacians*, 367.
- Cyaneas*, a river in *Colchis*, 454.
- Cyneas*, his excellent character, 399. Advice to *Pyrrhus*, 400, & seq. Sent to *Tarentum*, 401. His judicious remark on the *Romans*, 406, note. Sent ambassador to *Rome*, 411. His ill success there, 412. Sent a second time, 416.
- Cyprus*, sold by *Archias* to *Demetrius*, 104. Given to a bastard of *Lathurus*, 129, & seq. Seized by the *Romans*, *ib.* & seq.
- Cyrene*, described, 122. Yielded to *Physcon*, 100. Revolts from him, 103. Given to *Apion*, 114.
- Cyrenean Jews*, whence, 561, (D).
- Cyrus*, his decree in favour of the *Jews*, 500, & seq. Confirmed by *Darius*, 514.
- a river of *Armenia*, 182. —— of *Albania*, 462.
- Cyta*, a city in *Colchis*, 454.
- Cyzicum*, city, besieged by *Mithridates*, 274. Relieved by *Lucullus*, 275, & seq.

D.

- D** *Aniel's* character, prophecies, &c. 511, (N). Shewn to *Alexander the Great*, 557. A signal one explained, 608, note.
- Darius*, the son of *Pharnaces*, made king of *Bosporus*, 312.
 ——— king of *Atropatene*, 476.
- Dascylus*, a city in *Bithynia*, 431.
- Datames*, king of *Cappadocia*, 319.
- Decius's* answer to *Pyrrhus*, 413. Killed, 414.
 ——— *Magius* rescued by *Philopator*, 89.
- Deidamia*, queen of *Epirus*, whether murdered, 429, & seq.
- Dejotarus* I. made king of *Armenia Minor*, 231. His fidelity to the *Romans*, *ib.* & seq.
 ——— II. his reign, 232. Successors, *ibid.*
- Demetrius Soter*, his coin, 41, note.
 ——— *Nicator*, degenerates, 2. Saved by the *Jews*, 3. Treachery to them, 4. Taken and kept prisoner in *Parthia*, 10, 15. Restored to his kingdom, 19. Invaded by *Zebina*, 20. His death, 21. Coin, 45, note.
 ——— *Eucheres*, crowned at *Damascus*, 30. Defeated and taken prisoner, 31. Death, *ibid.*
 ——— *Phalereus*, his character and office, 60. Persuades *Ptolemy Soter* to build a library, 61. His great integrity, 65. Promotes the septuagint version, 575, 576, (O). Death, 66.
 ——— king of *Bactria*, his character, 480.
- Democritus*, where born, 362.
- Denseletæ*, a people of *Thrace*, 368.
- Diana Persica*, worshipped in *Cappadocia*, 318. ——— Her statue taken and restored by *Philadelphus*, 72.
- Diegylis*, king of the *Odryssæ*, 374.
- Diocæsarea*, where situate, 315.
- Diodotus*, vid. *Tryphon*, 2.
- Dion* the philosopher, assassinated by *Pompey*, 133.
- Dionysius*, tyrant of *Heraclea*, 437. His death and character, *ib.*
- Diophanes's* brave attempt against *Seleucus*, 333.
- Dioscorias*, a city in *Colchis*, 453.
- Dioscorides* murdered by *Achillas*, 147.
- Dodanini*, the first peopler of *Epirus*, 386.
- Dædalsus*, king of *Bithynia*, 444.
- Dædona*, the city of, described, 381. ——— The temple, grove, and oracle of, *ib.* (K).
- Dolabella*, *Cornel.* in love with *Cleopatra*, 175.
- Dolonci*, who, and whence, 366. *Domitius*

Domitius defeated by *Pharnaces*, 309.
Dorilaus defeated by *Sylla*, 261.
Drachm of gold, its value, 505, note.
Drepane, a city in *Bithynia*, 432.

E.

Eclipse of the moon, frightens the *Gauls*, 330.
Edeffa, the kingdom of, described, 480, & seq. Made
 a Roman province, 482.
 ——— metropolis of that kingdom, 480.
 ——— the famous temple of, *ibid*.
Edoni, a people of *Thrace*, 370. Their kings, *ibid*.
Ege taken by *Pyrrhus*, 420.
Eleazar made high-priest, 573. Sends the seventy interpreters
 to *Ptolemy*, 576, note.
 ——— a venerable *Jew* martyred, 610.
 ——— reproves *Izates's* hypocrisy, 486.
Elephants rout the *Romans*, 408. A remedy found against
 them, 414, 418.
Eliashib, an unworthy *Jewish* priest, 546, & seq. His death,
 553.
Elymais, the kingdom of, described, 490.
 ——— metropolis of that kingdom, *ibid*.
 ——— the temple of, plundered, *ibid*.
Elymean kings, unknown by name, 490, 491.
Emessa, the kingdom of, described, 482, & seq.
Epaphroditus sent to watch *Cleopatra*, 174.
Epirots, their character, 385, & seq. Defeated at *Argos*,
 424. Surrender themselves, 427. Their commonwealth,
 430.
Epirus, the kingdom of, described,, 380, & seq. By whom
 peopled, 386. Its government, *ibid*.
Eratosthenes made library-keeper at *Alexandria*, 78, & seq.
 His works, *ibid*. note.
Eros's fidelity to *Marc Antony*, 170.
Erzeron, where situate, 183.
Esdra's, the apocryphal book of, 539, (E).
Esther married to *Ahasuerus*, 518. Her history, *ibid*. Ob-
 tains a commission to build the temple at *Jerusalem*, *ib*. &
seq.
Eucratides I. king of *Bactria*, his character and death, 482.
 ——— II. murders his father, *ibid*.
Eumelus, prince of *Bosporus*, wars with his two brothers, 471.
 His character and death, 472.

Eumenes .

Eumenes I. succeeds his brother in *Pergamus*, 329.

——— *II.* wars with *Antiochus*, 331, & seq. His bravery at the battle of *Magnesia*, 334. Rewarded by the *Romans*, *ibid.* Opposed by the *Rhodians*, *ibid.* Wars with *Prusias*, *ib.* & seq. Makes peace with him, 336. Defeated by *Hannibal's* stratagem, 335. Invaded by *Pharnaces*, 337. Makes peace with him, 338. Assists *Antiochus*, *ib.* His speech to the *Roman* senate, *ib.* & seq. Wounded by *Perseus's* assassins, 339. Allies with *Rome* against him, 340, & seq. Becomes obnoxious to them, 343. Accused to the senate, 344. His death, 346.

Euphrates, a river in *Armenia*, described, 182, 183.

Exipodras put to death by his father, 301.

Ezra sent into *Judæa*, 518, & seq. His genealogy, 518, (T). Commission in favour of the *Jews*, 519, and note. Reformation of church and state, 520. Of the canon, 521, & seq. Whether the inventor of *Hebrew* points, 524, note. Insertions added by him to the text, 526, and note. Restores the divine worship, 527. Character and writings, 533, & seq. Lecture of the law to the people, 544.

F.

F *Abius* betrayed by the *Thracians*, 289, and note.

Fabritius sent ambassador to *Pyrrhus*, 410. His intrepid gallantry there, 411. Sent against him, 415. His generous letter to him, 416.

Fanegoria, a city in *Pontus*, 234.

Favonius's accusation against *Auletes*, 133.

Faustinopolis, from whom so called, 315.

Fimbria discarded by *Flaccus*, 262. His revenge and cruelties, 263, and note. Success against *Mithridates*, 263, & seq. Kills himself, 267, & seq.

Fire sacred, when and how discovered, 545, note.

Flaccus sent against *Sylla*, 260. Falls out with *Fimbria*, 262.

Funerals, how performed by the *Thracians*, 365.

G.

G *Abinius's* extortions in *Syria*, 137. Upon *Ptolemy Auletes*, 138. Goes into *Egypt*, *ib.* & seq. Restores that monarch, 139. Condemned to banishment, 141.

Galatia invaded by *Pharnaces*, 243.

Galilee invaded by *Demetrius*, 5.

Gallus,

- Gallus*, first governor of *Egypt*, 176.
 ——— *Sulpitius* sent to receive complaints against *Eumenes*, 346.
Ganymedes supplants *Achillas*, 149. Distresses *Cæsar* in *Alexandria*, *ibid.*
Garizim, the temple of, when and by whom built, 558, note. An asylum for renegado *Jews*, 559.
Gauls, scared at a lunar eclipse, 330. Their sacrilegious covetousness, 420.
Gaza, metropolis of *Atropatene*, 476.
Georgia, why so called, 461. Described, 466. The rest, *vid. sub Iberia*, 458, & seq.
Georgian women, famed for their beauty, 466.
Glabrio sent against *Mithridates*, 292.
Glaphyra obtains *Cappadocia* for her son, 326.
Gordiæan mountains in *Armenia* 185.
Gradual psalms, why so called, 528, C.
Guras surrenders *Nisibis* to the *Romans*, 206.
Gurges, Q. *Fabius* sent ambassador to *Ptolemy*, 67. His gallantry to him, *ib.*
Gyrgenes, king of *Iberia*, turns Christian, 461.

H.

- H**AGGAI, the prophet, reproves the *Jews*, 513. One of *Ezra's* assistants, 523, note.
Halys river, divides *Pontus* from *Paphlagonia*, 237. Runs through *Cappadocia* into the *Euxine*, 315.
Hanani and *Hananiah*, made governors of *Jerusalem*, 543.
Hannibal forms the plan of *Artaxata*, 179. His stratagem against the *Pergamenians*, 335. Poisons himself, 336, and B. His judgment of *Pyrrhus*, 425, P. Tomb at *Libyssa*, 440.
Hare, bishop, an examination of his metrical edition of the *Hebrew* psalms, 529, & seq. Confuted in many particulars, 530, D, & seq. Merit of his book, *ibid.*
Hassideans, *al. Affideans*, repair to *Mattathias*, 613. Their sect, *ib.* M.
Hebrew character exchanged for the *Chaldee*, 524.
Hebrus, a river in *Thrace*, 364.
Hecateus the historian, instructed by a *Jewish* priest, 571, M. Wrote the history of the *Jews* from *Abraham* to his own time, *ib.* “

Helena,

- Helena*, queen of *Adiabene*, embraces *Judaism*, 485. Journey to and piety at *Jerusalem*, 488. Turns christian, 489.
- Helenus's* fruitless attempt to succeed his father, 423. Taken prisoner, 427. Released generously by *Antigonus*, *ib.*
- Helepolis*, a warlike machine, described, 275. B.
- Heliodorus* sent by *Seleucus* king of *Syria* to seize the temple-treasure, 594. His miraculous punishment, 595.
- Helius*, king of *Colchis*, 455.
- Heptastadium*, by whom built, 53.
- Heraclea*, a republic in *Bithynia*, described, 433, & seq. vid. *Heracleans* infra.
- a city in *Pontus* betrayed to *Mithridates*, 279. Taken by the *Romans*, 285. Burnt, 286.
- Heracleans*, their history and bravery, 433, & seq. Generosity to *Lamachus*, 435. Their government, tyrants, &c. *ib.* & seq. Recover their liberty, 438. Ally with *Rome*, 439. Massacred by *Adiatorix*, *ib.* Destroyed by the *Romans*, *ib.* Made a *Roman* colony, *ib.*
- Heraclitus*, *Cimæus*, tyrant of *Heraclea*, 438. Imprisoned, *ibid.*
- Herules*, the cave of, near *Heraclea*, 440.
- Herod* entertains *Cleopatra* at *Jerusalem*, 160. Resolves to put her to death, 161. His advice to *Marc Antony* concerning her, 166. Offers his services to *Octavius*, *ib.*
- Hierax*, formerly governor of *Antioch*, prime minister of *Phyſcon*, his character, 111.
- Hippus*, a river in *Colchis*, 454.
- Hiram*, one of the four priestly classes, 504.
- Hiemus*, mount in *Thrace*, 364.
- Honey* of *Pontus*, its wonderful qualities, 238.
- Hens* conquer *Bactria*, 480.
- Hypius*, a river in *Bithynia*, 442.
- Hyrcan*, the son of *Joseph*, a worthy youth, 586. Strange profuseness in *Egypt*, 592, V. Persecuted by his brethren, *ib.* Kills himself, *ib.* 593.
- Hyrcanus* succeeds his father, 14. Makes peace with *Sidetes*, 15. His seats in *Hyrcania*, 16. Shakes off the foreign yoke, 20. Sides with *Zebina*, 22. His conquests, 28.

I.

- Addua's* fidelity to *Darius*, 556. Highly revered by *Alexander the Great*, 557. Obtains for the *Jews* a free exercise of their religion, *ib.* His death, 560.

Jamblichus

Jamblichus I. king of *Emessa*, 483.

—— II. restored by *Octavianus*, *ib.*

Jason undermines his brother *Onias*, 596. Bribes *Antiochus* for liberty to build a gymnasium at *Jerusalem*, 597. Supplanted by his brother *Menelaus*, 598. Raises a new rebellion, 601, & seq. His tragical end, 602, B.

Iberia, the kingdom of, described, 458, & seq. Origin, government, &c. *ib.* & seq. Invaded by *Pompey*, 460. By the *Persians*, 461.

Jedaiah, one of the four sacerdotal classes, 504.

Jemphorina, a city of *Thrace*, 363.

Jerusalem rebuilt and repeopled, 543. Taken by *Ptolemy*, 561, & C. By *Antiochus*, 602. Burnt and razed by *Apollonius*, 604, 605.

Jeshua, the *Jewish* high-priest's return from *Babylon*, 502. Genealogy, *ib.* D. Death, 517.

—— al. *Jesus*, killed by his brother, 555.

Jesus, the son of *Sirach*, when he flourished, 605, F.

Jews burn and sack *Antioch*, 4. Why they constantly sided with the best bidder, 22, U. Persecuted by *Philopator* in *Egypt*, 87. Miraculously preserved, 88. Return from captivity, 496, & seq. Their number, 497. Change of condition, 498. Renew their feasts, 505. Blamed for rejecting the *Samaritans*, 508, M. Polluted by strange marriages, 521. Oppressed by their rulers, 541, & seq. Redressed by *Ezra*, 544, & seq. Degenerate, 547. Fidelity to the *Persians*, 556. Favoured by *Alexander the Great*, 557. Fatal superstition about the sabbath, 561. Flee to *Alexandria*, 571. Their different sentiments concerning the septuagint version, 577, & seq. Attachment to the *Egyptians*, 588, & P. Turn to the *Syrians*, 590. Apostatize under *Jason*, 597. Forewarned by dire prodigies, 601. Massacred by *Antiochus*, 602, 603. By *Apollonius*, 604, 605. Horridly persecuted, 608, & seq. Forbid their sacred book, 610.

—— *Spanish*, their apostasy, 565, & G.

—— writers, wretched chronologers, 589, R. Instances of their ignorance, *ib.*

Immer, one of the four sacerdotal classes, 504.

Johanan, *Jewish* high-priest, kills his brother, 555. His death, 556.

Joiachim, high-priest of the *Jews*, 517.

Jonathan, his honours, 2. Joins with *Antiochus Theus*, 5. Murdered by *Tryphon*, 8.

Joseph, a noble *Jewish* youth, saves his nation, 79. 584, & seq. In great favour with *Ptolemy*, 81. Outwits the *Sy-*

- rian* and *Phœnician* farmers, *ibid.* Gives the king and queen security of the payment, *ib.* How long he enjoyed the place, 82. Success in *Egypt*, 585. Progeny, *ib.*
- Iris*, a river in *Pontus*, described, 237.
- Isanthus*, a king of the *Crobyzi*, 376.
- Israelites* blended with the *Jews*, 498, 502, & 503, F.
- Judæa*, the forlorn state of, after the return from *Babylon*, 497, & seq. Made a province of *Syria*, 554. Under the government of the high-priests, *ib.* & seq. Alternately oppressed by *Syria* and *Egypt*, 561, 570. Polluted and deserted, 609, & seq.
- Jupiter's* statue set up in the temple of *Jerusalem*, 608. In that of the *Samaritans*, *ib.*
- Izates*, prince of *Adiabene*, preferred before his brother 485. Inclined to *Judaism*, *ib.* Is circumcised, 486. Invaded by *Abias*, 486, 487. By *Vologeses*, 487. His deliverance and death, *ib.* Character, *ib.* & seq. Tomb at *Jerusalem*, 488.

K.

- K** *Hacam*, among the *Jews*, and *Khazan*, their office, 550, note.
- Krim*, al. *Crim*, the peninsula of, 469.
- Kur*, a river of *Georgia*, 462. Geographers disagree about it, *ibid.*

L.

- L** *Ævinus* attacks the *Epirots*, 407. Defeated by them, 408.
- Answer to *Pyrrhus's* letter, 405.
- Lageion*, the order of, whence, 49.
- Lagides*, the surname of the *Ptolemies*, 48.
- Lagus*, his extract, 48. Whether the father of *Ptolemy*, *ib.*
- Lamachus*, governor of *Heraclea*, betrays it to *Mithridates*, 279, & F.
- Laodice*, wife of *Mithridates*, her lewdness punished, 247.
- of *Orophernes*, her cruelty punished, 323.
- Lasar*, al. *Laserpitium*, shrub, described, 123, H.
- Lasthenes*, his cruelties, 2.
- Laudamia*, vid. *Deidamia*, 429.
- Learning*, how revived in *Greece*, 108.
- Lentulus's* descent into *Egypt* opposed, 134, & seq.
- Leontifera*, an *Heracleian* ship so called, 434.
- Leucanor*, king of *Bosporus*, killed, 472.
- Leucan* I. & II. kings of *Bosporus*, 470.

Libyssa,

Libyssa, a city in *Bithynia*, described, 440, & seq. *Hannibal's* tomb there, *ibid*.

Lucania laid waste by the *Romans*, 405.

Lucullea, games so called, 277.

Lucullus sent by *Sylla* into *Egypt*, 260. His haughty message to *Tigranes*, 198. Marches into *Armenia*, 199, 292. His success against *Tigranes*, 201. Again *Mithridates*, 282. Forsaken by his army, 206. Recalled, 207. His treachery to *Fimbria*, 264. Sent against *Mithridates*, 271. Success against him, 274, & seq. Enters *Cyzicum*, 277. Distresses *Mithridates*, 282, & seq. Subdues *Pontus*, 284. Takes *Amisus*, 286. *Sinope*, 288, & O. Succeeded by *Pompey*, 293. Returns to *Rome*, 294.

Lycus a river in *Armenia*, 182.

Lysimachus left governor of *Jerusalem*, 599. Extortions on the people, 600. Massacred, *ibid*.

Lyzanias, king of *Chalcis*, assists the *Asmoneans*, 494. Put to death by *Antony*, 495.

M

Maccabees, books of, 588, Q.

Magas, brother of *Philadelphus*, revolts from by him, 69.. Is reconciled to him, 71.

——— brother of *Philopator*, put to death by him, 84.

Malachi, one of *Ezra's* assistants, 523, Y. Whether the same with him, *ibid*. His character, prophecies, &c. 549, P.

Manasseh, an apostate, 553.

Manius sent by *Sertorius* to assist *Mithridates* 271. Put to death by *Lucullus*, 278.

Maracanda, by whom built, 478.

Mariandyni, their origin, 442.

Masius, mount in *Armenia*, 185.

Massorah of the *Jews*, an account of, 524.

Mattathias's noble zeal for his religion, 611, & seq. His wise decree for self-defence on the sabbath, 613. Restores the divine worship, 614. His dying advice to his sons, 615, 616, & O.

Mazuca, metropolis of *Cappadocia*, 315.

Meharsapes, king of *Adiabene*, driven out, 489.

Media, *Atropatia*, *vid. Atropatene*, 475, & seq.

Megacles killed instead of *Pyrrhus*, 407.

Megdates made governor of *Syria*, 32. Recalled, 37.

Melas, a river of *Cappadocia*, 315.

Menander, king of *Bactria*, his conquests, 479.

Menelaus buys the high-priesthood over his brothers head, 598.

- Causes a general apostacy, 599. Robs the temple, *ibid.*
 Causes *Onias* to be murdered, 600. His hellish policy, 601.
- Menythillus*, his speech to the *Roman* senate, 100, & seq.
- Mesades*, king of the *Odrysæ*, 372.
- Mesopotamia* conquered by *Tigranes*, 196.
- Mestella*, a city in *Iberia*, 458.
- Metrodorus* sent embassador to *Tigranes*, 195. His advice to him, 196. Cause of his death, *ibid.*
- Metrophanes* ravages *Eubæa*, 258.
- Milo* surrenders *Tarentum*, 427. Punished for his double parricide, 429.
- Miltiades* I. chosen king of the *Dolonci*, 367. Rescued from the *Lampsacians*, *ibid.* His death, *ibid.*
 ——— II. seizes the kingdom of the *Dolonci*, 368.
- Mina*, of silver, its value, 505, I.
- Mispar*, one of the heads of the *Jewish* return, 502.
- Mithridates* I. third king of *Pontus*, 240.
 ——— II. wars with *Antigonus*, 241.
 ——— III. his reign, 242.
 ——— IV. invaded by the *Galatians*, 242.
 ——— V. wars with the *Sinopians*, 242.
 ——— VI. a firm ally to the *Romans*, 244. Murdered, 245.
 ——— VII. his glorious reign, 245, & seq. Conquests, 247, & seq. Treachery, 249. Invades *Bitthynia*, 251. Beats the *Romans*, 253. Cruelty to them, 255, & seq. Defeated by the *Rhodians*, 257. Ominous prodigies against him, 259, S. Defeated by *Sylla*, 260. By *Fimbria*, 263. Makes peace with *Sylla*, 266, & seq. His cruelty to his son, 269. Begins a new war, 270, & seq. His success, before *Cyzicum*, 274, & seq. & 276, C. Defeats the *Romans*, 281. Fortaken by his army, 283. Murders all his wives, 283. Renews the war against the *Romans*, 288, & seq. Defeated, 290. His letter to *Arfaces*, 293. K. Overthrows the *Romans*, 291. Besieged by *Pompey*, 295. Defeated again, 296, & seq. Flees into *Scythia*, 298. Appears alive, 299, & seq. Forsaken by his army, 301. Betrayed by his son, 302, & seq. Kills himself, 303. His character, 304, & seq. Burial, 306.
 ——— *Iberus*, crowned king of *Armenia* by *Tiberius*, 215. Invaded by *Artabanus*, *ibid.* Sent prisoner to *Rome*, 216. Restored, *ibid.* Betrayed by *Pellio*, 217, & seq. Murdered by *Rhadamistus*, 218.

- II. king of *Armenia*, joins with the king of *Pontus*, 244.
- king of *Parthia*, takes *Demetrius* prisoner, 10.
- king of *Pergamus*'s great services to *Julius Cæsar*, 148, 152. Made king of *Bosporus*, 474. Killed, *ibid*.
- I. and II. kings of *Iberia*, 460, 461.
- king of *Atropatene*, 476.
- of *Comagene* made so by the *Romans*, 492, 493.
- Mithridatic* war, 245, & seq. Renewed, 270, & seq. The length of it, 304, sub fin. not.
- Mithrobuzanes* restored to his father's crown, 193.
- Medi* plunder the *delphic* temple, 377.
- Molossus*, a province of *Epirus*, described, 381, & seq. whence so called, *ibid*. Famed for its mastiffs and horses, 385. Subdued by *Pyrrhus*, 387.
- Molossus*, king of *Epirus*, brought up by *Helenus*, 389.
- Monima* put to death by *Mithridates*, 284, L.
- Monobasus* I. king of *Adiabene*, 484.
- II. made regent, 485. Mounts the throne, 488. Honourable interment of his mother and brother, *ibid*.
- Mopsuestians* murder *Seleucus*, 29. Punished by *Eusebes*, 30.
- Mordecai*, one of the heads of the *Jewish* return, 502. Who, *ibid*. E,
- *Esther*'s uncle; his genealogy, 518.
- Morimena*, *Jupiter*'s temple at, 317.
- Moschick*, mountains in *Armenia*, whence so called, 185.
- Mosollam*, a noted *Jewish* marksman, the story of, 571, M.
- Mulolitus*, where situate, 364.
- Muræna* left prætor of *Asia*, 268. Defeated by *Mithridates*, 270. His son more successful against him, 281, & G.
- Musa*, princess of *Bithynia*, deprived of her succession, 451, *Sallust* mistakes in calling her son of *Nicomedes*, *ibid*.
- Mygdonia*, a province in *Asia*, conquered by *Tigranes*, 196.
- Myrlea*, in *Bithynia*, by whom founded, 431.

N.

- N***Anea*, the same with *Diana*, 17, (R). Her temple attempted by *Sidetes*, 17.
- Nazianzum*, a city in *Cappadocia*, 315.
- Neapolis*, a city in *Thrace*, 361.
- Nebemiah*, why his account differs from *Ezra*'s, 503. Succeeds him, 531. His character, 540, & seq. Repairs the city and temple, 541. Returns into *Persia*, 543, & L, & 546.

- His generosity at *Jerusalem*, 546. Reforms the *Jewish* abuses, 547, & seq. His death, 552, 553.
- Neocæsarea*, a city in *Pontus*, 235.
- Neoptolemus* I. king of *Epirus*, 391.
- II. set up against *Pyrrhus*, 397. Reigns jointly with him, 398. Put to death by him, *ib.*
- Neronia*, the new *Artaxata*, so called, 180.
- Nicæa*, taken by *Triarius*, 279.
- in *Bithynia*, by whom built, 441. Described, 442.
- Nicias*, *Pyrrhus*'s physician's treacherous offer, 416. Rejected by the *Romans*, *ib.* His punishment, 419.
- Nicomedes*, prince of *Bithynia*, escapes his father's treachery, 349. Takes up arms against him, 350.
- puts him to death, 351. ————— Calls in the *Gauls*, 444. Gives them part of *Asia Minor*, 445. Builds *Nicomedia*, *ib.*
- II. his obscure reign, 449, & seq.
- III. allies with *Mithridates*, 247, 450. Driven out of *Cappadocia*, 248, 450. Wars against *Pontus*, *ib.* Reduced to a private life, *ib.* Restored and dies, *ib.*
- IV. lampooned for his familiarity with *Julius Cæsar*, 450. The last *Bithynian* king, 451.
- Nicomedia*, metropolis of *Bithynia*, 431, 445. Made *Constantine*'s residence, 432. At present a small village, *ib.* Where situate, 441.
- Nicopolis* in *Armenia Minor*, by whom built, 230.
- In *Thrace*, by whom founded, 363.
- Niphates*, mount in *Armenia*, celebrated by the poets, 185.
- Nisibis* taken by *Tigranes*, 196, 197. By *Lucullus*, 206, & 287.
- Noah* worshipped by the ancient *Armenians*, 190. Some remains of his ark at *Cæron*, 484.
- Nubium*, a city in *Iberia*, 458.
- Nysa*, a city in *Cappadocia*, 315.

O

- Ochus*'s expedition against the *Jews*, 555, & seq. Death, 556, ————— a river in *Bactria*, 478.
- Octavia* married to *Marc Antony*, 158. Supplanted by *Cleopatra*, 160. Divorced and turned out, 163.
- Octavianus* gives his sister to *Marc Antony*, 158. Marches against him, 164. Defeats him at sea, *ibid.* & seq. Invades *Egypt*, 167, & seq. Takes *Cleopatra* prisoner, 172. Enters

- Enters *Alexandria*, *ibid.* His behaviour to *Cleopatra*, 173, & seq. Outwitted by her, 174. Returns to *Rome*, 177.
- Odomantes*, a people of *Thrace*, 369.
- Odrysæ*, a people of *Thrace*, 371. Their kings, *ib.* & seq. Country made a *Roman* province, 376.
- Oesyma*, a city of *Thrace*, 361.
- Olbia*, not the same with *Nicomedia*, 432.
- Olesnes* I. king of *Cappadocia*, 320.
- al. *Orophernes*, dethrones *Ariarathes* VI. 322. Driven out by *Attalus*, *ib.*
- Olthaces*, king of *Colchis*, 457.
- Omar* destroys the *Alexandrian* library, 59.
- Onias*, high-priest of the *Jews*, 560.
- II. a sordid pontiff, endangers the *Jewish* state, 79, & 583, & seq.
- III. his character, 592. Fatal rupture with *Simon*, *ib.* & V. Retires to *Antioch*, 596. Murdered there, 599, & seq. When 600, A.
- IV. builds a *Jewish* temple in *Egypt*, 106.
- Oppius Q.* sent against *Mithridates*, 252. Delivered up to him in chains, 254. Put to death by him, *ib.*
- Orbelus*, a mount in *Thrace*, 364.
- Orgomenes*, a river in *Bactria*, 478.
- Oricum*, a city in *Epirus*, 380.
- Orobias* rescues *Delos* from *Mithridates*, 258.
- Oroeses*, king of *Albania*, defeated by *Pompey*, 463, 464.
- Orodes*, king of *Armenia*, deposed by *Germanicus*, 215.
- Orphitus Pactius* defeated, 222. Punished, *ib.*
- Oxatres*, the son of *Dionysius*, tyrant of *Heraclea*, his parricide and death, 437.
- Oxus* river in *Bactria*, 477.

P.

- P***ætus* sent into *Armenia*, 224. Surrenders to *Vologeses*, 225. Withdraws into *Cappadocia*. *ib.*
- Palladium* found at *Troy*, 265, note.
- Palus Mæotis*, described, 469.
- Pangeas* mount in *Thrace*, 364.
- Panticapæum*, by whom built, 469. Not taken notice of by *Procopius*, *ib.*
- Paphlagonia* invaded by *Mithridates*, 247. Divided between him and *Nicomedes*, *ib.*
- Paradise*, some conjectures about its situation, 184, & (E).
- Parisades*

- Parisades* I. & II. kings of *Bosporus*, 470, & seq.
 ——— III. resigns his kingdom to *Mithridates*, 473.
Paryadræ, mountains in *Armenia*, 185.
Pashur, one of the four priestly classes, 504.
Passaron, a city of *Epirus*, 381.
Pelamides, an excellent fish, 433. Best at *Chalcedon*, *ib.*
Pelasgias and *Peleia*, the etymon of, 382, & seq. note.
Pelignus Julius, an infamous free-booter, 218.
Pergamenian library described, 58. Given to *Cleopatra* by *Marc Antony*, and removed to *Alexandria*, *ib.*
Pergamus, the kingdom of, 328. Its kings, *ib.* & seq. Invaded and wasted by the *Bithynians*, 346, & seq. Reduced to a Roman province, 359.
Perperna sent against *Aristonicus*, 357.
Phanagoria, metropolis of *Bosporus*, 467.
Pharasmenes, king of *Iberia*, recovers *Armenia*, 216. Supplants his brother *Mithridates*, *ib.* & seq. His cruelty to him, 218.
 ——— king of *Albania*, favoured by the *Romans*, 465.
Pharnaces I. king of *Pontus*, wars with *Eumenes*, 243. Makes peace with him, 244.
 ——— Revolts against his father, 302, & seq. Made king of *Bosporus*, 306. Recovers a part of *Pontus*, 308. Defeats the *Romans*, 309. Defeated by *Julius Cæsar*, 310, & seq. Killed, 311.
 ——— king of *Cappadocia*, 317, & 319.
Pharos, the famous tower of, described, 52, & note.
Phaselus, the tower of, described, 52, note.
Phasis, a river in *Armenia*, 183, & 454.
 ——— a city in *Colchis*, 454.
Pheasants, whence brought, 454.
Philadelphian works, whence so called, 76.
Philammon murders *Arsinoë*, 90. Assassinated by her women, 92.
Philip, the son of *Grypus*, defeats the *Mopsuestians*, 30. And *Eucheres*, *ib.* Invaded by *Eusebes* and *Dionysius*, 31.
 ——— a cruel governor of *Judæa*, 604. Murders a thousand *Jerus* on the sabbath, 610. Destroys the sacred books, *ibid.*
Philippolis in *Thrace* by whom built, 363.
Phil's account of the septuagint version, 577, note, & 579.
Phileterus seizes the castle of *Pergamus*, 328.
Phocrites made chief magistrate of *Heraclea*, 438.
Phoenice conquered by *Tigranes*, 197.
Phoenix, one seen in *Egypt*, 84.

- Phrahates* defeated by *Sidetes*, 15. Destroys all the *Syrians* in their winter-quarters, 19.
- Pielus*, king of *Epirus*, 389.
- Pieres*, a people of *Thrace*, 371. Hence the muses called *Pierides*, *ib.*
- Pindus*, the famous mount of, 385.
- Pityus*, metropolis of *Colchis*, 453.
- Plotinopolis*, a city of *Thrace*, 364.
- Points*, *Hebrew*, how and when introduced, 524, note Z.
- Polemon* made king of *Pontus*, 312.
- II, Turns *Jew*, *ibid.* Exchanges his kingdom, 475.
- Taken prisoner, 210.
- Polemonium*, a city in *Pontus*, 235. Hence *Pontus Polemoniacus* called, *ibid.*
- Polycrates*, prime minister of *Epiphanes*, his character, 96.
- Polymnester*, king of the *Chersonesus*, 378. Murders *Polyder*, *ibid.*
- Pompey* seizes on *Syria*, 38. Friendship to *Auletes*, 134. Sent into *Armenia*, 207. Restores *Tigranes* to his crown, 209. Succeeds *Lucullus* in *Pontus*, 293. Defeats *Mithridates*, 296. Pursues him into *Scythia*, 298. Subdues *Pontus*, 303. His generosity at his triumph, *ibid.* Expedition against *Iberia*, 460. Against *Albania*, 463, & seq.
- Pomponius*, or *Pompeius*, general of the horse to *Lucullus*, taken prisoner, 281, & H.
- Pontus*, the kingdom of, whence so called, 233. Its description and division, *ib.* & seq.
- *Polemoniacus*, whence so called, 235.
- *Cappadocius* described, 236. Its honey described, 238. Origin and government, *ib.* & seq. Kings, 240, & seq. Reduced by *Lucullus*, 284. Made a *Roman* province, 287. Its various changes since, 312, & seq.
- Porphyry's* notion of *Daniel's* prophecies confuted, 512, note.
- Pothinus's* treachery to *Cleopatra*, 142. To *Cæsar*, 147. Put to death, 149.
- Priesthood*, high, become venal, 596, & seq.
- Priests*, high, become prefects of *Judæa*, 554.
- Priests*, *Jewish*, who returned from *Babylon*, 504.
- Proneëtus*, a city in *Bithynia*, 432.
- Prusa*, a city in *Bithynia*, described, 440. Taken by *Triarius*, 279.
- Prusias*, king of *Bithynia*, defeats the *Pergamenian* fleet, 335, & seq. Makes peace with *Eumenes*, 336. Invades *Pergamus*, 346. His treachery to *Attalus*, 347. Forced to a peace by the *Romans*, 348. His treachery to his son,

349. To *Hannibal*, 447. Journey to *Rome*, *ib.* Mean behaviour there, 448. Deposed by his son, 351. Assassinated, *ib.* His character, 449. ---- City taken by *Triarius*, 279.

Prytanis, king of *Bosporus*, defeated and killed by his brother *Eumelus*, 472.

Psalms, how collected by *Ezra*, 527, & seq. Their metre, elegancy, &c. proved against bishop *Hare*, 529, & 530, D.

Pfyllis, a river in *Bithynia*, 442.

Pterium, a city in *Cappadocia*, 315. Memorable for the overthrow of *Cræsus*, *ib.*

Ptolemais described, 122. Besieged by *Alexander Janneus*, 117. Taken by *Cleopatra*, 119.

Ptolemies of *Egypt*, a list of them, 46, & seq.

Ptolemy Soter, his origin, 47, & seq. His character and miraculous cure, 49. Post and government, 49. Flourishing kingdom, 50, & seq. Whence surnamed *Soter*, 50. Takes the title of king, 51. Takes his son partner of the kingdom, *ib.* Builds the tower of *Pharos*, 52. Procures the *Sinopean Serapis*, 54, & seq. Founds the *Alexandrian* library, 57. The musæum, 59. His death and character, 62. Issue, 63.

----- *Ceraunus* disinherited, 52, & 63. His treachery to *Seleucus*, 63. Seizes the *Macedonian* crown, *ib.* Treachery to *Arfinoe*, 64. Slain by the *Gauls*, *ib.*

----- *Philadelphus* succeeds his father, 65. Enmity to *Demetrius Phalereus*, *ibid.* Marries his sister *Arfinoe*, 66. Sends an embassy to *Rome*, 67. Invades *Magas*, 70. Improves the *Egyptian* trade, *ib.* & seq. His kindness to the *Sicyonians*, 72. Love to *Arfinoe*, 73. Death and character, *ib.* & seq. Works, 75, & seq. A great friend to the *Jews*, 575. Procures a *Greek* version of the sacred books, *ib.* & 576, O.

----- *Euergetes*, whence so called, 77. His conquests, *ib.* Sacrifices to the God of *Israel*, 78. Improves his father's library, *ib.* His kindness to *Joseph the Jew*, 81, & 585. Assists *Cleomenes*, 83. Comes into *Judæa*, 583. His death and character, 83, & seq.

----- *Philopator*, why so called, 84. Cruel character, 84, & 586. Makes peace with *Antiochus*, 86. Persecutes the *Jews*, 87. Takes them into favour, 89. Receives a *Roman* embassy, *ib.* & seq. Murders his wife, 90. Attempts to profane the temple, 587. His punishment, *ibid.* His death, 91. Character 93, & seq.

~~Antiochus~~ *Epiphanes*, born, 90. Succeeds his father, 91. Protected by the *Romans*, 95. Degenerates into a tyrant, 96. Allies with *Rome* and the *Achæans*, *ib.* & seq. Poisoned, 97.

~~Antiochus~~ *Philometor*, succeeds his father, 97. Invaded by *Antiochus*, 98. Taken by him, *ib.* Restored to his crown, 100. Divides his kingdom with *Physcon*, *ibid.* Goes to *Rome*, 99. His speech to the senate, 100. Opposed by *Physcon*, 101. Rejects the *Roman* decree in his favour, 103. Defeats him, 104. Falls out with *Demetrius*, 105. His death and character, *ibid.* Favour to the *Jews*, 106.

~~Antiochus~~ *Physcon* disputes the crown with his brother, 99. Divides it with him, 98, & 100. Drives him out, 99. Goes to *Rome*, 100. Attempts on *Cyprus*, 102. Repulsed and wounded by the *Gyrenians*, 103. Defeated and captured by *Philometor*, 104. Cruelty to his son and widow, 106, & seq. To the *Jews* and *Egyptians*, 107, & seq. Aukward reception of the *Roman* ambassadors, 109, & seq. Driven out for his cruelties, 111. Returns, 113. Sets up *Zebina* against *Demetrius*, 20. Defeats him, 24. His death, character, and learning, 113, & seq.

~~Antiochus~~ *Lathyrus*, why so called, 115. Oppressed by his mother, *ibid.* & seq. Dethroned, *ibid.* Defeats the king of the *Jews*, 118. A cruel action of his, *ibid.* Driven out of *Judæa*, 119. Restored to his kingdom, 121. Takes *Thebes*, 124. His death, 125.

~~Antiochus~~ *Auletes* an effeminate prince, 130. Driven out of his kingdom, 131. His interview with *Cato*, *ibid.* Goes to *Rome*, 132. Obtains a decree in his favour, 134. Retires into the *Ephesian* asylum, 135. Bargains with *Gabinus*, 137. Restored to his crown, 139. His cruelties, 140, & seq. Death, 142.

~~Antiochus~~ the son of *Auletes*, drives his sister from the crown, 142. Stirs up the *Alexandrians* against *Cæsar*, 146. His treachery to him, 151, & seq. Defeated, 152. Drowned, 153.

~~Antiochus~~ the son of *Pyrrhus*, left regent of *Epirus*, 402. Subdues *Theffalonica*, 421. Killed, 422.

~~Antiochus~~ the son of *Alexander*, his short reign, 429.

~~Antiochus~~ prince of *Chalcis*, 494. Puts his son to death, *ib.*

~~Antiochus~~ subdues the *Jews*, 561. His kindness to them, 562, & 570.

Pullio's treachery to *Mithridates Iberius*, 217.

Pyrrhus I. king of *Epirus*, his descent, 387. Killed before *Troy* by *Orestes*, 388.

—— II. his descent, 396. Brought up by *Glaucias*, 397. Allies with *Demetrius*, *ib.* With *Ptolemy*, 398. Succours the *Tarentines*, 399. His projects merrily checked by *Cyneas*, 400, & seq. Sails for *Italy*, 401, & seq. His wives and children, 402, (L). In danger by a storm, 403. Reforms the *Tarentines*, 404. Outwitted by *Aristarchus*, 405. His haughty letter to the *Roman* consul, *ib.* Defeats the *Romans*, 408. Forced to retire from *Rome*, 409. Receives an embassy from thence, 410. His offers rejected by the senate, 412. Message to *Decius*, 413. Wounded and defeated by *Sulpitius*, 414. In danger of poison, 416. Cruel revenge on the *Locrians*, 417. His sacrilege punished, *ib.* & seq. Defeated by *Curius*, 418, & seq. Returns to *Epirus*, 420. Takes *Macedon*, *ib.* His unsuccessful attempt against *Greece*, 421. His expedition against *Argos*, *ib.* Defeats the *Lacedæmonians*, 422. Enters *Argos*, 423. Killed by a woman, 424. His character, 424, & 425, (P)..

—— III. Murdered, 429.

Q.

*Q*uadratus *Numid.* governor of *Syria*, 217. His dispute with *Corbulo*, 221. His message to *Vologeses*, 220.

R.

*R*abinius lends *Auletes* vast sums on *Pompey's* security, 140. Ill requited by him, *ib.* Prosecuted by the senate, 141.

Reelaiah, one of the returning *Jewish* heads, 502.

Rehum, one of the heads of the returning *Jews*, *ib.*

Rhadamistus, king of *Iberia*, 461.

—— the son of *Pharasmenes* cunningly sent into *Armenia*, 216, & seq. Treachery to his uncle, *ib.* Seizes on that kingdom, 218. Driven out, 219. Put to death by his father, 222.

Rhodians, their great services to *Cæsar*, 150.

Rhodes, second king of *Pontus*, 240.

Rhodope, a mountain in *Thrace*, 364.

Romans, their partiality to *Phyſcon*, 101, 103. Embassy to him, 109. Seize on the island of *Cyprus*, 130, & seq. War with *Mithridates*, 253. 150,000 massacred by his order, 255, & seq. Their cruel revenge, 260. Defeated by him, 291. Their joy at his death, 305.

Russians

Rassians defeated with a great slaughter, and subdued by *Mithridates*, 258.

Rutilius, whether the adviser of *Mithridates*'s cruelty to the *Romans*, 255, (R).

Ruz, a fabulous chief of the *Samaritans*, 565.

S.

Sabylinthus, a faithful guardian to *Tharymbas* king of *Epirus*, 390.

Saddoc, his doctrine, 574.

Sadducees, their rise, *ib.*

Samaria taken by *Hyrchanus*, 28.

Samaritans, who, 507, (L). Fall out with the *Jews*, 508, & seq. Obstruct the building of the temple, 511, & seq. Pay tribute to it, 516. Petition *Alexander*, 559. Banned *Samaria*, 560. Build *Shechem*, 562. Religion, *ib.* & seq. & 563, (E). Corrupt the pentateuch, 567. Lay claim to the septuagint version, 580. Ravage *Judæa*, 586. Impious policy, 607.

———— pentateuch, an account of, 567, 568, (K), & 570, (L).

Samsiseramus, founder of *Emessa*'s kingdom, 482. ——— II. 483.

Sanballat, why called a *Horanite*, 541, (G). His spight against the *Jews*, *ib.* & seq. Encourages their renegadoes, 552. Whether two of that name, *ib.* (R).

Sangarius, a river in *Bithynia*, 442. *Livy*'s mistake about it, *ib.*

Sapei in *Thrace*, their kings, 377.

Saracens burn the *Alexandrian* library, 58. On what account, 59.

Sasales king of the *Odrysæ*, 374.

Satyrus I. king of *Bosporus*, 470. His tribute to *Demosthenes*, 471. ——— II. killed, *ibid.* ——— tyrant of *Heraclæa*, 436.

Scaptesytle, the rich mines of, 362.

Scribonius driven out of *Bosporus*, 474.

Scydrothemis sends the *Serapis* into *Egypt*, 55.

Scythia, a fabulous founder of *Armenia*, 187.

Scythians driven out of *Bactria* by the *Huns*, 480.

Scythopolis betrayed to *Hyrchanus*, 28.

Schoastia, second city in *Armenia*, 180. ——— in *Pontus* 235.

Selene, wife of *Antiochus Eusebas*, keeps *Ptolemais*, 33. Put to death by *Tigranes*, 37.

Selencus's

- Seleucus's* pretensions to *Judaea*, 571. Mild government over it, 572.
- the son of *Antiochus's* friendship to the *Jews*, 592.
- *Nicator*, his coin, 39, note.
- *Callinicus*, his coin, 40, note.
- *Philopator*, his coin, 41, note.
- the son of *Demetrius Nicator*, murdered by his own mother, 23.
- the son of *Grypus*; defeats his uncle, 29. His defeat and death; *ib.*
- king of *Bosporus*, 470.
- *Cybiosactes*, why so called, 132. Sent to *Rome*, 33. Made king of *Egypt*, 38, & note. His death; *ib.*
- Selli*; who, 386.
- Septuagint* version, an account of, 575, 576, & O.
- Seraiah*, one of the heads of the returning *Jews*, 502.
- Serapeum*, described, 55. The library of, 57. Replenished with the *Pergamean* library, 58. Burnt by the *Saracens*; *ibid.*
- Serapion* murdered by *Achillas*, 147.
- Serapis*, the statue of, brought to *Egypt*, 54, & seq. Whence so called, 55, (B). Not *Egyptian* originally; *ibid.*
- Seuthes*, mounts the *Odrygian* throne, 372.
- II. III. and IV. their wars with the *Macedonians*; *ib.* & seq.
- Shechem* made the metropolis of the *Samaritans*; 560. Beautified, 562.
- Sheliah*, *Zibbor*, his office among the *Jews*, 549, & seq. note Q.
- Shetarbosnai*; governor of *Samaria*, 514.
- Shez-bazzar*, whether the same with *Zerubbabel*, 501, and note C.
- Shushan*, one of the temple gates, why so called, 516.
- Simon*, the *Maccabee*, his exploits against *Demetrius*, 5, & seq. Succeeds his brother *Jonathan*, 7. Allies with *Demetrius*, 9. With *Sidetes*, 12.
- the just, high-priest of the *Jews*, his character, works, &c. 572, & 573, N.
- II. succeeds *Onias II.* 586. His excellent character; *ib.* Death, 592.
- a *Benjamite*, falls out with good old *Onias*, 592, & V. Betrays the sacred treasure to the *Syrians*, 594.
- Sinope* taken by *Pharnaces*, 242. By *Lucullus*, 288, & O. *Lucullus's* strange vision there; *ib.*

- Sitalces* I. king of the *Odryse*, 371. Attends *Xerxes* into Greece, and is slain there, *ib.*
 ——— II. a warlike prince, *ib.* & seq.
Sitas, king of the *Denseletæ*, wars against the *Bastarnæ*, 368.
Smerdis, king of *Cappadocia*, 319.
Socrates, vindicated from *Cynædeism*, 68, E.
Solomena and her seven sons martyred, 611, & I.
Sosibius, *Philopator's* wicked minister, 85, & seq. His treatment of *Cleomenes* king of *Sparta*, *ib.*
 ——— son of *Sosibius*, murders the queen, 90. Turned out, 91. Made guardian of *Epiphanes*, 92. His character, 93.
Sostrates builds the tower of *Pharos*, 52. Outwits *Ptolemy* in the inscription, *ib.*
Sotades, the *Cynædic* poet, put to death, 68.
Sothymus, king of the *Odryse*, 374. Wastes Greece, but is overcome by *Sentius*, *ib.*
Spartacus I. king of *Bosporus*, 470.
 ——— II. *ib.* ——— III. 472.
Statianus defeated and killed, 210.
Stella, a mountain in *Pontus*, 235. Famous for the overthrow of *Mithridates*, *ib.*
Stesagoras, king of the *Dolanci*, 367.
Stratonice, three cities of that name, 357, F.
Stratonice, concubine of *Mithridates*, delivers up the castle of *Symphori* to *Pompey*, 299.
Sura, a city in *Iberia*, 458.
Sydonians assist the *Jews*, 512.
Sylla dictator of *Rome*, 127. Sends *Alexander* II. into *Egypt*, *ib.* Sent against *Mithridates*, 259. Defeats him at *Chæroneæ*, 260. Makes peace with him, 266, & seq. Returns to *Rome*, 268.
Synagogue, grand, the rabbies account of, confuted, 521, note X.
Synagogues, when first brought into use, 549, Q. How regulated, *ib.*
Syrian coins, described, 38, & seq. W.

T.

- T** *Alaura*, the great riches of, 307.
Tanais worshipped by the *Armenians*, 189. Custom observed in her worship, *ibid.* Stately temple at *Acilesina*, *ibid.*
Tannaim,

- Tannaim*, among the *Jews*, their office, 574.
Tatnai goes to *Jerusalem*, 514. Befriends the *Jews*, *ibid.* & seq.
Tauri, where seated, 468; & seq.
Teios in *Galatia*, taken by *Leecritus*, 243. His garison massacred, *ibid.*
Temple of Jerusalem, begun to be rebuilt, 505, & seq. Its dimensions, 501. Disparity from the old one, 506, & K. Discontinued, 513. Resumed, 514. Dedicated, 515. By *Nehemiah*, 542. The ceremony of, *ibid.* H. Profaned by *Sanballat*, 547. By *Antiochus*, 603. Its worship suppressed, 605. Polluted with *Jupiter's* statue, 608, & H.
 — At *Samarita*, *vid.* *Garizim*, 558, & N.
Tempyrium, a city in *Thrace*, 364.
Teres, a warlike king of the *Oärysa*, 371.
Tereus, a long-lived king of *Characene*, 492.
Thamyris a boasting musician punished, 370.
Tharymbas, king of *Epirus*, 390. A learned prince, and great encourager of learning, *ibid.*
Thebes, in *Egypt*, taken and destroyed by *Lathyrus*, 124.
Themiscyra, in *Pontus*, described, 234. Surrendered to the *Romans*, 280.
Theodore's treachery to *Ptolemy*, 586.
Theodorus revolts from *Syria*, 29.
Theodosiopolis burnt by the *Turks*, 181, A. The present *Erzeron*, *ibid.*
Theodotus, *Egyptian* rhetorician, advises the murdering of *Pompey*, 143.
Thermodon, a river in *Pontus*, waters the empire of the *Amazons*, 237, & seq.
Thesprotia, the cities of, 381.
Thrace, the kingdom of, described, 361. Its soil, customs, and government, 364, & seq. The various nations of it, 366. Its kings, 371, & seq. Subdued by the *Romans*, 373, & seq.
Thracians greatly skilled in music, 379. In eloquence, *ibid.* *Greece* indebted to them for polite arts, *ibid.*
Thucydides descended from the *Sapean* kings, 377.
Thyni, inhabitants of *Thrace*, 371.
Thyras, the son of *Japhet*, gives name to *Thrace*, 361.
Tibites, king of *Bithynia*, deposed by his brother, 446.
Tigranes I. king of *Armenia*, invades *Cappadocia*, 194. Chosen king of *Syria*, 32, & 194. Driven out by *Pompey*, 37, & 195. His conquests, *ibid.* Allies with *Mithridates*, 194, 196. His cold reception of him, 196, 287, & N.

- New conquests, 196, & seq. Excessive pride, 197. Answer to *Lucullus*, 198. Invaded by him, 199. Defeated by *Sextilius*, 200. By *Lucullus*, 201. Jointly with *Mithridates*, 205. Defeats his rebellious son, 208. Goes and submits himself to *Pompey*, *ibid.* & seq. His great Attachment to the *Romans*, 210. Death, *ibid.*
- The son of the former, rebels against his father, 208. Leads *Pompey*, to *Armenia*, *ibid.* Sent in chains to *Rome*, 259.
- II. crowned by *Tiberius*, 212. Put to death, *ib.*
- I.I. Defeated by *Caius*, 214.
- Tigranocerta*, by whom built, 181, 195. Besieged by *Lucullus*, 200. Betrayed to him, 203, & 204, L.
- Tigris*, a river in *Armenia*, 182. Described, 184.
- Timarchus*, king of *Atropatene*, 476.
- Timotheus*, a tyrant of *Heraclea*, 437.
- Tinda*, the metropolis of the *Bistones*, 369.
- Tiridates*, opposed by *Corbulo*, 221, & seq. Driven out of *Armenia*, 223. Sues to the *Romans* for the crown, 226. Interview with *Corbulo*, 227. Crowned at *Rome* by *Nero*, 228. His successors, *ibid.*
- Tirshatha*, what, 501, C.
- Tlepolemus*, prime minister of *Philopator*, 91. Falsely accused, 92. Cleared, *ibid.*
- Tobias*, an *Ammonite*, prophanes the *Jewish* temple, 547.
- Togarmah* peoples *Cappadocia*, 316.
- Topiris*, a city of *Thrace*, 361.
- Trapesus*, a city in *Pontus*, 236. The residence of the *Comneni*, 237.
- Triarius's* success against *Mithridates*, 279, & 284. Takes *Heracleo*, 285. Defeats *Mithridates*, 288. Defeated by him, 289.
- Tripolis*, a city in *Pontus*, 236.
- Trocmi*, a people in *Pontus*, &c. 316.
- Troy*, taken by *Fimbria*, 264, & seq. Burnt, 265.
- Tryphaena* married to *Grypus*, 24. Her cruelty to her sister, 27. Punished, *ib.*
- Tryphon's* character, 2, & seq. Sets up the son of *Balas*, 3, & L. His treachery to *Jonathan*, 7. To *Simon*, 8. To *Antiochus*, *ib.* Seizes the crown, *ib.* Rejected by the *Romans*, 9. Forsaken by his forces, 11. Forced to fly, 12. His death, 13. Coin, 44, note.
- Tubal*, first inhabiter of *Iberia*, 459.
- Tyre*, why made independent, 21, T.
- Tyrians* murder king *Demetrius*, 21, & T. Assist the *Jews*, 512.

U.

U*enice*, a city in *Iberia*, 458.

Uchanias, king of *Edessa*, 481.

Venus Apatura, her temple near *Phanagoria*, 467.

Verres's villainy to *Antiochus*, 23, & seq.

Vertabiets, in *Armenia*, their office, 190, & 191, F.

Vologeses, king of *Parthia*, assists his brother *Tiridates*, 221.

Wars against the *Romans*, 224, & seq. Drives them out of *Armenia*, 225. Sends an embassy to *Rome*, 226.

—— a *Thracian* priest, seizes on *Gherfonesus*, 369.

Vonones, king of *Armenia*, driven out, 215.

Uscudama, capital of the *Bessi*, 369.

Usher, archbishop, procures several copies of the *Samaritan pentateuch*, 570, L.

W.

W*AR*, *Mithridatic*, 245, & seq. Renewed, 270. The length of it, 304, sub fin. note.

X.

X*Erxes's* favour to the *Jews*, 516, 517. Death, 517.

Xiphares, put to death by his father, 300.

Z.

Z*Adriades*, one of the founders of the *Armenian* monarchy, 192, & 230.

Zalissa, a city in *Iberia*, 454.

Zarbienus, king of the *Gordians*, put to death, 198, 199.

His funeral obsequies, 204.

Zariaspa, whether the same with *Bactra*, 477.

—— a river in *Bactria*, 478.

Zebina, *Alexander*, vid. *Alexander*, 20.

Zechariah's

- Zechariah's* prophecies to the *Jews*, 515, 516. Also
Ezra in his reformation, 523, Y. His character and prophecies, 548, P.
- Zela*, a city in *Pontus*, 235.
 ——— king of *Bithynia*, killed by the *Galatians*, 446.
- Zeno*, king of *Armenia*, vid. *Artaxias III.* 215.
- Zenobia's* adventure, 219, & seq.
- Zenodotus*, library-keeper to *Ptolemy Soter*, 60. The first person who corrected *Homer's* works, 74.
- Zephyrian Venus*, her temple, 77.
- Zerubbabel*, head of the returning *Jews*, 502. His genealogy, 501.
- Zipetes II.* dies in banishment, 445.
- Zoberes*, king of *Albania*, defeated by *Marc Antony*, 465.
- Zoilus* revolts from *Syria*, 27.
 ——— The critic writes against *Homer*, 75. His miserable end, *ibid.*
- Zenobarzes*, king of *Iberia*, baptized, 461.
- Zoroaster*, king of *Bactria*, 479.

The end of the ninth Volume.

